Education and Modernization in Montenegro, 1831-1918

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EDUCATION AND MODERNIZATION IN MONTENEGRO, 1831 - 1918

by

Helen A. Pavichevich

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 1976
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Dr. Gerald Gutek's concept of enculturation and his interest in modernization of underdeveloped countries gave this author confidence that the study of the enculturation and modernization in Montenegro would contribute to the literature of education.

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VITA

The author, Helen A. Pavichevich, is the daughter of Christ Antof and Violet (Kovacevich) Antof. She was born June 3, 1931, in Akron, Ohio.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is an historical analysis of the education, development and modernization of Montenegro from 1831-1918. The criteria for examining the transformation of this primitive, anarchic and clan-dominated state to a modern national state, with a centralized government, is derived from C. E. Black's, The Dynamics of Modernization. Black, whose theory of modernization is discussed in Chapter II of this study, defines modernization as:

The process by which the historically evolved institutions reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, that accompanied the scientific revolution.¹

Black's definition and criteria of modernization is used to examine the transformation that occurred in Montenegrin life and institutions from 1831-1918.

Montenegro, now an underdeveloped area and one of the present six federated republics of Yugoslavia, was an independent principality ruled by Prince-Bishops from 1516 until 1851.² Located in barren mountains, surrounded by unfriendly world powers Montenegrins were


²Prince-Bishop: The title derives from the combining of secular with religious authority after 1516 when Bishop Babylas succeeded the last secular ruler. The office was elective until becoming dynastic with the Petrovich Njegosh brotherhood. Prince Danilo II (1851-1859) reverted to secular rule, followed by Prince Nicholas I, who became King Nicholas I, the last Petrovich dynast.
rugged, independent and fierce. Their primary occupation was war from 1389-1918. Montenegro was the only Balkan state not occupied or conquered by the Ottoman Turk. The people chose to defend "Holy Cross and Freedom Golden," and successfully did so for five centuries.

Montenegro's population was Serbian, descended from the Slav migrations of the sixth and seventh centuries. In 1389, Montenegro became the haven for Serbians who fled from Turkish conquered provinces, choosing to go to the inhospitable mountain fortress to continue resistance rather than become vassals of the Ottoman Empire. The geography and the political machinations of the great powers of Europe and Asia combined to isolate the Serbians of Montenegro from cultural and intellectual contact with the outside world. Much of the progress achieved during the Renaissance in which Serbians had actively participated was eradicated. Serbs in Montenegro remained illiterate, superstitious and tenaciously held to a way of life which enabled them physically to survive as free men.

Changes in the European power structure and the decline of the Ottoman Empire coincided with the coming to rule of Prince-Bishop Petar II, or Petar Petrovich Njegosh, who forced Montenegro to emerge from its primitive status in the 1830's. \(^3\) Njegosh was a transitional and defensive modernizing ruler in that he laid foundations for

\(^3\)Prince-Bishop Petar II, will hereafter be referred to as Njegosh.
modernization that enabled his country to withstand the domination of other more modern national states. 4

Montenegro was led to modernize by the force of its ruler, Njegosh, in order to attain equity with and defense against the great powers of Europe. Much of Njegosh's modernizing effort took place through the process of enculturation. Njegosh used the viable element of Montenegrin tradition and fused it with the newer and more modern aspects. The end result was a reconstructed tradition. Enculturation, a broadly conceived term was defined by Gutek as:

... informal aspects of education. The informal aspects refer to the total cultural context in which persons are born, nurtured, and brought to maturity. Through the process of enculturation they acquire the symbolic linguistic and value patterns of their culture. 5

Gutek's definition of enculturation will be used by the author of this dissertation.

Prince Nicholas I, the last ruler of Montenegro, is also significant in this study. Heir to the oldest Balkan dynasty, Nicholas was the most formally educated and prepared ruler the country ever had. Though schooled in France, the liberal French atmosphere did not divert his autocratic inclinations which eventually led him to crown himself King. Nicholas I modernized to preserve his dynastic kingdom. Nicholas I

4 For a further discussion of defensive modernization, see Black, pp. 70-71 and p. 121. Njegosh initiated modernization in Montenegro to avoid foreign domination or foreign control. Defensive modernization answers a challenge which is presented by outside sources. Underdeveloped states adopt methods of modern national states in order to preserve and give new direction to traditional institutions without destroying them, and to retain their independence. Black considers the Muscovite and Turkish governments classic examples of defensive modernization.

was deposed November 26, 1918. Montenegro united with Serbia and became part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in December 1918. The union was later renamed Yugoslavia.

Modernization in Montenegro did not reach the level of other West European countries during the period from 1831-1918. It has not been attained even in the twentieth century due to historical and geographical circumstances. Historical analogies are not readily available in the study of Montenegrin modernization. Black regards the use of analogy to be a weak means of explanation for modernization in any case.

This study should contribute to educational literature, especially that of the History of Education and of Comparative Education. It will be conducted as an historical area study of a little known land, Montenegro, located in a potentially explosive country, Yugoslavia, which in turn is located in the historically strategic, but little understood Balkan Peninsula. The transformation from enculturation to formal education will be treated throughout the dissertation both separately and as a part of the efforts of the modernizing rulers to end the primitive, superstitious status of the citizenry in order to encourage reforms to bring Montenegro to an equal status with more civilized societies.

The Balkan Peninsula is a fertile ground for the enterprising scholar. The intense nationalism which has made it a perpetual battleground, the dramatic struggle for intellectual equity of a people who did not participate in the world's intellectual revolutions, as well as the beauty of the indigenous cultures offers many scholarly challenges.
Historians of education, in recent years, have brought an interdisciplinary approach to the writing of educational history and have abandoned the "four walls" approach which viewed education simply as schooling. Education encompasses every human experience, every interaction of man to his fellows and to his environment. It embraces man's intellectual interchange with religious and spiritual experiences. Schooling is but a small part of education. Thus, historians of education study man as well as his institutions. Dealing with the human element necessitates more than a factual recital of events. Each author also brings his experience to his writing. Here too, an interaction is unavoidable but controllable if the guidelines of historical research which can assist the writer in maintaining the correct degree of objectivity are observed.

The reader might raise some questions about the use of folk-poetry and oral tradition as a source of events which may or may not be recorded in other sources. This problem was also encountered by the earliest historians, Tacitus, Pliny and others who used what was available to reconstruct an unwritten past. The choice becomes one of saying nothing or venturing to say something with proper qualifications. Much of our earliest recorded history could not have been written had stringent rules of documentation and verification been imposed. In

6 Educational historians such as Cremin and Bailyn have been among the foremost advocates of the wider view of education which proposes that the history of education should not be restricted to those topics bearing on schools, teachers and formal institutions of education.
examining the record of Montenegrin educational development and modernization, the concept of the historical source must be broadly construed. However, the historical method must be rigorously used in examining these sources.

Yugoslavia, Population and Problems

Prior to a particular discussion of Montenegro, the reader will profit from a brief overview of some of the problems which give credence to the expression, "Powder-Keg of Europe." The Balkan societies which combined to create Yugoslavia, did not share a common historical experience. Some lived under Austro-Hungarian rule, another segment was under continual Ottoman occupation, others were unconquered. There was little to bind the citizenry to a common consensus when Yugoslavia was formed. There were complications created by the three major religious divisions: Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Moslem. The majority spoke a common language, Serbo-Croatian; but while the Serbian areas used the Cyrillic alphabet, others used the Latin alphabet.

The language is divided into three large groups or dialects according to the interrogative pronoun, 'cha' or 'kaj;' hence, Stokavski, Chakavski and Kajkavski dialects. The Chakavski is spoken in Dalmatia and the islands and the Kajkavski around Zagreb. The Stokavski is spoken by the majority of the people and is the basis of the Standard Language, but is not spoken the same everywhere. It is divided into three groups characterized by the pronunciation of the Old Slavic sound, 'jat'. These groups are Ekavski, 'jat' transferred to 'e'; Ijekavski or Jekovski, 'jat' transferred to 'ije' or 'je'; and Ikavski
with 'jat' transferred to 'i'. The Ekavski is spoken in central Serbia and Vojvodina, the Ijekavski in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Lika and other nearby areas.\(^7\) The efforts to create educational uniformity in Yugoslavia has been retarded by the absence of a common language. Regional dialects required textbooks and materials which met local needs. Linguistic diversity as well as a limited economic base has hindered progress toward the unity and integration of the people of Yugoslavia.

Another important factor which hindered the integration of the Yugoslavian population was that those who experienced Austro-Hungarian occupation were exposed to an advanced Western cultural experience. Those subject to Ottoman rule emerged in a primitive status as did those whose freedom was maintained at the expense of intellectual progress. These and other historical experiences created a sectionalism and a psychological barrier among the groups forming the country.

The people of Yugoslavia were descendents of the same Slav migrations as the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and other Slav groups. The migrants came from the Carpathian Mountains and the Dneiper-Vistula Valley of Russia. Some Slavs traveled east, others west and yet others south. The South Slav group, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in particular, developed a separate nationalism because each group developed separately. Their consanguinity gave little basis for consensus.

The creation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918, under the Serbian Karageorgevich dynasty, was a voluntary union of these groups. This combination was also considered a partial solution to the "Balkan Problem." Wilson's Fourteen Point Plan that recognized the principle of a peoples' self-determination was important to the union. The union did not result in a stable state. Internal problems caused by sectionalism and the inability to form a common consensus were complicated by the desire of each population to protect its particular rights and local prerogatives. The Serbs, a majority, thought that the Serbian Karageorgevich dynasty should lead the state. The Serbs were conquerors who threw off Ottoman rule in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and fought with the Allies to the end of World War I. During the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans, the Serbs in Montenegro were never subjugated. The Serbs in Serbia led uprisings to free themselves and neighboring Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina from the Turks and helped free the Banat-Vojvodina area from Austro-Hungarian rule. The Serbian population by virtue of numbers and military prowess, considering itself liberators and conquerors, felt it had won dominant status in Yugoslavia.

The failure to achieve national integration continues to be a problem in contemporary Yugoslavia. Communism was supposed to achieve an ideological as well as a forced integration. Federation under a centralized authority was to have recognized national minorities who would be ruled by a central representative body and by a dictator. Police-state methods, genocide, purges, propaganda, education and even a dose of "liberal Communism" have not enabled Yugoslavia to establish a common unifying base.
The strategic importance of Yugoslavia was again brought to the attention of the world when the famous rift in Russian-Yugoslavian relations took place on June 28, 1948. Russia's continued historical role, "Protector of (Orthodox) Slavs," extended into this century. Yugoslavia was a Russian satellite state though geographically somewhat outside the orbit. The rift was caused by accusations that Tito of Yugoslavia followed a "wrong policy on the principal questions of foreign and internal politics," a "hateful policy in relation to the Soviet Union . . . ." Bitter exchanges which followed made it seem that Tito and Stalin had come to a parting of the ways. The struggle between Western democratic nations and Russia for supremacy sharpened. Yugoslavia stood as a testing ground whose independent national Communism would prove, to a large extent, the strength or weakness of Moscow's hold on its eastern European satellites. Western nations have maintained that Tito's Communism is liberal and favorable to the Western democracies. This position is considered sheer folly by many political experts. The outlook that Yugoslavian Communism is favorable to Western democracies is still held even though Moscow-Tito relations resumed and have been confirmed by economic and political pacts. There are two significant lessons to be learned from the whole event: the first points up the importance of understanding the Balkan area; the second, punctures the myth that Tito would support Western democracies over Russia.

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9 Ibid., p. 4.
Montenegro

Montenegro is presently one of Yugoslavia's six Federated Republics. Its inhabitants are primarily Serbian. In its early history, Montenegro became a separate state after the fall of the Serbian Empire in 1389. Of all Balkan nations, Montenegro was unique in being the only one to maintain centuries of freedom from Ottoman occupation. Some attribute Montenegro's independence to its impenetrable mountains. If that were the case, the same mountains would have maintained the freedom of rugged Hercegovina-Bosnia and of Albania to the south. Others declare that freedom was maintained because offensive armies could not win on the mountain terrain. This also must be discounted because most offensive armies were composed of Albanian Moslems and Bosnian-Hercegovinian Moslems, native mountaineers as agile and as accustomed to the terrain as mountain goats. Austro-Hungarian and French armies were at a disadvantage, but the major French battle was not fought in Montenegro but on the coast in defense of the Bay of Kotor and Kotor. This battle, led by Prince-Bishop Peter I of Montenegro resulted in French defeat.

Testimony to the uniqueness of Montenegrin historical experiences is given by English authors and statesmen as follows:

They rose to where their sovran eagle sails,
The kept their faith, their freedom, on the height,
Chaste, frugal, savage, arm'd by day and night
Against the Turk; whose inroad nowhere scales
Their headlong passes, but his footstep fails,
And red with blood the Crescent reels from fight
Before their dauntless hundreds, in prone flight
By thousands down the crags and thro' the vales.
O smallest among peoples! rough rock-throne
Of freedom! warriors beating back the swarm
Of Turkish Islam for five hundred years,
Great Tsernagora! never since thine own
Black ridges drew the cloud and brake the storm
Has breathed a race of mightier mountaineers.10

On October 18, 1895, Gladstone wrote:

In my deliberate opinion the traditions of Montenegro, now committed
to His Highness (Prince Nicholas) as a sacred trust, exceed in glory
those of Marathon and Thermopyle, and all the war-traditions of
the world.11

The Serbian poet Alexander Shantich wrote:

I kiss your feet and I greet you from the bottom of my heart, cradle
of heroism and illustrious men. Your summits, throughout five
centuries have inspired with hope those who cried in chains and in
darkness . . . . Over their irons, upon the blood running from
their wounds, you have always poured a comforting balm.12

The quotations indicate that Montenegro was important to the
extension of freedom to other Balkan societies and attest to Montenegro's
role in preserving the Serbian national, religious, cultural and political
ideals. Yet, more important for this study is not what happened, but
how and why it happened. To answer these questions, one must explore
the political and intellectual events in Montenegro.

10 Alfred Lord Tennyson, "Montenegro," quoted in William Miller,
11 Ibid.
12 Alexander Shantich, "To Mount Lovchen," quoted in Alex Devine,
Montenegro in History, Politics, and War (New York: Frederick A. Stokes
Company, 1919), p. 63. Devine wrote this volume in defense of Montenegro,
with the thesis that there was an organized conspiracy to stifle the
spread of Montenegrin opinion in England, and claimed that letters and
newspapers calculated to illuminate the Montenegrin situation were
suppressed. Devine's thesis was echoed by many who claimed that Monte­
negro's European prestige was deliberately trampled in order that
political policies toward Montenegro could be justified. This thesis
is important to Chapter VI of this dissertation.
Enculturation was a process which dominated and supported Montenegrin existence through centuries of wars with various enemies. Montenegrins had to cope with geographical, political and military conditions. In order to perpetuate their nation, Montenegrins taught their young the ideals that sustained their culture and that enabled them to master the harsh conditions of life. Enculturation ruled every aspect of life, reaching into the past for its ideals and looking forward to the freedom of all subjugated Balkan people as its final goal. The process bridged all gaps and all generations, producing a unique but also a uniform man. The condition called "uniform" does not imply that the person was a regimented nor a group-oriented person. On the contrary, Montenegrins of the historical period of this study, were independent, extreme individualists and devoted to personal freedom. One might say they were uniformly anarchic individuals until rule by law was introduced and enforced. This model of the Montenegrin differs from the Greek "well-rounded man," because the Montenegrins were single-minded and stubborn men who developed their bodies, not for aesthetic but rather for the purposes of war. Aesthetics had little place in early Montenegrin history. The Montenegrins differed from the Spartan man because they were not regimented and authority-oriented.

The conditions of Montenegrin life necessitated the formation of a man who could survive the arduous life. There was no need to develop a man who could live in a civil and orderly state until the latter half of the nineteenth century. When the civil state was formed and regulated, so were the corresponding educational agencies to produce the kind of citizen necessary to support the new way of life.
The expressions, "Montenegrin Mentality," used by this author, and the expression, "Humanitas Heroica," used by authors encountered in the literature, express an end result of enculturation. Montenegrins developed mental and spiritual attitudes which differed from those in other Balkan societies. The attitudes evolved from centuries of war which called forth means of justifying and enabling the people to live as they did and to preserve the Serbian national and religious ideals. An almost genetic ethic was formed and transmitted from generation to generation. Chapter IV discusses the process of enculturation, its components and its results.

Living in Montenegro did not require literacy nor proficiency in occupations other than those required to maintain physical life. Sheep and goats were raised, and minimal agricultural activity, following the most primitive methods and using the most primitive tools, sustained life. Later, when lands under Turkish control were regained (1858-1878) better agricultural opportunities were available. The quality of the regained lands encouraged development of scientific agriculture. Another effect of the enlargement of territory was the necessity to expand governmental functions to rationalize the state's new resources.

The need for schooling was always recognized by Montenegrin rulers, but the means to support the schools and stabilize them did not come about until after the wars of 1876-78. The need became crucial when the expanded functions of government required a literate and competent civil-service corps. Prior to this, Njegosh began laying foundations for schools. He was a visionary who laid the foundations for the civil state and the supportive educational institutions. Njegosh
died in 1851. From 1851-1859, Danilo II, Petrovich Njegosh, ruled Montenegro. His contributions, though deserving of study, will not be treated in great detail. Danilo's contributions were significant in the elimination of undesirable customs and traditions. Danilo's wife, Darinka, was a Western oriented woman who looked to France for examples. She and Danilo set different examples of court life. His rule was an interim one during which massive internal unrest in Montenegro was equally as disruptive as external European events. Danilo II's period was politically significant, but unrest restricted the progress of schooling.

Cetinje, the capital, began to attract foreign visitors and diplomats who introduced the inhabitants to different models of behavior and manners. Simply living in Cetinje, especially living at the palace, educated one by example. Those who visited or worked in the palace for any length of time, returned to their villages and towns and became models for those who could not directly participate in the innovations introduced during Danilo's rule. Danilo, assassinated in 1859, left no heirs.

Nicholas Petrovich Njegosh became Nicholas I, the first formally schooled and prepared Montenegrin ruler. He was a combination of Western education and Montenegrin enculturation. The two factors produced an enlightened paternal monarch who ruled by a limited constitution. Nicholas ruled for fifty-eight years. He stabilized the school system, brought in scholars from outside Montenegro to prepare teachers, sent students abroad for higher education, and instituted higher education after the necessary personnel and finances
became available. His contributions to the modernization of Montenegro and development of a state supported school system are discussed in later chapters.

It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the Petrovich-Njegosh dynasty was remarkable. The Petrovich line was the oldest hereditary ruling dynasty in the Balkans. Of the line, only one was formally educated, two were schooled for more than one year, the others were literate, and all were self-taught. Each ruler was unusual, but Njegosh reached a plane yet untouched by Serbian philosophers or poets. King Nicholas was an able literary figure and an able ruler. Prince-Bishop Peter I was the most able military ruler, a military genius, and was canonized a Saint whose people revered him. Peter I was considered saintly while alive. The people loved, respected and feared Peter I even though he ruled by personal force rather than by law. Peter I's letters to his people, his diplomatic correspondence and his proclamations are absorbing reading. They expose his torments as Bishop-ruler-warrior. He was tormented by his knowledge of what could and should be, while also knowing that peace, progress and plenty would not be achieved in his lifetime. Peter I was succeeded by Njegosh who had about a year of formal schooling. Njegosh learned from his uncle's example as well as in other ways discussed in Chapter V.

Literature About Montenegro

The literature about Montenegro written by English authors is very interesting but must be carefully used. Temporley, Seton-Watson, Miller and Wilkinson are the most reliable though all the authors should be given credit for their penetration into a region considered a barbarian
land of the head-hunters during that era. Many European sources have based their writing on Austrian sources. Austria, pursuing its "Drang nach Osten" policy unremittingly and deliberately painted a false and terrible picture of the land so that European opinion would agree that such barbaric lands should be subdued by the advanced Germanic culture.

The Memoirs of Ljubo Nenadovich, about 1,500 pages of untranslated letters, poems and stories is a valuable source for Njegosh's travels in Italy. It reveals how a very sophisticated European society viewed Montenegro as well as gave a picture of Njegosh unavailable from other sources. Nenadovich, a scholar and author of great merit, met Njegosh in Italy and accompanied him on his travels through Italy. His is an eye-witness account.

The bulk of the bibliography uses Serbian sources previously untranslated. Especially valuable are the publications of members of the Historical Institute of Montenegro. The institute was formed by eminent scholars in the 1900's to research Montenegrin history of the nineteenth century. The scope of its work was expanded as is evidenced by the titles which date back to the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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15 Ljubo Nenadovich, *Celokučna Dela Ljube Nenadovicha* (Zemun: Stamparija Yugoslavia, 1939). This volume also contains the original short stories and poems for which Nenadovich is famous.
The books are primary sources, being the first and, in some cases, the only existing literature on the topics. 16

Cetinje i Crna Gora, Cetinje and Montenegro, is a collection of studies by Montenegrin scholars who give eyewitness testimony or are first studies of particular problems. This rare volume is especially useful for information about Montenegrin schools. Several authors were teachers, professors, or officers of education during the most intense period of educational activity in Montenegro. 17

The writings of Njegosh and King Nicholas are also valuable sources. Njegosh's, The Mountain Wreath, gives an insight into Montenegrin life, customs, and beliefs and is a philosophical work of great merit. 18 King Nicholas' writings attest to his deep devotion to the Montenegrin past and also introduce new elements of modern poetry.


17 Danilo Vulovich, urednik, Cetinje i Crna Gora (Beograd: Rajkovich i Djukovich, 1927).

Nicholas used themes which are not encountered in earlier Montenegrin folk poetry as well as the usual epic themes, tributes to outstanding heroes and battles. He also wrote a drama, Balkanska Carica, which dwells upon the theme of Slav unity and Balkan nationalism. 19

The resource material is housed mostly in the private collections of Vukale J. Vukotich and Dr. Urosh L. Seffer who generously made their rare volumes available to this author. Many sources were obtained from correspondents in Cetinje and Belgrade.

Gerald Gutek's book, A History of the Western Educational Experience, in which the concept of enculturation was discussed, gave this author the first indication that a paper such as this would be a contribution to educational literature. Gutek's concept of enculturation and his broad views of education as more than schooling, as life's total experience, directed the author to the writing of an educational history based upon that experience rather than simply schooling. 20

The theory of modernization, derived from C. E. Black, was first encountered by this author in a seminar with Dr. Gutek. Though "modernization" is a household word, as are "modern" and "modernity," the theory is difficult and must be presented in the form that it will be applied to this paper. The next chapter will explain C. E. Black's theory and discuss it in terms of its relevance to this dissertation. 21

19 Risto Dragichevich, Savo Vukmanovich, Niko Martinovich, urednici, Celokupna Djela Nikole I Petrovicha Njegosh (6 vols., Cetinje: Obod, 1969). The writings, correspondence and memoirs of King Nicholas I were edited and released for the first time in this series published in 1969.

20 Gutek, A History of the Western Educational Experience.

21 Black, The Dynamics of Modernization.
CHAPTER II

C. E. BLACK'S THEORY OF MODERNIZATION

Chapter II is an introduction to C. E. Black's theory of modernization as it applies to political and intellectual modernization in Montenegro. C. E. Black's theory of modernization presented in *The Dynamics of Modernization* gives a convenient framework to study the transformation of a society from a traditional to a modern political unit. The study of the political aspect of modernization parallels the history of education because education develops and progresses according to the trends set by the society within which it functions. Black defines modernization as:

The process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge permitting control over his environment that accompanied the scientific revolution.22

Modernization, according to Black's definition, is a process by which historically evolved institutions adapt to changing functions which are brought about by man's increasing knowledge. The increased knowledge which permits man to control his environment is an outgrowth of the

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22 Black, *Dynamics of Modernization*, p. 7. According to the broader view of education, the total experience of a people, not simply schooling, may be included in an educational history. Gutek, on p. 9 of *A History of the Western Educational Experience* states: "The history of education properly includes the description, elaboration, and analysis of both the formal and informal aspects of education. The informal aspects refer to the total cultural context in which persons are born, nurtured, brought to maturity." A society's political development is part of its cultural experience.
scientific revolution which had its beginnings in the twelfth century renaissance. The process of modernization did not begin in all societies at the same time nor did all societies modernize at the same rate.\textsuperscript{23}

This dissertation examines the historically evolved political institutions which range between ruler and citizen and the cultural institutions which facilitated enculturation and culminated in a formal educational system centered in schools.

Although industrialization is often equated with modernization, it is too narrow a term to be synonymous with modernization. Industrialization is one example of the changed functions of historical institutions brought about by the scientific revolution. Some societies have undergone industrialization, some are in the process, some have not even begun the process.

Another aspect of modernization, the example used in this dissertation, is the transition in Montenegro from enculturation to a formal system of schools as the means of inducting the young into society. In the modernization process changes in the intellectual, political or any other aspect of activity are complex, interrelated and cannot be compartmentalized. One cannot discuss modernization in any one area of human activity without distortion, unless one carefully indicates relationships among the various aspects of that activity.

Contrasting tradition with modernity is an elementary, but dangerous, means of defining the process of modernization. Both concepts, tradition and modernity, when contrasted, are abstractions

\textsuperscript{23} Black, \textit{Dynamics of Modernization}, p. 10.
because no two societies are exactly alike, and all are in continual change. Black states, "Modernization must be thought of not as a simple transition from tradition to modernity but as a part of an infinite continuum from the earliest times to the indefinite future."\(^{24}\)

Placing a society on a simple continuum that ranges from traditional to modern may lead to simplistic generalizations. Varieties of relationships must be emphasized to avoid a simplistic over-generalization. For example, generalizations about democracy, dictatorship, leaders and followers must emphasize the many and varied relationships between central authority and popular control. All dictatorships are not alike and democracies vary. There are fine gradations of degrees of leadership in the 130 sovereign governments Black studied. The range is from a few influential individuals to those who are totally devoid of initiative.

Black sparingly stipulates definitions, but those given are broad enough to be universal yet not so broad as to be useless. His reluctance to define is no doubt a safeguard against possibilities of the polarization, compartmentalization and distortions discussed in preceding paragraphs. Reviews of The Dynamics of Modernization, all very favorable, brought out the point that more definitions would have enhanced his theory of modernization.\(^{25}\)

Black bases his theory upon a few basic principles. He defines modernity as a "set of characteristics believed to be applicable to

\(^{24}\)Ibid., p. 54

\(^{25}\)See, for example, the review by Arnold Beichman appearing in Christian Science Monitor, December 1966, p. 11.
all societies. When used as a model, this conception of modernity may be used to measure any society. This model of modernity and the model of the major phases of emphasis that confront societies in the process of modernization are derived from uniformities based upon the comparison of the relatively few advanced societies.

No two societies follow the same modernizing patterns in exactly the same way though common elements are discerned in all societies at some time. The theory of modernization is given structure by the common elements. For example, a study of the intellectual aspect of human activity in the United States, Great Britain, and Yugoslavia will reveal common elements in terms of the percent of literacy, expanded communication through numbers of radios and newspapers per capita, the percent of manpower engaged in educational activities, and so on. The common elements are discernable; but the means, the length of time to achieve intellectual modernization, must be understood in terms of the particular society and will differ from society to society.

Modernization is a continuous series of changes accompanying the growth of knowledge and its effects on man's way of doing things. Order is brought to the great complexity of human affairs by thinking of traditional societies as "a pattern of inherited institutions or structures that is relatively static at the time modern knowledge makes its initial impact on it." Modern knowledge changes the functions that traditional institutions performed and the change of function affects the institutions themselves.

26 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 53.
27 Ibid., p. 55.
A modernizing leader might introduce a new theory of pedagogy. The traditional function of the teacher, of the students, of the entire educational hierarchy adapts to the innovation. The adaptations of functions within the traditional institutions of education will eventually change the institution which was static when the modernizing leader introduced the new knowledge.

Another example, this one from the study of Montenegro, illustrates these changes: Njegosh, the ruler of an anarchic, illiterate, isolated people was determined to change their status, to bring the people and the state into an orderly, knowledgable, and stable civil and political condition. The impact of new knowledge introduced by Njegosh, changed the functions of traditional institutions of the clans, brotherhoods, and ruling elite. It also changed the political status, thereby affecting all human aspects of activity and the traditional institutions of Montenegro.

The Revolution of Modernization

The revolution of modernization began during the twelfth century renaissance for West European countries, later for others, and not at all in some. For example, Black states that the unprecedented increase in human knowledge originated in the twelfth century renaissance and that modern history is dated from the 1500's.28 It is because

28 Ibid., pp. 9-10. Black states that "Modern history was at first thought of as starting with the fall of Constantinople or the discovery of America, at sunrise on May 29, 1453, or at 2:00 A.M. on October 12, 1492, if one wishes to be literal but it is now more commonly regarding as beginning "about 1500."
western origins that "Westernization" and "Industrialization" have been used by some as synonyms for modernization. Black believes that westernization and industrialization lack the same level of generality that the term modernization possesses.

The Balkan societies, of which Montenegro was one, began the process of modernization three centuries after modern history began and six centuries after the initial renaissance. The challenge of modernity, followed by the first step toward modern status, the consolidation of modernizing leadership, took place from 1878-1918 in Yugoslavia where Montenegro is now a Federated Republic. Generally, the first step is taken after a major upheaval, a civil war or revolution.

The United States, for example, consolidated modernizing leadership in 1776. The Balkan states did so in 1878, following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Black places countries in a pattern according to the time and the cause of the consolidation of modernizing leadership. He places in the third pattern countries in which the consolidation occurred after the French Revolution and as a direct or indirect result of it. Indirect both in time and impact, one may, nevertheless, trace the conflict in the Balkans back to the French Revolution, both because of the rise of nationalism and because the forces it set into motion led to the eventual dissolution of the dynastic empires, which, in turn, culminated in World War I.

Black's theory begins with the challenge of modernity, is followed by consolidation of modernizing leadership, and then proceeds to economic and social transformation. Black claims that economic
and social transformation, begun in 1918 in the Balkans, is not yet completed. The final step of modernization is the integration of society. No nation has completed the final step. The United States entered the stage of societal integration in 1933, Switzerland in 1932, and Germany in 1933, with other earlier modernizing nations lagging behind. Since modernization is an ongoing process, Black is reluctant to predict final forms of societies. His concern is to study the process in order to find a means of guiding the modernization of societies so that the destructiveness of the process is controlled.

Black doubts that the integration of society will be achieved unless another major upheaval takes place. Recent evidence indicates that this is a possibility. Violence, civil war, and revolution have been a part of the process of modernization in every society. That this should be different in emerging societies or recently modernizing societies, is doubtful. It may be expected that the scores of emerging societies will face upheavals similar to those experienced by earlier modernizing societies.

There is a difference between present modernization and that of the past. Today, human awareness, human desire to share in the material progress evidenced by advanced societies propels modernization. The preservation of cultural values and of identity is of lesser mass concern in this than in earlier eras. The dangers inherent in the process seem to have been more controlled in earlier modernizing nations. Though war was a common fate, social and psychological fragmentation took place over longer periods of time and were not as destructive to human values and human identity as in this era of rapid change.
Modernization In Montenegro

Montenegro's history of modernization is recounted through five centuries of wars, all directed toward the goal of nation-building, independence from foreign control, and consolidation of leadership. The wars of 1912-1913 were the most decisive in the process because they were offensive, independent of outside control, and directed toward territorial expansion as well as the formation of states and consolidation of leadership. World War I sealed Montenegro's fate, ruining the Petrovich dynasty. Both the dynasty and Montenegro collapsed. Montenegro ceased existing as an independent political state after World War I. The events which led to Montenegro's choice to give up its independent status will be discussed in later chapters. The purpose of the preceding is to illustrate the tremendous cost and upheaval for even this small country's efforts toward achieving modern status. Black shows violence to be a consistent factor in every modernizing society. Montenegro did not escape this common fate.

Njegosh, Initiator of Modernization

Montenegro's steps toward modernity were initiated by the ruler, Njegosh, 1831-1851. Part of his modernizing effort was to establish a state-supported school system. The success of the innovations Njegosh introduced was greatly dependent upon changes in the intellectual status of the people. Black states, "Indeed, it is clear that in a sense little has changed except man's knowledge, for the diversity of the physical environment was present before man began to understand its potentialities and evolutionary changes in man and his environment have not been
Njegosh was a transitional modernizing ruler. The concept of modernizing ruler will be discussed more completely in Chapters V and VI. For the present, Njegosh's role will be defined as that of a ruling genius whose travels and reading made him aware that his people and his state could and should change. Though the people were unaware of a different or better way of life and resisted change when it was initiated, Njegosh was determined to bring progress and reform to Montenegro. He was, therefore, an initiator and transitional modernizing ruler whose efforts reconstructed roles of traditional institutions in their initial phases of innovation and reform.

Nicholas I, Modernizing Ruler

Prince Nicholas I completed Njegosh's work after a nine year interim between Njegosh's death and Nicholas' coming to rule in 1860. Nicholas Petrovich was a modernizing ruler whose efforts to bring Montenegro into European political and cultural equity will be discussed in Chapter VI. Nicholas' era formalized a state system of education. During this period, educational progress and educational history were no longer dominated by enculturation. Schooling became the most important factor in Nicholas' program of political and intellectual reform in Montenegro.

Both Njegosh and King Nicholas, though wanting progress and consciously forcing progress upon the people, recognized the importance of the reconstruction and re-ordering of old roles to serve new functions. They both used the traditional institutions as much as possible, forcing,
even destroying, those who impeded the innovations. Sweeping changes in traditional life did not destroy the hierarchy of brotherhood, clan, family, clergy, and ruler. Each unit in the initial period of modernization was left as it was except for one significant modernizing change. First, Njegosh, then King Nicholas, forced the transfer of authority and loyalty from the local unit to a centralized ruling body.

The ability of the centralized ruling body, the state, to directly contact each citizen was dependent upon a bureaucracy. This bureaucracy was composed of former local leaders. In this way, the transformation, though neither easy nor peaceful, was at least less disruptive than a complete turnover of the ruling elite. In Njegosh's period, consolidation of rule was not a struggle between ins and outs, of incumbents and outsiders, but an adaptive process of existing roles and institutions.

Both Njegosh and King Nicholas knew that centralized and rationalized modern state needed legal foundations: first, laws needed to be promulgated; second, they needed to be efficiently enforced; third, a written constitution was adopted. Black, whose theory deals with the political unit rather than abstract concepts of cultures or civilizations, states, "Indeed, the replacement of the arbitrary administration of individuals by a legal system is the hallmark of modernization in the political realm." Montenegro achieved this hallmark of modernization through the process described above.

Law and law enforcement was difficult transformation, unwanted by the people. Njegosh, knowing it to be the first and most necessary

step for consolidation of rule, banished, punished, and, in extreme cases, executed his opponents. His desire to bring law to the anarchic people, to bring knowledge to the unschooled and superstitious citizenry, was so strong that measures to effect the changes were also strong.

Njegosh looked to the future which required centralized functions, internal and foreign diplomacy, rather than constant war to defend the independent status of Montenegro. His vision extended to all Balkan states, to all subjugated people under the control of the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian Empires. Defensive modernization, in this case, was intended to bring the people into an orderly, civilized, knowledgable status which would enable them to survive, to have political independence and equality, and which would enable them to concentrate upon both intellectual and material progress.

Achievements in the political aspect of activity were dependent upon achievements in the intellectual aspect. These, in turn, affected the social and psychological aspects of activity. The interrelatedness of all aspects of human activity cannot be overly stressed. Black gives convenient categories which he calls, "aspects of human activity," in which change may be studied and measured. But he emphasizes that the categories show that none is isolated, but that there are lags, some changing dramatically, others slowly. Changes in the economic, social and psychological aspects of human activity will be referred to in this paper, but they are minor aspects. Political and intellectual aspects of human activity, interrelated and inseparable, are the important areas in which Montenegro's progress is best viewed.
From 1831 to 1918, political and intellectual change was clearly evident in Montenegro. These elements of social change had an effect on Montenegrin enculturation and education.

The educational history of Montenegro also shows a transition from traditional to modern status. Certain aspects of enculturation, or informal milieu education, were gradually absorbed into schooling which became a centralized state function. Education, previously totally determined by tradition, custom, family, clan, and other informal agencies, adapted to the possibilities and needs of the state.

The struggle of intellectual transformation was dependent upon the strength of centralized rule. Taxation, one of the most difficult innovations, instituted by Njegosh, was necessary to the maintenance of schools. It was also necessary to operate the printery, to hire teachers, and to educate necessary leaders and civil servants. This education of leaders had to be accomplished outside Montenegro even throughout the 1890's because of lack of internal agencies for the needed higher education.

When considered in the preceding terms, one might say that an educational history and a history of modernization are inseparable, especially in the earliest stages of instituting formal systems of education where none existed. That the political unit determines the direction of the schooling is evident in every society, regardless of political orientation. Schools are often used to implement state policy, to create consensus, and to establish common core values. The funding, type, and number of schools in Montenegro were determined by the state's financial wealth. Extension of educational opportunity
and the percent of literacy was and continues to be dependent upon the funding ability of the state.

Attempts to achieve equity of intellectual status for the countries which did not participate in the gradual transition from the twelfth century renaissance, through the Reformation, Counter-Reformation, Enlightenment and, Black adds, the Age of Materialism, was difficult. Transformation of a people from belief in superstitious, supernatural explanations of phenomena to rational explanations depended upon elimination of traditional beliefs. The changes in belief, the altered concepts toward authority and of authority, the total reliance upon the past were not significantly re-directed in Njegosh's time. It was not until the return of young students, who were sent abroad to be educated by King Nicholas, that authority, tradition and reliance upon the past were overturned. The steps which led to the deposition of King Nicholas, and the decision of the Montenegrins to unconditionally unify with Serbia, were hastened by student agitation.

King Nicholas was a modernizing ruler but also an authoritarian figure. While he initiated and desired progress, his attempt to control the process of modernization and to direct the destiny of Montenegro failed.

Changes were rapid during Nicholas' rule. Black states that in periods of rapid changes, political leaders exhibit a much greater diversity of origins.31 In this case, transfer of power from old hands to new was desired by the returning students and a majority of the citizens. Common parallels to this case indicate that incumbent rulers

31 Ibid., p. 55.
such as Nicholas are often unprepared to effect pervasive modernization when it will displace self and friends out of traditionally enjoyed positions. However, it is often too late to stop the process once it is initiated. World War I destroyed the already undermined government of King Nicholas. The Montenegrin Parliament voted to depose him and to unite with Serbia November 26, 1918.

The changes in Montenegro reflected the alterations in European political structures. The various balances of power consigned and assigned the area according to political expediency. Montenegro was under Russian protection for several centuries. This alliance both helped and hindered the process of nation-building and the achievement of independence. Russian protection also extended to Russian control. Both Njegosh and King Nicholas attempted to use diplomacy to retain the protection but also to minimize the control.

Tradition and custom played a large part in the Russian-Montenegrin relations. Attempts by leaders to change or even to abandon the relationship were resisted. The citizenry would not support a move away from Russia. Dramatic episodes such as the severance of the Civil-Governorship and the banishment of the "Guvernador" and his family were brought about by attempted breaks with tradition and the ruler's decision to maintain tradition, at the same time consolidating his own rule by eliminating a strong opponent. Black recognizes the importance of mental attitudes in making any changes and asserts: "The modernization of each society must be understood in terms of its own traditional heritage, resources and leadership."\(^{32}\)

\(^{32}\) Ibid., p. 88.
It will be shown that the greatest obstacles encountered in changing Montenegrin institutional functions were concerned with the tenacity with which the people held to traditional beliefs, customs, and, the perpetuation of the enculturative process which was shaped by the past. To preserve what was good and to change what was harmful was not easy. The traditional ruling role did not carry with it any powers other than those of persuasion and respect for the ruler's clerical function. Prior to and, to some degree, even after the introduction of a legal system, the citizens obeyed only when they wished. Some Montenegrin districts rebelled to the extent of secession from the state.

Chapters V and VI will detail the modernizing efforts of Njegosh and King Nicholas with emphasis upon political and intellectual modernization. The history of Montenegro's education will be presented as enculturation, then the transition from enculturation, and finally the institution of a formal state school system. Enculturation taught the young how to survive within the physical and social environment which was static and bound by customs and traditions developed over centuries of historical experiences. The ideals of securing a free and independent state recognized by Europe necessitated changes in the citizenry. The required changes were such that enculturation could no longer serve as the only means of education. There were new demands for survival which required literacy, competent civil-servants, and most important of all, a formal system of education. The struggle to build the schools, to produce teachers, and to educate the population is very dramatic when placed in the context of the barren, poverty-ridden military camp which was Montenegro.
CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Chapter III is a discussion of three important factors which helped establish the process of enculturation in Montenegro and laid foundations for Montenegrin political and educational development. The three factors were geography, the Battle of Kossovo, and the evolution of the ruling role of the Prince-Bishop. The selection of the Petrovich house as hereditary rulers also affected political-educational development in Montenegro.

Geography

Geography played a great role in the destiny of the Serbian people of Montenegro and of all Balkan societies. The geographical situation had a tremendous impact upon the Montenegrin people in that it tended to inhibit the formation of a common cultural core. The Balkan Peninsula, centrally located and easily accessible to Asia, was subjected to great population movements and to outside political penetrations.

Three major mountain ranges, the Balkan Ranges, a continuation of the Carpathian, run south of the Danube in northeast Serbia. The Dinaric Ranges southeast of the Julian Alps, parallel the Adriatic coast, extending inland to the Morava-Vardar depression. The ranges continue inland along the Albanian-Yugoslavian border, extending as the Pindus Mountains into Greece.
The location of the Balkan Peninsula made it a zone of contact between Europe and Asia, a bridge with well defined passages into the mountains that made constant invasions possible. Each invader in turn pushed earlier invaders into the interior and less accessible portions. In these isolated, interior regions, the people developed cultures, avoided assimilation, and were socially and economically backwards. The constant struggle against foreign invaders caused the ardent nationalism for which Balkan people are well known. 33

The majority of the Balkan population is descended from the early migrants who came from various Mediterranean lands across the narrows of the Bosphorus and Dardenelles, from Anatolia, the steppes of Asia, shores of the Baltic, the forested lands of northeast Europe and from what is now Russia. In the first millenium, these migrations were caused by over population and the desire for better land. Of the groups known before Roman conquests of the second and third centuries, B.C., the Illyrians are best known. The Illyrians came from the eastern Alps and settled in Hercegovina and Montenegro. The Roman conquest was beneficial in that internal roads were built to connect strategic fortresses which later became important cities, one of which is Belgrade. Aurelian, Claudius, Constantine, Diocletian and Justinian were Illyrians who rose to become Roman emperors.

The importance of the Balkan lands was enhanced when the Imperial capital moved from Rome to Constantinople in 326 A.D. The line of division between East and West ran through the present state of Yugoslavia following the Drina River from the Montenegrin Mountains to the Sava and Danube Rivers.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, A.D., the Slavic tribes from between the Vistula-Dnieper Rivers, north of the Carpathian Mountains, spread through Europe. Some moved west becoming Russians, White Russians and Ukrainians. The South Slavs became Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and Macedonians.

As Roman power declined, the South Slavs swept back the Illyrians who fled, were killed, or retreated into the isolated mountains. By the end of the ninth century, religious boundaries were established as the Croats and Slovenes became Catholic and the Serbs, Macedonians, Bulgarians, and Romanians became Eastern Orthodox. These religious divisions, partially caused by the geographic boundary between East and West, have an impact felt even today. The area was a zone of weakness under jurisdiction of two churches.

Ptolemy mentions Serbs living on the banks of the River Don, while other sources state that during the time of Emperor Heraclitus, about 620, the Serbs were encouraged to cross the Danube to serve as a buffer against the Avars. In this way also, they replaced the Illyrians, settling in the present Serbian and Montenegrin lands with their first capital at Ragusa. They recognized the nominal authority of the Byzantine Emperor to whom they paid tribute, but lived under their own government, obeyed their own tribal chiefs and followed their own customs.
A loose confederation of tribes governed by tribal chiefs called "Zhupans," became the customary form of leadership. The tribal chiefs were independent and obeyed a selected "Grand Zhupan" when they wished. During the formative years the lack of central authority made them the prey of enemies. As the power of the "Grand Zhupans" was consolidated, the importance of the medieval Serbian empire was heightened.

Serbian lands were extended by conquest and in 1331, the ruler, Dushan the Powerful, ascended to the throne, becoming one of the greatest Serbian rulers. Under him Serbia became a great empire, stretching from the Danube River to the Gulf of Corinth, and from the Aegean to the Adriatic. Dushan was crowned Emperor of the Serbs and of the Greeks, and united temporal and ecclesiastical authority. He consolidated an ecclesiastical empire, designated a patriarchate, and freed the church from Greek control. Dushan gave Serbia its basis of written legislation. He wrote a code of laws, "Zakonik" in which the life, freedom and property of his subjects were secured. The rules, very progressive for that time, also favored the development of learning and trade. Byzantine writers compared Dushan's career of conquest to a raging fire or the course of a river in flood. It is said that his enemies were as much in terror of his name as his subjects were devoted to him.  

Dushan the Powerful attained mastery of the Balkan Peninsula and moved toward Constantinople which he intended to make the seat of his government. Dushan died on December 18, 1356, forty miles from 

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34 Miller, The Balkans, p. 249.
Constantinople, his intended goal. Dushan's successors could not hold the empire together. State by state, the conquered territories fell away, and the Zhupans again became independent leaders. Prince Lazar succeeded Dushan in 1371.

The Battle of Kossovo

Turkish armies defeated the Serbs and Greeks at Adrianople and advanced toward Serbia. Nish, the strategic key to Serbia was captured. The ensuing Battle of Kossovo was to seal the Serbian fate for five centuries. The Battle of Kossovo was the Serbian Waterloo, commemorated in song, poem, story, and even today remains in the hearts of all Serbs. On June 28, 1389, Prince Lazar, Milosh Obilich and the flower of Serbian youth were felled on Kossovo Field. Serbia then fell to the Turks.

The importance of this event will be emphasized throughout this dissertation. Serbian greatness and the Serbian Empire were crushed. Five hundred years of darkness were to cover the land, not only retarding progress, but also eradicating memories of great cultural advances which paralleled achievements in the Western world. The West continued its progress but the Balkans reverted to and remained in a backward state of vassalage. The major intellectual eras of mankind bypassed this area as though it did not exist. Kossovo has been celebrated each June 28 since 1389 wherever Serbs gather and are free to celebrate it. The heroes of Kossovo acquired religious traits: Prince Lazar was identified with Christ, the traitor, Brankovich, with Judas. Kossovo, according to poem and song, was the punishment God sent to the people for their failure to unite. Kossovo became the battle-cry, the rallying point, the dominant factor in the lives and enculturation of
the people. From Kossovo the people formed an ethic, a mental attitude around which a consensus was formed and which eventually led to the united effort which overthrew Ottoman rule.

The separate destiny of the Serbian people of Montenegro dates back to Kossovo. Many Serbs fled to Montenegro which became the haven for those who would not submit to becoming Turkish vassals. These free Serbs founded a fortress in the "Rock" to continue to battle the Turk. Njegosh wrote of Montenegro's becoming the haven for free Serbs as follows:

Is it small offering-of Serbia the whole,
From Danube River to the deep blue sea?
Thou seat thou hast, all wickedly to ride;
Thy blood-stained sceptre is thy boast and pride,
From sacred altar though insultest God,
And where was outrag'd Cross dost rear a Mosque!
Our very shades and relics would'st defile,
Those relics which to shelter men have brought
and Screen'd amid the eternal hills,
Dear shrines reminding of our heroes' deeds?35

Njegosh's verse refers to "relics which to shelter men have brought and screen'd amid the eternal hills." The relics were not only concrete, but spiritual. Relic refers to a spirit which would not allow Kossovo nor its heroes to be forgotten as long as there was life. The ethic of "Crown and Cross" which would not be extinguished caused Montenegrins to maintain their freedom at any cost. This was what Montenegro became after Kossovo. The Montenegrin is Serbian, but being Montenegrin in that era also meant that the ethic, the spirit and the determination to be free or die, was the basis for existence. National and religious ideals preserved Montenegro and gave it the unique historical status which enabled it to survive.

35 Njegosh, The Mountain Wreath, pp. 65-68
Kossovo became an inner moral bond that kept all Serbs in spiritual communion. Aspirations toward liberty were transmitted from one generation to another. The fallen heroes and Cross and Crown, resurrected in song, gave hope to conquered Serbs and helped inflame them to rebel against Turkish rule.

Njegosh wrote that the Serbian fate was God's will. "All was done with honor, all was holy. God's will was seen fulfilled on Kossovo."³⁶ Njegosh wrote of the peoples' rationalization of the battle in a passage which takes place at an assembly at Cetinje while the people dance a Kolo, a Serbian circle dance, while singing:

Our God hath poured His wrath upon the Serbs,
For deadly sins withdrawn His favor from us:
Our rulers trampled underfoot all law,
With bloody hatred fought each other down.
Accursed be Kossovo's Evening Meal;
Far better had it been if from that hour
Our magnates all had disappear'd for aye!

Our God hath pour'd His wrath upon the Serbs!
A seven-headed monster He sent forth
To plague and extirpate the Serbian Name,

All those who still held true to Christian faith,
Who with abhorrence thought of bonds and chains,
All such as these took flight to mountains grey,
To wane and perish and pour out their blood;
'Mid mountains, trust and heritage to guard,
Our sacred freedom and our glorious Name.
Thereto our leaders Providence hath called,
Our Serbian youth as radiant as the stars,
The children of these mountains wild,

³⁶Ibid., p. 80.
In bloody combat falling day by day,
For sake of Honour, Faith, and Freedom dear:
Yet all our tears are wiped away
When skillful guslar comes with rousing song. 37

A line of Njegosh's verse, "When skillful guslar comes with rousing song," has a very great significance to the status of learning among the people. L. F. Waring says of this,

When the night of Turkish rule came, as a literary nation, Serbia became practically extinct. It is true that Montenegro imported a printing press not long after Caxton began his work at Westminster. It was destroyed by the Turks. So were all the other printing presses that were smuggled into Serbia. But the spirit of the nation expressed itself in a swan-song of a remarkable beauty, and the folk literature that came into existence upon the lips of the people, and had its origin not in 'the heads of a few, but in the hearts of all', is one of the most remarkable things of its kind in Europe. The peasant went on telling his stories of bygone glory to the accompaniment of the gusle; and it is characteristic of the race that it was not Dushan the conqueror that was their favourite hero, but Marko, the rejected, having, according to legend, cost his father the throne of Serbia.38

The opening lines of Ogledalo Srpsko, The Serbian Mirror, printed under the picture of a guslar sitting under a huge tree with

37 Ibid., pp. 79-87. Appendix D, pp. 235-240, written by Tihomir R. Georgevich, Professor of Ethnography in the University of Belgrade gives reasons why Kossovo is so important, not only to Serbs, but to all South Slavs. Georgevich's comments include, "The true loss was this, that it was plain that the Turkish power was irresistible, that the Serbian Empire had fallen, that for them all their days were numbered, and that it was Kossovo Field that caused the end of it all." So Kossovo became not only the grave of Serbia but also of the South Slavs, and "There was nothing left but to lie in it." Georgevich further commented that Kossovo is the symbol of freedom of the South Slavs, stating, "Had there been no Kossovo, Europe would have felt the hard consequences of a Turkish invasion." Kossovo was not the final disaster for the Serbs. They did not fall under complete Turkish rule until the mid 1400's. In its fight for liberation and unity the Serbian nation had before its eyes only Kossovo and the catastrophe of Kossovo. The songs of Kossovo have borne the nation on wings from one victory to another. "In Kossovo regained, the Serbian nation saw also the earnest of its full power to carry out its national role."

38 Ibid., p. 84.
young boys around him is translated:

Under the growth of one hundred years,
The past is revived, the soul is healed,
The heart is inflamed.
O that Serb exists despite his trials
To song we give our thanks,
Song has preserved us.\(^{39}\)

Verse, actually history preserved in epic form, played a great role in the enculturation of the people. Under the influence of the folk epics, Serbians developed such a sharp consciousness of their history that past and present seem to mingle. The poetry inculcated a heroic mode of life, the highest value was to fight against the Turk and to seek revenge for Kossovo. The enemies changed but the ideals did not.

As the Ottoman Empire weakened, the aims of the free mountaineers and those Serbs in Turkish provinces became increasingly ambitious. The heroic songs of Kossovo that were carried to all groups played a great part in the maintenance of national consciousness and goals within the occupied groups.

Kossovo was more than a Serbian Waterloo. Kossovo was also defending Europe and Christianity. Nowhere in the epics or accounts does one find a narrow defense of Orthodoxy or an expression of "our church." The Golden Freedom and Holy Cross of Serbian national freedom had wider meaning. The Te Deum which was celebrated in the Church of St. Denis in Paris after the Battle of Kossovo, was based upon false

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accounts of Serbian victory and expressed rejoicing over the victory of freedom for all.  

Europe had not grasped the significance of the Serbian struggle, failing to give aid when needed. After Kossovo, Europe realized that the post between East and West, the gate through which East could break through the West, and vice-versa, was now closed to the West.

When, in 1912, Kossovo Field was finally returned to Serbia, vast numbers of pilgrims went to liberated Kossovo to pay homage to King Lazar, as Saint Lazar, to Milosh Obilich and to the fallen heroes. The vow to take up unification, suspended since 1389, made it seem as though the almost six-hundred years since Kossovo was but a brief pause between the empire of Dushan and the final riddance of the Turk.

Montenegrin Rulers

Montenegro was ruled by Princes from 1360-1516. The Balshas governed from 1360-1422, succeeded by the Crnojevich dynasty which ruled from 1422-1496. Following the Crnojevich dynasty, from 1496-1516, historians disagree about the succession. In 1516, rule was given to Bishop Babylas and from 1516 through 1851, rule was combined in a Bishop who had both religious and civil authority. His title was Prince-Bishop. The Prince-Bishops were chosen by their predecessors and ratified by the people and clan chiefs until 1696 when the Petrovich brotherhood was given hereditary ruling status.

The years from 1496-1516 were turbulent and rarely peaceful. The last Crnojevich rulers were not strong and made marital and diplomatic

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40 Njegosh, The Mountain Wreath, p. 239.
alliances which weakened their commitment to Montenegro. The combination of political and religious authority in the office of the Prince-Bishop in 1516, helped end internal dissent caused by the policies of the last Crnojevich ruler, and restored the confidence of the citizens.

The Prince-Bishop did not govern alone. A civil-governor, subordinate to the Prince-Bishop was appointed. His special duty was supervision of the country's defense. The civil governorship came to be hereditary until 1832 when the officeholder attempted to usurp authority from the young Njegosh who abolished the office. The Prince-Bishop had allegiance only to the Serbian Patriarch at Ipek.

The Petrovich Rulers

In order to avoid elective controversy, the Montenegrin people in the late 1600's gave the power of hereditary succession to the Petrovich brotherhood as dynastic rulers. From 1696 until 1851, due to the religious ruling role, nephew succeeded uncle. This succession was continued even after the ruling role became secular and the Prince could marry. Prince Danilo, 1851-1859, succeeded his uncle, Njegosh. He, in turn, was succeeded by his nephew, Prince Nicholas, who ruled from 1860-1918.

The history of Montenegro from 1696-1918 is also a history of the Petrovich rulers. Each Petrovich ruler was a significant contributor to Montenegrin military, civil, and cultural history. Those who became educational leaders and who established a school system in Montenegro will be major figures in later chapters of this dissertation. Njegosh laid foundations for the school system and was responsible for re-directing the role of traditional Montenegrin institutions. Prince Danilo codified
laws, eliminated undesirable customs, and attempted to expand the availability of schooling to the citizens. His ruling era, 1851-1859, was so unsettled and dominated by military action that progress in building more schools was minimal. Prince Nicholas established a state school system and was able to bring tremendous cultural progress to Montenegro.

Chapter III was a brief overview of three factors important to the understanding of enculturation and the ruling role in Montenegro. The importance of geography, the Battle of Kossovo, and the Petrovich rulers, will be emphasized throughout this dissertation.
Chapter IV deals with the process of education, or enculturation, from 1831-1851, the historical period dominated by Prince-Bishop Njegosh. Education will be examined as a process of enculturation since schools were virtually non-existent. It is necessary to examine the process, the agencies, the content, and the cultural milieu in which enculturation occurred in Montenegro.

The brotherhood, clan, family, and Church led by the Prince-Bishop were agencies of enculturation that propagated the cultural and moral ideals derived from both Kossovo and the historical experience of the people. The gusle and guslar were also important to the teaching of national history and the ideals of heroism and manhood. The Montenegrin woman as a mother and sister had an important role in maintaining the conditions necessary to perpetuate the heroic ethic. The role of Montenegrin women briefly will be examined in order to clarify some misconceptions about the female status in historical Montenegro. Each agency will be discussed as an agency of informal education within the process of enculturation.

Since it was the sole "educational system" available at the time, enculturation was the only means of insuring the survival of an independent Montenegrin citizenry and state. Though an unwritten process,
Enculturation was a regulated and orderly means of nurturing the young and bringing them into the existing culture by providing them with tools of survival and modes of conduct.

Locked in by geography, by war, and by their singleminded devotion to such historic ideals as "Crown and Cross, Golden Freedom," and revenge for Kossovo, as well as the restoration of the Serbian Empire of Dushan the Mighty, Montenegrins developed a moral and cultural ethic. Enculturation was the means of transmitting this ethic which emphasized the concepts of manhood and heroism.

The Montenegrin ethic was an indigenous peoples' philosophy to which Njegosh gave the fullest expression in *The Mountain Wreath*. Since *The Mountain Wreath* was a major source of enculturation, it should be examined at this time. Njegosh's drama has been referred to as both an historical as well as a philosophical epic. The originality of the epic lies not in its theme but rather in its expression. The entire epic is based on the history of the Montenegrin people. It includes the beliefs, superstitions and ideals of the Montenegrins, giving a portrait of their daily lives and thoughts within the broader scheme. From another aspect, the work has been called a "cosmic philosophy" which seeks the answers to eternal questions of man's existence on earth and his purpose.

The peculiar life circumstances of the Montenegrins made it imperative to have a reason, a justification, to live as they did and to remain on a "human" level. The charges of barbarianism, flung at them from all sides, could have been true had there not been a spiritual mission, and had they not developed an ideal of conduct, which for
their times and circumstances, was both noble and humane. 41

The Mountain Wreath of Njegosh tells that Montenegrins were inspired by the belief that there is an individual spark, divinely inspired, which has given and continues to give man the courage to struggle to live freely, to face life bravely, and to die with dignity. Montenegrins believed that a life of emptiness on this earth is as full of horror as is the conviction that emptiness exists in death. They were unwilling to face present emptiness and eternal extinction as well. The "empty life" would deny them the honored position of being man, created in God's image, and would deny the existence of God. 42

A Montenegrin ethic developed which justified life and death in their circumstances, which separated them from a sub-human, savage life, and which satisfied their souls. The accumulation of material possessions was not considered in the ethic. Frequently, they struggled with inadequate provisions and endured daily combat without either

41 It is to be remembered that the Montenegrins fought defensively, seeking to remain free and unoccupied. Much of the original Montenegrin territory was Turkish or Austrian occupied. They had little fertile land and no means of manufacture. They raided Turkish occupied areas for food and captured weapons in battle.

42 Njegosh, The Mountain Wreath, pp. 191-197. The narrative of the blind Abbot Stephen on pp. 191-197 is considered one of the most beautiful and also one of the most complex sections of Njegosh's writings. "What is Man?" 'tis his to be a Man."/Small creature he, and by the Earth deceiv'd,/While Earth herself is not forever his./ The translator, Wyles, comments upon this passage stating: "Man is not created for this earth alone, but for a better world, and although he must live on it and be a man, he is nevertheless a weak being liable to be deceived by earthly things, and not finding therein his heart's desires; thus is he led to see that this earth is not his final goal, that here ... ." For further commentary about Njegosh's expressions, religious, and moral beliefs, see Chapter V of this dissertation.
munitions or supplies. Their chief sustenance came from their beliefs and values.

Enculturation, transmission of values and knowledge from one generation to the next, gave them the reason to live as well as the tools for survival. The social, political and religious foundations of Montenegro were maintained through enculturation. The change from this system of informal education to a system of formal education was a gradual process initiated by Prince-Bishop Njegosh and will be discussed in Chapter V of this dissertation.

Social Structure in Montenegro

A social structure based on clan and kinship was the dominant socio-political structure in Montenegro at the time of Njegosh's accession to power. Some clans were pre, some post-Kossovo, the latter composed of "Uskoci." Njegosh worked to centralize political authority and to reduce the autonomy of these clans.

The clans were formed from blood groups called brotherhoods which occupied a natural geographic area named after the clan. The brotherhood was made up of the closest blood relatives who descended from a common ancestor and who celebrated the same "Slava" or Patron Saint Day. Unique to Serbian Orthodox Christians, the "Slava" is the most important family feast day, second only to Christmas and Easter. The day is celebrated in honor of the Saint in whose name the first family accepted Christianity. The Patron Saint is the family's patron

43"Uskoci" is translated, those who jumped in. These were Serbian guerillas of a strong and warlike element.
honored by all descendents. The section about religion in this chapter will discuss the "Slava."

Interests aside from blood held clans together. Protection against the Turks, protection of property, even protection from other clans, as well as economic interest united them. Common battles, common experiences, and a common core of tradition gave a strong feeling of unity to individual members.

Clans were self-governing, independent entities. Democratically organized, the clan assembly was the source of power and order. The assembly was made up of representatives of brotherhoods. The elected clan chief, usually called, "Voivoda," was the most eminent clan figure, chosen because of demonstrated leadership qualities, military prowess, and, no doubt, represented the most populous and powerful brotherhood.

The clans and brotherhoods were armies. Every mature boy was a soldier. The most necessary and most prized quality was heroism. In their quest for heroism, clans competed against clans and brotherhoods against brotherhoods. To be more courageous, individuals sought to "cross the hero's path into the eternal land of poetry." All clans had glorious moments and had examples of heroes who lived in eternal history and song.

Blood feuds were a divisive and a very common part of life. Blood hatred, when incurred, extended to every male of a brotherhood, even a clan, making every member responsible to exact vengeance upon the members of the opposing brotherhood or clan. Very ceremonial and solemn procedures existed to settle blood feuds. Blood feuds were forgotten only in the most difficult circumstances, those which
threatened survival.

From the fall of Kossovo, 1389, through the rule of the Balsha, Crnojevich, and Petrovich dynasties, territory was lost and gained. Old Montenegro gradually became the center of the state. The Petrovich brotherhood was from the Katun Clan located near Cetinje. The Petrovich Prince-Bishops provided leadership and formulated the state concept.

The clans outside Old Montenegro, the Rijecki, Ljesanski, and the Crmnicki, recognized the nominal-spiritual authority of the Prince-Bishops, as did the clans of the Highlands and Hercegovina. The Bijelopavlichi and the Piper clans of the Highlands were the first to unite with Old Montenegro, joining after a united victory against Mahmud Pasha Busatlija, in 1796. Later the other clans joined the state. Time and war brought in Grahovo, 1858, Niksich, Rudine, Zupa, Drobnjak, in 1877, then the outlying areas of Kuchi, Zeta, Bar, the outlet to the sea, and Ulcinj.

Underlying the governing units was the family, the most fundamental and important social unit. The family structure played the most important role in shaping the individual who was born into family, brotherhood, and clan, and had to learn to be a functioning unit within the structure. The family was composed of the closest extended kinship units, led by one elder. The grandfather, grandmother, sons, and their families and unmarried daughters were household members. In rare cases,

44 See maps, Balkan Status 1800-1913, p. 52 of this study, and Central Europe-East Europe 1800-1916, p. 53. Scutari, Skadar, was Balsha I's capital. The capture of Skadar was King Nicholas' major goal in the Balkan War of 1912.
Nominally independent of Montenegro but populated by Montenegrin clans which joined Montenegro in military and political affairs and were religious subjects of the Montenegrin Prince Bishops.
due to a quarrel, families divided. This was not usual or socially approved. All division went according to the eldest male, the younger ones setting out to establish their own household.

Enculturation occurred within the agencies of the clan, brotherhood and family. When schools were established, they became a secondary means of education and also contributed to the enculturation of the Montenegrin child. The importance of the family and home is well illustrated by Njegosh who said:

The man defender is of wife and child;
Altar and Hearth a people must safeguard
And Honour is a Nation's sacred charge.45

The wife and child are defended by man, Church and country by the people, the peoples' honor by the nation.

Blood ties are the strongest unity among Serbian people. Those who came from one elder, even generations removed, are close blood kin. The Serbian language reflects the importance of the kinship. It specifically identifies each relationship so that there is no doubt as to position. There are no general terms for aunt, uncle, cousin, or in-laws. Each has its own name which identifies position; that is, the mother's brother, mother's sister, children of the mother's brother or sister. One can never confuse the mother's side with the father's side who also have specific designation. Because of the regard for blood, tradition and church decreed that intermarriage with any kin up to the tenth generation is forbidden. Genealogy could easily be recited as far back as twenty generations by some family member. This was very

45 Njegosh, The Mountain Wreath, p. 194
important, because as a descendent of the first ancestor, especially if he was distinguished or remembered in song, poetry, or story for heroism, the relationship bestowed his honor upon descendents. They, in turn, had a holy obligation, not only to the illustrious primary ancestor, but to all descendents, not to dishonor the "house". Just as one basked in the glory of honorable deeds of relatives, so could one be eternally cursed for bringing disrepute to all. The lack of written laws did not mean there was no regulation of conduct. Enculturation provided rigid regulation according to societal norms.

The Gusle

The significance of the hearth, the most important part of the house, probably dates back to pagan times when it was an altar. The fire in the hearth was never allowed to die out, burning continuously. Evenings were spent around the hearth with elders taking the first place. Elders spoke or sang the history from Kossovo onward. The history was intended to inspire the young. Tales of heroism, of manhood, of suffering, of battles and war were endlessly told in every household. The gusle was played and the guslar sang, women and children standing in the presence of the gusle and guslar. The illiterate bards sang from memory the ballads learned while young, singing in the exact way as they sang in past centuries. The gusle were kissed and revered. Still repeated is the saying, "Where there is no gusle in the house,
in it are dead both honor and the men." The gusle, the guslar, the elders were all teachers. The lessons were from the past, perpetuated the ideals, taught conduct, morals and history.

The Church

The Church combined Orthodox doctrine and the life experience of the people. Eastern Orthodox doctrine must have had a strong appeal to the early inhabitants who chose it over Western Catholicism. Prior to 1389, there was lively communication and commerce with the West and with the Popes of Rome. It is recorded that an earlier Serbian ruler received his crown from Pope Hildebrand and that there were Papal missionaries in the land. That there was a strong Catholic movement is attested to by the simple fact that the Serbian lands divide East from West, and that then, as now, they are bordered by Catholic areas. The historical period, in song, in verse, in proclamations of rulers, in Njegosh's last will, indicates the deep esteem for the Christian brother. Blood was more important than religion. Even the Turk was not hated because of religion. He was hated because his religion taught him that those who did not follow Allah were infidels to be oppressed and conquered. This Turkish oppression and aggression generated the strong enmity of the Serbs.

46 Professor Vlajko Vlahovic, Porodicni Zivot Kod Srba (Munchen: Dr. Peter Belej, 1954), p. 30. Translated by this author. The author saw that in 1954, the gusle were still an important part of Montenegrin life. Many evenings were spent listening to the bards and epics. The author's uncle gave her a gusle which he hand-carved. On the gusle was inscribed, "In memory of Kossovo, 1389." Carved figures of Czar Lazar and Milosh Obilich, the heroes of Kossovo, were centered around a cross and topped by the Serbian crest. The process of enculturation with the gusle and guslar as enculturative agents, was obviously in full force in 1954.
The Mountain Wreath was based upon the historical event of ridding the land of Moslemized Serbs, a powerful enemy. The work also indicates the respect for other religions. Njegosh, in no line of the drama, degraded Islam. He allowed his Turkish characters to praise it in some of the most beautiful passages of the work. The following lines illustrate why the Turk was despised.

Either take sherbet from the Prophet's cup, 47
Or wait his stroke of axe between thine ears.

The Turkish, Skender-Aga justifies this thusly:

What cup at once yields diverse drinks—
What cap at once upon two heads is worn?
The lesser stream doth run into the larger,
And mingles with it, losing e'en its name,
'Til nameless both, when they do meet the sea. 48

Skender-Aga is saying that the Prophet's cup has one purpose, that when one accepts Islam, nationality and blood disappear, that it is right for the smaller to be absorbed into the larger, both losing all identity except that of religion.

Recognizing neither nationality nor any other religion, Islam was a movement which did not recognize as human any who were not adherents. Those who converted were given equal place and privilege within the Empire. Those who did not convert were forced to submit, to become "raya," slaves. If they paid tax and tribute, they were not harmed. Tax and tribute impoverished them so that they barely existed;

48 Ibid., p. 114
those who could or would not pay were exterminated. The Serbs of Montenegro refused to pay tribute because it meant they were not free. This was an insult to the Prophet, so the "stroke of axe" fell upon them for centuries. Religion did not obsess the Montenegrins. In song, in poetry, especially in Njegosh's works, Christianity, not the Orthodox religion, was defended. One died in the name of God or Christ, not in the name of the Church. In ballads, in the letters of Njegosh and his predecessors this was a strong theme. The ballads speak from "argumentum ex-silentio," in that the recorded pre-World War I ballads do not anywhere mention or deal with battles between Christians. It was considered so shameful that this could happen, that no one sang of the battles, even the victories. Oral tradition did not record battles with Christians. Never in their history did this people wage an offensive war against a Christian nation. Offensive wars against even the Ottomans did not take place until the late 1800's.

While the Serbs of Montenegro were very religious, they were not dogmatic. Choosing Orthodoxy, they molded it to their unique historical experience and made it a domestic religious experience, a part of daily life. The experience developed a Serbian Orthodoxy which observes the "Holy Mysteries" of the church and the Great Lents, but which also has its own Holy Days, Saints, and which gave religious significance to its national ideals and quest for freedom.

The household was religious. Prayers, some composed by members in honor of their particular saint, or prayers of the Church were recited before and after meals, upon arising and retiring and before any task or journey was begun. The words, "With the help of God," or, "If God
wills," are prayers. Fasts were strictly observed, especially the Great Lents before Christmas and Easter.

When there were no calendars and when illiteracy was the norm, there were some in every village who knew every Holy Day and who could "figure" Easter. They were highly respected, it was an honor for a mother whose son could be a "calendar."

Each family traced back their common origin and celebrated the same "Slava." "Slava," earlier discussed, was very important and was celebrated by a gathering of friends and neighbors who came to wish householders a "Sretna Slava." The greeting means that the Slava, the Patron Saint who is being honored, should protect the house and bring health and blessings. The same form is observed today with the same greeting.

Great Lents were very important and prescribed. Those who did not observe them were censured by others. Fast days were observed in peace and war, in famine and plenty. Children, except those who nursed, fasted. The sick attempted to avoid breaking the Fast which is observed by eating no meat, meat products, cheese or eggs.

The famous Voivoda Novica Cerovich, commemorated in many ballads, was extremely ill during a Fast. King Nicholas sent a physician to him from Cetinje. The physician asked the "domacica," female head of the house, what the Voivoda had eaten. She replied, "It is Lent." The physician urged her to give him some milk, but none of the householders dared to do so. The physician then verbally approached the Voivoda, telling him to eat and drink. Voivoda Novica replied:
Is that why you came from Cetinje, to talk me into poisoning myself during Holy Lent? I have passed ninety years without doing so. If that is why you went to school, to lead men to sin, then you have learned well. Novica's reply tells his religious attitude and also infers that schools should leave custom and tradition alone. Fast days did not mean only abstinence from food, from work, but householders were on guard not to utter a "heavy word," or to commit any wrong.

The young were taught by example and by participation in religious life. They listened with great interest when faith was discussed, learning what needed learning and absorbing all else through daily life. Priests and monks were highly regarded. They went among the people teaching and preaching what they knew.

The many old churches and monasteries, built by rulers as an obligation to God, in memory of an event, or an ancestor, were rich with icons and frescoes. Icons and frescoes played a great part in the national education of the people. The old churches were visited by all. They saw icons of Biblical happenings, saw the sainted Serbian rulers and heroes. The clergymen interpreted the meanings and taught them both history and religion when they went to the churches.

The Priest's visit to a household was an important event. The house was prepared and cleaned. All householders kissed his hand when he entered. If he were coming for a religious ceremony, it was an especially honored visit. The clergy in Montenegro, as in all Serbian lands, came from the people and were expected to be leaders in politics and in war. Frequently clan leaders, they were always among the most

49 Vlahovic, Porodici Zivot Kod Srba, p. 42. Novica Cerovich was a heroic Montenegrin figure. He beheaded Smail Aga Chengich.
important and respected clan spokesmen. In a land where all men were soldiers, clerics too were men among men.

The society in Montenegro had only two classes, clerical and non-clerical, leaders, especially the Prince-Bishop, and non-leaders, not to be interpreted as followers. The historical evolution of the ruling role was discussed in Chapter III, the significance of the role will now be discussed.

The Prince-Bishops, going back only to Peter I, had a history of being able warriors. The most able, Peter I, 1782-1830, called the "Balkan Napoleon," led every Montenegrin battle, losing none during his rule. He was an orator, lived among the people, taught them, led them, and was the most distinguished among them. His clerical role supported by his military and manly bearing, his personal qualities, oratory, and strength of will, were his sources of authority. The obedience he received was given by the free will of the people. The more they respected him, the more they obeyed him. Though Peter I was known and respected in Europe, the fact that he was desperately feared by the Turks and his enemies was of greater importance to the Montenegrins. The people knew little of Europe, of diplomacy, being concerned only with immediate dangers. The citizens were illiterate and unaware of outside events. There were no newspapers even for the few literate citizens. The borders were carefully guarded so that newspapers and outside literature could not be imported into Montenegro. Turkey and Austria enforced Montenegrin isolation.

Isolated from all outside news and events, the people concerned themselves with what they saw and experienced. This contributed to
their inability to form ideas of state and central government. Some Priests were also illiterate. Participation in religious ceremonies did not necessarily mean the cleric was literate. Priests often memorized the Liturgy since the lack of even church books made this necessary. Monks residing in the monasteries were probably literate since whatever teaching occurred took place in the monasteries. Njegosh's Priest Micho, who was ridiculed for his inability to read a letter, said:

Vuk, 'twould seem thou'rt poking fun at me!
But as the teaching, so the reading!
If I had had a better master,
I should have been a better reader.
To speak the truth, no Liturgy I read;
Nor do I need for service any sort of book;
Nor should I need to open it in church;
I've learnt it all by heart quite well.
The Liturgy and Baptisms and Marriage,
And other things of not the same importance!
Thus when for things like these demand is made,50
I can them sing out like tuneful bird in glade.

The Serbian Priest, Matija Nenadovich, father of the author of Ljubo Nenadovich, records in his memoirs, "I served and ruled, was Priest and leader in war, traveled doing the work of the people and fought in dangerous wars."51 No clerics leave an account or memoirs of a peaceful life of contemplation nor of tending gardens nor working in scriptoria. Formed by their times and circumstances, there are many accounts of priests riding wild horses, themselves as wild and formidable as their mounts. So too was Peter I, but he became a Saint.

50Njegosh, The Mountain Wreath, p. 182.
51Matija Nenadovich, Memoari (Beograd: Nolit, 1966), p. 84. Written between 1787-1806, this book is an excellent historical source. Translated by this author.
It was from his uncle that Njegosh saw that the bridge from bloody warrior to Saint could be crossed. The expression, for the "Holy Cross and Freedom Golden," inseparably united the religious and national life, creating the uniquely Serbian Orthodoxy. Religious survival meant national survival.

The Church was the greatest preserver of the people, its traditions, its life. The Church was the people. If the Church succumbed, the people perished. Its visible form was the Prince-Bishop. He was the symbol, the guardian of tradition, of "Holy Cross and Freedom Golden." The Prince-Bishop was the spiritual ruler, in fact, and the temporal to a much lesser degree. Invoking his spiritual role in moments of extreme despair, cursing the people, thundering dire invectives which foretold of future evils, the people obeyed. They feared the curses of the Holy Man, especially Peter I, who was called Holy and Sainted even while alive.

Njegosh preserved this facet of life, recording the oath administered by Serdar Vukota before the work of battle began as follows:

Keep well in mind, O Montenegrins
Who shall be strong in deeds he shall be best!
Who basely shall betray our leader,
Let each created thing to him be stone!
May mighty God by His great power
Change all the seeds placed in his field to stone!
Changing too the forming babe in womb to stone,
Or let his progeny be lepers!
Then shall the people point at them with finger!
Let every meanest trace of him be blotted out.
E'en as we find no more a horse like to King Marko's!
Let ne'er within his room a rifle more be slung.
Nor any man of all his house e'er die on honour's field!
For manly head his kin shall vainly yearn!
Brothers, who plays false unto these heroes,
Heroes who 'gainst our foe the first stroke strike,
The shame of Brankovich shall fall upon him,
For him our Holy Fasts be but affairs for dogs,
And let his tomb be grounded deep in hell!
Brothers, he who is false unto these heroes,
Nor Slava-wine nor consecrated bread shall e'er be his!
No Christian hope for him! A dog's creed be for him!
Let blood be poured out in place of wine
Upon his Yuletide log!
Let all the joy and pleasuance of his Slava Day
In grief consume away!
Let him eat not of lamb but his own kin
Upon his festal day!
Let winds of madness whirl him far astray
From Wisdom's pleasant way!
Brothers, he who is false unto these heroes,
May dirt and rust and squalor e'er possess his house!
Behind his stiff, cold body and behind
The corses of his kinsfolk may there follow
Mourners untrue and hearts all insincere
Telling their lies always! 52

Using the language of the people, their beliefs and fears, Njegosh wrote the curse which was based upon values, touched upon the customs, and also illustrated the strength of belief and superstition. Curses were taken very seriously, especially those of a cleric.

The Church was a powerful instrument of enculturation which, through the Prince-Bishops and clergy, gave holy meaning and holy sanction to the teaching of the home and society. It may be said that the Church was the most instrumental in setting the norms for life in Montenegro, as in all Serbian areas.

The agents of enculturation thus far discussed have been family, brotherhood, clan, the guslar, and the Church. The home, of course, was the foundation of the process. The child grew up in a home which equipped him for his life. He was surrounded by relics, old weapons, pieces of clothing, or a banner which belonged to an

honored ancestor. Everything was a teaching-learning experience, even the games were feats of strength and agility. Pleasure was derived from the festive gatherings, from gathering around the hearth listening to stories and epic ballads. Life was not frivolous, and none were idle. Even those who sat and talked or sang, even the oldest citizens performed a necessary job. Their talking and singing had a point. It was never a case of conversation to be pleasant or light, nor were the songs of love or frivolity. Everything done and said centered around the historical past, the holy mission, and was intended to teach and preserve both. The young, hearing of and knowing nothing else, absorbed their lesson with the air they breathed.

Moral Ideals

The moral ideals of the home and society were honor and face, (image). Man was born in God's image. Who kept his image kept God within himself. No wealth could replace this image, or face. There is a saying, "All for one's image, but one's image for nothing." One had to be able to look all men in the eye. This carried with it all the virtues of honor, honesty, keeping one's word, being courageous, and being manly. One's image was enhanced by one's deeds. In the latter form, image became reputation, but also, glorious deeds made glorious images therefore, glorified God. Men took oaths to affirm their sincerity saying, "Obraza mi," by my image, which is my dearest possession.

All were concerned with reputation. Recall that the structure was such that the shame of one brought shame to all. This was a heavy burden. It has been known that a member who committed a dishonorable deed, or an immoral deed, was sentenced to death by his kinsmen. Some
were exiled, cast out, acceptable to none, finding comfort from none. With the highly structured moral-social code were sanctions which bound the citizenry in steel bonds. The obligation to God, family, and the entire social milieu, as well as the obligation to the past, could not be escaped.

The highest moral virtue, was "Chojstvo" or manhood, and "Junastvo" or heroism. Heroism is a broad concept. The hero must first be a man. A bandit may be courageous. Heroism in war is not enough. The Turk was heroic in battle, but he was not always considered a man. The manly hero was the aim of every house. He was the created masterpiece, the pride of life. The dead hero, though mourned, was also a source of joy. Those who did not comport themselves in manly fashion were cursed.

Modern Serbian dictionaries do not include the word, "Chojstvo." It is a uniquely Montenegrin expression, difficult to define, easier to describe. To say that "Chojstvo" described the moral, honorable man who was courageous and dealt with man in manly fashion, again leads to the question, what is manly? Njegosh, the eternal teacher, devoted many passages to this concept. Voivoda Drashko's discourse about his visit to Venice illustrates many elements within the concept. The type of questions Njegosh put in the drama reveal the values held. The characters asked Drashko about the character of Venetians: were they valiant, was he welcomed, were they just, did they enjoy the gusle? The answers to these questions excerpted from The Mountain Wreath serve to describe Montenegrin life:
Voivoda Drashko speaks:
Brothers, many a handsome man I saw,
But ten times more of ugly folk;
Many a rich man was there too,
Whose wealth indeed had made him mad,
Made him like a silly child.
On every hand the poor did stand,
Toiling hard with sweat of brow,
Simply to earn a crust of bread.
Two men I saw between them bearing
Some kind of female on their shoulders.
Seated in chair so round and lazy,
She weighed close on three hundred pounds!
All through the streets they carried her,
In daylight broad now here, now there,
Regardless of all manly honour,
Simply to earn a crust of bread.

The houses and surroundings were described:

No finer houses in the world!
But with it all in pain and need;
All closely pack'd are they together,
'Mid odours bad and noisome air;
Pale and bloodless, too, their faces.

Of their heroism he said:

Of heroism be nought said!
With speeches fair they did decoy our brothers;
Enticing, and then trapping them
Yea, our falcon brothers poor
From Dalmatia and Croatia,
Crowding their ships all full of them,
And pushing them across the world;
Thus did Venice heap up riches,
Her will impose on towns and cities!

Of the Courts of Justice:

Just, may be, but God help thee,
If thou wouldst not Turkish justice
In them not to come!
A monstrous building there I saw,
Where they did make and fit out ships,
Where many thousand wretches toiled,
Weighed down by clank of heavy chains
They worked on vessels for the Prince;
Dreadful it was to stand there by,
Because of cries and lamentations,
Some of these prisoners were made fast
By chains to huge, high-towering galleys,
Which on silver sea they row'd,
They scarce might move a single foot;
But like a dog chained to his kennel.
Yet worst of all their dungeons were;
Deep down beneath the Doge's palace;
The foulest pits thou couldst imagine
Might not compare with these vile prisons.
A horse could not live long so kept,
And who would tie his dog down there!
Yet wretched men are stabled in them,
Ay, men are shackled there below,
And drowned too in those dread holes.
A curse upon them! I am numb
Whene'er I contemplate their horrors.
None dare compassionate his brother,
And still less come unto his aid.
I saw brave men suffer thus,
My heart was pained, and out I cried:
Ye heathens all, what make ye here?
Why not boldly kill them off,
Than torture men upon this wise?
Then Grbichich, he said to me:
"Let not such words escape thy lips;
The truth to speak is here forbidden."
These dungeons drear have taught to me,
That such men must have greatly sinn'd.
Therefore shall their Kingdom fall,
Fall into hands not so defil'd!53

Voivoda Drashko laments the unmanly work thrust upon a man to earn a crust of bread in the case of the litter bearers. Then he sorrows for the chained, imprisoned people who were shut in dungeons, treated like dogs, questioning why they were not boldly killed, in manly fashion, dying a manly death rather than being so degraded and suffering so. He prophesies that the kingdom will fall because of such deeds. When asked about the gusle, Drashko replied, "Gusle in Venice! What thinkest thou? I never heard the word once named."

53 Ibid., pp. 146-158.
Vuk Michunovich replied:

Without gusle, for no game in the world
Would I give a Turkish farthing!
A house which hath no gusle tones, 54
There all is dead and dry as bones.

As the discussion continues, honesty, good will, and fidelity of promises are mentioned.

Manhood, from the elaboration in The Mountain Wreath, also emphasized freedom, unfettered and unbound lives of dignity as opposed to servility, and to kill rather than torture. There were no jails in Montenegro, prisoners were never taken nor kept, nor were enemies tortured. A dignified death for one's self and one's enemy was highly regarded.

Attitudes toward servility may also be discerned from what the folk poetry did not say. Servility was not a part of Montenegrin life. Expressions such as, "servant mine," or any expressions of humility are never found. Another illustration of this attitude is found in the writings of Ljubo Nenadovich who described Njegosh's travels in Italy. Nenadovich related that the Pope gave instructions that everything was to be opened to the monarch, Njegosh, that he was to be well received wherever he went. It is suggested that the Pope made it known that he would meet with Njegosh, but that Njegosh declined. Nenadovich and Njegosh visited St. Peter's Cathedral and were escorted to the most important sites. Nenadovich relates:

One afternoon we were outside Rome, visiting a monastery from whose terrace one had a beautiful view of Rome. Returning, passing near the bridge, San Angelo, all at once the coachman halted the carriage,
got down and opened the doors asking us to exit. "Why," the Bishop asked. "The Holy Father is passing, He will come this way," answered the coachman. "Let him pass, he goes his way, we go ours," the Bishop answered. A Mr. Djurchich who was with us immediately got out. The coachman seeing that the Bishop would not get out became afraid. Djurchich told the Bishop this was customary and ordered, that all stood when the Pope passed, that even Princes and great English Lords did so. The Bishop closed the door of the coach saying, "By my faith, I will not shame that small Montenegrin people. Let the Pope go, let those descend who have always descended, but the Montenegrin Bishop, in truth, will not!"55

Nenadovich also relates an episode in the church where the chains of St. Peter were kept under guard. The Serbian people have a Holy Day in January dedicated to the "Holy Chains." The Monk who guarded the relic, showed the chains to the more prominent visitors who reverently kneel and kiss them.

The Monk solemnly and reverently removed the chains from the chest, proferring them to the Bishop. The Bishop took the chain, extended it measuring the length and testing the strength saying, "They truly chained him well." He returned the chain to the monk who asked, "Will your holiness not kiss them?" The Bishop replied, "Montenegrins do not revere chains."56

The passages tell of Montenegrin attitudes toward servility and freedom, but also indicate why Montenegrin rulers had so much difficulty in introducing centralized rule. Njegosh himself valued the same principles, therefore, when he set out to modernize, he was careful to retain them, to transform them and to work within them, preserving what was best within the culture, simply giving it new direction.

The more noble aspects of Montenegrin life also had an evil counterpart in the barbaric custom of headcutting, which continued in

55 Ljubo Nenadovich, Celokupna Dela (Zemun: Yugoslavia, 1939), pp. 516-520. Translated by this author. Some say that Nenadovich presents a highly romantic view of Montenegro.

56 Ibid., pp. 508-509.
force until Njegosh prohibited it. Even then, it continued because of custom and because it was feared the Turk would consider that they had weakened if they discontinued the practice. At one time, the ramparts of Cetinje were decorated with withered Turkish heads, a disconcerting sight to visitors. Njegosh knew that European good opinion was necessary to his plans and attempted to stop the practice. It is said the Montenegrin soldiers were often urged by dying comrades to decapitate them so that they would not be shamed by having their heads taken as Turkish trophies. The Mountain Wreath tells of the awful death of Batrich, a valiant soldier, who was decapitated through trickery. He was not lamented as much because he was killed as for the manner in which he died. Batrich was a young man, very brave and much respected. His death is thusly recorded:

Nowhere in all these lofty hills
Was bred a youth unto our Batrich rival;
He was in truth a very winged hero;
I've watched him leaping with his comrades;
His standing jump was fourteen feet
And running, he did twenty-four.
He'd clear three horses with one leap!

Vuk Michunovich continues:

Such a grey falcon n'er before
Did Montenegro bring to birth!
Such balance of fine qualities
That he more handsome was than good,
Less kindly he than he was wise
Which one of us would dare to say
Side by side six times were we
When powder blazed into our eyes
And death was hurtling all around
Such iron brow I ne'er had seen;
No other youth so stood his ground.
He hardly had begun with life,
Yet all his comrades on the field
To him first place were bound to yield.
Turkish heads, some seventeen,
He had taken in the wars.

Then the horrible death is related:

O God that he should meet death thus!
How could he ever trust the Turks?
Or e'er rely upon their honour?\textsuperscript{57}

Batrich was an ideal man, one of honor, beauty, courage, kindly and wise. He was lamented because he deserved an heroic death rather than being betrayed and decapitated by the Turks. Batrich's sister laments:

Why throw thy handsome head away?
Thou princely spirit!
O'er thy head now gloats the foe,
Our boast and pride!\textsuperscript{58}

Death was an everyday reality in Montenegro. An honorable and heroic death was the aim of every male.

Death

Death was a tragedy because it meant departure from loved ones, but also because it meant one less man, one less soldier to defend the land. Montenegro's population in the 1830's was about 100,000, with 15,000 fighting men. Every loss, especially because of the unlimited manpower of the Ottoman Empire, was a great loss. Death was not regarded as a tragedy in itself.

"Except by way of death was never resurrection," is frequently encountered in the literature. All who died in battle were revenged, that too being resurrection. Revenge for Kossovo was resurrection for

\textsuperscript{57}Njegosh, \textit{The Mountain Wreath}, pp. 175-177.

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid., p. 178.
ancient heroes. The final resurrection would come when Serbdom was completely free. Njegosh's writings present what might be considered a philosophy of death:

Apart from suffering never can be song;  
Apart from sweat of brow no sword is forged;  
Heroic spirit conquers all life's ills;  
Deeds nobly done are sweet unto the soul,  
And wine most rich for those who follow one.  
Thrice happy he whose name rings down the years,  
For he had reason in this world to come;  
A flaming torch is he when times are dark;  
A torch ne'er burning low, ne'er minished to a spark!  

Njegosh tells us all dark things have two sides. Song is born from suffering, it takes effort to accomplish a deed, and the spirit, uplifted by noble deeds, overcomes everything. The hero who is remembered in song, had reason to be born, he lights the way with unceasing illumination.

Other passages dealing with the same theme are:

Life's honour may be stained through fear of death!  
Sad news concerning brother and son  
Deepens threefold affection felt of yore;  
Sweeter to find the lost than ne'er to lose at all;  
As after hailstorm clearer is the sky  
So after sorrow, more serene the soul.  
And after tears more joyous is the song.  

Many a glorious death repaid maternal pangs,  
Unto these our heroes will God amply dower  
Memory most fair and fragrance o'er their graves.  

Death, according to the verse, strengthens love, strengthens the souls of those who mourn. The glory of death is a joy and God will reward

59 Ibid., p. 104.  
60 Ibid., p. 113.  
61 Ibid., p. 127.
the hero. One cannot die when one is remembered in song and becomes a beacon for others. A beautiful verse is spoken by the blind Abbot Stevan:

O generation mine created to be sung!
From age to age shall muses vie
To bring thee wreaths that cannot die;
What ye by deeds proclaim shall poets teach
In songs that shall be sung down deathless years.
It is your lot and call to bear the Cross,
Alike to strive with brethren and with strangers.
The thorny crown is sharp, sweet after be the fruit.
Except by way of death was never resurrection.
E'en now I see thee 'neath thy glistening shroud;
Honour and Hope shall both resurgent be:
There where the Altar looks unto the East.
There, where doth burn Christ's fragrant incense free,
There die glorious death, since die once thou must!62

The verse clearly tells that the reward of death is resurrection. Since death is inevitable, it is honourable to die gloriously to bring hope and resurgence to Christianity, to the Orthodox Church, in this case, by defeating Islam. The line, "There where the Altar looks unto the East," refers to the Orthodox Church, both because of its seat in Byzantium and because all Orthodox Churches are built with the Altar facing east.

The Montenegrin Woman

Some comments on the Montenegrin woman will illustrate her role. English authors assign the Montenegrin woman to a demeaning social status, as a sub-human beast of burden who was poorly regarded by her husband and who had no authority or influence in the home or social structure. This is far from true. One can forgive this distortion because of the limited research tools of these authors.

62 Ibid., pp. 194-196, passim.
The subject of woman was generally approached with "odium." Englishmen who went to Montenegro were not common men. They were of the upper class, were usually titled, were well educated. Some were in diplomatic service, some were archeologists, and others were historians. Their common bond was social status which carried with it an interpretation of a woman's role according to the standards set within their social group. This status may have carried with it an interpretation of a woman's role as an object of chivalrous attention. They wrote of Montenegrin women with pity and abhorrence of her role.63

The women they saw never spoke to them nor would they have spoken even if there were no language barrier. That would have constituted a serious social transgression. They saw women working, hauling heavy burdens, walking behind men, silent, with head bowed. These were the women who, in the frequent or permanent absence of the husband, taught their sons to shoot, use a sword, jump, and to be heroic men. The Serbian saying, "the house does not rest upon its foundation but on the woman," indicates her importance.

63 It is doubtful that even the best authors such as William Miller and others discussed on p. 33, above, spoke Serbian. Serbian, easily read and written, is not so easily spoken or understood. The Montenegrin dialect of the historical period of this dissertation, presents a problem of its own.

The English writers may have had a second handicap, lack of understanding and perhaps an unwillingness to place what they saw in context. Tacitus might have expressed this as "odium," bias against, as opposed to "studium," bias for. See Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), for a discussion of this problem. According to Gottschalk, the two biases frequently depend upon the social circumstances of the witness, and may operate in a fashion of which he himself may not be aware.
Montenegrin women were not afraid to walk anywhere alone. No man dared harm her. If a man incorrectly approached her, she or her kinsmen killed him. Turkish women could pass freely, without harm. It was considered a disgrace to harm a woman, even the enemy's. In literature, the woman was a wife, a mother, or a sister, not an object of romantic love or lust. The folk poetry never mentioned love relationships, women were too respected to be treated in a light manner. Njegosh's verses about the beauty of a girl was put into a dream. Other verses which spoke of physical beauty used the "vila" or fairy as the object.

In contrast, Serdar Yanko described the Turkish wedding custom and the Turkish treatment of women as follows:

'Mongst them is no nuptial crowning
They only make a kind of contract
As if they simply hired a cow!
Within the house no partner is the wife,
They hold her like the slave for selling.
And they tell you: Woman is for man;
As some sweet fruit or like roast lamb;
While such she be, let her keep safe at home,
Be she not so, then throw her out of doors!64

Another speaks of the Serbian wife:

And with him too his wife Ljubica
A youngish wife and falcon-hearted
Loading rifles for her lord.65

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64 Njegosh, The Mountain Wreath, p. 163.
65 Ibid., p. 206. It was not unusual for Montenegrin wives and sisters to accompany husbands, brothers and kinsmen to battle. King Nicholas' wife, Milena Vukotich, accompanied Nicholas on several major campaigns.

The Montenegrin women often took an active part in battle. A painting by Valerio, 1870, "Montenegrin Female on Guard," shows two women armed with sword and rifle. One is guarding a Turkish soldier, holding a baby in one arm, while the other is rocking a cradle with one hand, holding a rifle in the other.
In marriage, dowry played absolutely no role. Good family, good name, not beauty nor wealth were sought. It was better to marry a girl who had brothers, to "marry from a house of men." The girl and boy rarely saw one another before marriage, some were betrothed in the cradle. Girls watched their reputations, their manners, and vied to be the most polite, considerate and good so that they would make a worthy marriage. A woman's honor was looked upon as a glass, very easily shattered. The girl was also expected to be thrifty, intelligent, industrious and clean.66

From cradle to grave, the traditional beliefs and customs of society were safeguards and bonds, unwritten laws which demanded obedience. From birth to death, one was dominated by the social sanction, approval or disapproval of the group. There was no way out, nor did it occur to any that there should be another way. It was a necessary life-style, developed from reality. The people would not have survived had they not lived as they did.

Chapter IV was a discussion of Montenegrin enculturation and the agencies which were important to the process. The Church was the leading exponent of the national-religious ideals which were transmitted to the young by the family, clan, brotherhood and all society.

66 Mirko Petrovich and Petar Vukotich, comrades in arms at the Battle of Grahovo, betrothed their children, Milena Vukotich and Nicholas Petrovich after the successful conclusion of this decisive battle. Nicholas and Milena's wedded life was one of happiness and devotion.
Later chapters will deal with the struggles of Montenegrin rulers to change or abolish some elements within the life-style and beliefs of the people. Chapter V is a short biography of Njegosh and discusses his work as a transitional modernizing ruler.
CHAPTER V

NJEGOSH, TRANSITIONAL MODERNIZING RULER

The Montenegrin ethic, as all in Montenegrin life, was best expressed by Peter II Petrovich Njegosh who lived within the historical circumstances and was a product of the life and society into which he was born. An exposure of Njegosh's life will also reveal other facets of this history, the formation of a state, a regulated civil order based upon law; the founding of a school system and the development of a national literature. The traditional role of the Prince-Bishop was re-directed by Njegosh who sought to centralize rule and by so doing, strengthened the ruling role.

Njegosh, Early Life and Education

Prometheus was chained to a rock because he stole the secret of fire from the heavens and brought it to earth. Zeus punished him by chaining him to a rock. Like Prometheus, Njegosh attempted to wrest the heavenly secrets from God and was chained to the rock of Montenegro. His restless soul, his creative genius, his communion with the spirits of the past, with Homer and Milton, his love for Pushkin and for all knowledge, earthly and eternal, was a communion, self-created and self-inspired. Chained by history, by Kossovo, by birth, by his love for his people, this creative genius was the "Hermit of Cetinje," living

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67 The comparison of Njegosh's condition to that of Prometheus was derived from Milan Rakochevich, *Crnogorski Prometaj*, (Ljubljana: n.p., 1940).
thirty-eight tortured years, dying without the satisfaction of reaping the fruits of freedom for his land. Historical circumstances and civil disorder prevented Njegosh's uncle, Peter I from forming an orderly civil state. Following Peter I, Njegosh achieved that statehood but was unable to achieve recognition of Montenegro's independent status from the powerful states of Europe. Njegosh died, leaving his achievements to be finalized by his nephew, who in turn, left it to his.

The chain of succession, from uncle to nephew, was as unbroken as was the chain of historical events. From Kossovo came the cry, "freedom and justice," yet in seeking freedom and justice, Njegosh was hindered by the ambitions of other Christian nations to gain Eastern supremacy. The Balkan people were victims of geography which is unchangeable. Njegosh sorrowed not only for his people, but for all people who were not free. He attempted to establish a unity among Slavs so that they might have the right to self-determination.

Isidora Sekulich, scholar, professor, author, entitled her magnum opus, To Njegosh, With Deepest Devotion. This book is the acknowledged, definitive, scholarly work about Njegosh. Completed more than one hundred years after his death, Sekulich's book is poetry, beauty and life. A truly devotional work, Sekulich poured a lifetime of scholarship and study into the research of Njegosh. According to Sekulich, Njegosh was born in the wrong place at the wrong time, a tragic figure whose "suffering penetrated where thought alone can't reach."68

"But," said Sekulich, "Had it not been so, he would not have been Njegosh."

The Bishop of Ochrid, Dr. Nikolai Velimirovich, a Rhodes Scholar, wrote, The Religion of Njegosh, in 1910. This work was reprinted in 1969 by the Belgrade Patriarchate in order to refute the revisionist claim that Njegosh was an atheist, a non-religious man. Velimirovich's study of Njegosh as a religious man is also a philosophical study. Based upon evidence from The Mountain Wreath and Light of the Microcosm, Njegosh's philosophy and religion are analyzed.

Velimirovich recommended that those who wish to know what it is to be religious should attempt to study the spiritual drama of this religious man, Njegosh. Of him Velimirovich wrote:

When Njegosh passes before us, we must, dear readers, stand in silence. Silent, for who among us could find the proper words to greet him? Stand, for how could we sit when we are already small before him when we rise. Njegosh tells us the horrible things of which this world is full. Jacob wrestled with God only one night. Bishop Rade wrestled with all the forces of the world, not one night, but one lifetime. What he sings of these battles will revolt us or resign us, encourage or frighten us, but in every case will lift us to the heavens and hold us in the heights. The older we are, the deeper we enter life's struggle, Njegosh becomes our dearest companion. When we realize that our life does not depend solely upon our reason, upon our free will, that we are not absolute masters of our fate as we once thought, that this life is only half-ours or not ours at all, but we its servants, when we feel the heavens above us and the heavy silence of the heavens, then we will feel the necessity of a higher belief. We will reach beyond belief and man, to not only a belief, but a unity with one more powerful than we, with religion. Then will Njegosh be our companion. Then will we want to absorb the religious soul of Njegosh, from it gaining courage in difficult experiences.70

69 Dr. Nikolai Velimirovich, Religija Njegosheva (Beograd: Stamparija Glas, 1968), p. 6. Translated by this author.

Ljubomir Nenadovich, a scholar who studied at the Sorbonne, in Munich, in Vienna, and in Belgrade, wrote an intimate chronicle, a record of conversations, some already used in this study. He wrote of Njegosh with reverence and respect as indicated in the following excerpt from "Letters from Napoli."

I will no longer write of the beauty of Napoli. I will not burden you with descriptions of icons, statues and other works of art. As lovely and important as they are, they are of marble, bronze and oils. However lovely and lifelike they are, they are dead, they are cold. That which has no feeling of its own awakens only artificial feelings in the viewer. The Bishop of Montenegro is here. Henceforth, I will write you more about him than of all Italy.71

Nenadovich then wrote of how they met and continued:

I was overjoyed that I would see the famous Montenegrin ruler and great Serbian poet. Whatever of his work I read, remained within my soul. His, "Mountain Wreath" is the true wreath of Serbian literature. I bless this coincidence which brings me such joy. 72

Njegosh was loved by his people during his lifetime. He was called, "the glory of his land," by the people he ruled. His death was lamented thusly:

Woe unto us, our crown!
Woe unto us eternally!
Our world has been destroyed
The sun o'er us has darkened.
Our wings are broken.
Oh, sorrow without remedy,
Woe unto us without our shepherd,
All from us is taken.
The sight of our eyes is dead! 73

Njegosh remains an eternal monument, living in memory and song, and in the hearts of the people. His history was Montenegro's history.

71 Nenadovich, Celokupna Dela, p. 437. Translated by this author.
72 Ibid., p. 439.
73 Savo Vukmanovich, ed. Petar II Petrovich Njegosh (Cetinje: Obod, 1972), p. 96. Translated by this author.
He wrote his own epithet in The Mountain Wreath, with the previously quoted, "0, generation mine, created to be sung . . . ." Njegosh was an educator, a man of religion, a ruler and a statesman, as well as a literary genius and philosopher. He was also a complete man in a land where manhood was the ideal.

The enculturation which formed Njegosh and which was the basis for his philosophy and his religion, was the same process which formed all Montenegrin youth. As a child, Njegosh was known as Rade Tomov. Rade, son of Tomo, was a wild untutored child of the mountains. Born in Montenegro, the odds were one in one-thousand that he would even learn to read.

Rade Tomov, destined to become Peter II Petrovich Njegosh, was born either in 1811 or 1813, in the village of Njegushi. The small village of Njegushi is located on the northeastern slopes of Mount Lovchen, a massive mountain which overlooks the Bay of Kotor, but which also completely separated the life of Montenegro from that of the coast. The most generally accepted birthdate is 1813. His father, Tomo, brother of Peter I, was no more distinguished than any others of the clan. His mother was Ivana of the Prorokovich brotherhood. Rade had three brothers and two sisters. Very little is recorded about his family.

Living a shepherd's life until he was ten, Njegosh learned what every Montenegrin youth learned. The shepherd's life was not idyllic, but was a dangerous occupation subject to raids by man and animal. Plundering of stock was common and was a loss of both "face" and property. Poverty or wealth are measured by numbers of sheep or cattle. Losing the stock to enemies could mean famine. The shepherd boys had to be
prepared to defend self and flock. The boy early became a trained fighter who was armed with the personal courage necessary for that life.

The villagers of Njegushi went to Kotor where they found men who sailed to every continent. The older men of Njegushi had participated in the coastal defense led by Peter I. They, more than other Montenegrins, had opportunities to learn from people of the coast. The atmosphere of Njegushi must have been affected by those who traveled to Kotor and by those who fought in the coastal wars. They were described as verbally disposed, excellent story tellers who delighted in gathering the young around them to tell their experiences. One of Njegosh's uncles, a literate man, had traveled to Russia in 1813, and had been received by the Czar and Marshall Kutzutov. Matavulj writes that another had a modest library of Russian and Serbo-Slavonic books. Young Rade was illiterate.

It is possible that Lovchen, which looked to the sea, helped shape Njegosh. He wrote much of Lovchen and decreed that the summit of the mount would be his final resting place, cursing any who did not heed his wish.

Njegosh went to the monastery in Cetinje when he was eleven years old. It is not clear why he went there. He was not then the intended successor, nor did he wish to become a cleric. Possibly he was sent there to learn to read. His talents could have been prominent enough that he stood out from among the others of his age.

Young Rade brought life to the lonely monastery. He engaged the attention of his uncle, Peter I, a lonely, overburdened, sick old man. Rade played the gusle, composed songs, humorous parodies, talked and played as children play. He already showed signs of his eventual six foot, eight inch growth. His clothes were always too small. There was never enough money to cover his growing frame. Peter I played a great role in Rade's life. It is said that Peter I was briefly schooled in Russia, though all sources do not agree upon this. He was a learned man who spoke Russian, Italian and some French. Peter I had a small library in the monastery which was the only building in Cetinje.

Latkovich tells us there were ten students in the monastery at that time. There were no special qualifications prior to preparation for the clergy. Bare literacy was sufficient, and the reader will recall the dialogue of the Priest, Micho, from *The Mountain Wreath*. The monastery students devoted themselves more to the secular life than they did to learning. They played games, engaged in the nearby village festivities, according to Vuk Vrcevich, a contemporary eye-witness.

The old Bishop had a secretary, Jacob Cek, who came from Podgorica, escaping consequences of a blood feud. Cek's capabilities are unknown but he must have had some education in order to be the Bishop's secretary. Another monastery resident was a Russian, Ivancek Popov, called Ivan Popovich by the residents. Popov came to Kotor with the Russian Flotilla in 1806, choosing to remain. It is possible that Popov taught Russian to Njegosh.

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75 See p. 62 of this dissertation.

The Bishop did not have much time to spend with young Njegosh, but he recognized his qualities. Speaking to Vrcevich, he said, "This lad, if he lives, promises to be a great hero and an intelligent man."\(^7\)

The monastery was a gathering place for clan chiefs, the Voivodas, who came to Cetinje to seek advice or just to talk. Njegosh witnessed the nightly gatherings around the fire, heard of the events and tales of border battles, listened to the ever-present guslar; and listened to his uncle dispense wisdom.

Life in the monastery prepared him for the life he was to lead. The Bishop, seeing that the youth needed more than the monastery offered, decided to send him to the Monk, Tropovich, at Savine Monastery in Herceg Novi. The highly respected Tropovich, considered well educated for his time, had learned Italian from his mother. He received students from the best families, teaching them the Psalter, Prayer Book, addition, singing, and Italian. Tropovich quickly prepared priests and he often had as many as fifty students at a time. Njegosh stayed in Savine Monastery for about one and one-half years.

Little is recorded of Njegosh's stay in Herceg Novi. Since he left no records of his experience there, some regard the experience unpleasant, possibly stifling to one as creative as Njegosh. Some say that he learned very little, that letters written when he was fifteen showed no evidence of grammar, capitalization, punctuation, and were written in a crude rough hand.

\(^7\)Ibid., p. 16.
Njegosh's return to Cetinje after the brief schooling at Savine Monastery marked the end of his "formal" education. The old Bishop, weakened by illness, wanted to send Njegosh to school in Russia or Serbia. Since neither Russia nor Serbia would finance him, he was to remain unschooled. Continuing to live at the monastery, still not designated as heir, Njegosh was sent on civil business with whatever civil-servants the monastery employed. Upon his return, he was required to discuss what he saw and did with his uncle who then made decisions, judgments and evaluations from which Njegosh learned the torments of rule and the wisdom of Peter I.

After he decided that Njegosh would succeed him, Bishop Peter did not send him abroad since he did not want him subjected to the pressures and intrigue which would have occurred had Njegosh been openly designated as his heir. Sending him to school would have given automatic designation. Peter I sent two nephews to Russia, one died, the other intended successor preferred Russian military life to celibacy. Also, having many brothers and nephews, Peter I realized that jealousy and animosity might be directed to the young Njegosh.

There was no legal basis for selection of an heir. Custom decreed that the ruler should choose and the people should accept or reject. It was not easy to choose an heir. It was difficult to evaluate the ability of the unschooled boys. Years before the Petrovich dynasty, the Crnojeviches had established the norm that, by natural law, all men were equal. This endured and indeed, all felt equal to one another. In the dynastic brotherhood, the young unmarried men, no doubt encouraged by their fathers, had the ambition to rule. The ruler studied them, evaluated them, and judged them until the last possible moment.
Time was his best ally. The unfortunate aspect of this method was that the designated heir was usually unprepared, unschooled, and lacked experience in the duties of ruling.

The idea of compulsory education, even for a ruler, was not held by anyone then alive. The monasteries were the centers of literacy. The monastery of Cetinje offered some schooling with no method. The young boys intending to become monks learned to read and write. No mention of numbers or teaching of any other subject is found. It is assumed the methods were crude, with copying and memorization being the pupil's task.

Njegosh's biographers say he was self-taught having only the most rudimentary education. This history was to repeat itself again when Njegosh chose a successor. He, too, sent a nephew to Russia. He died. He sent another to Belgrade, but as in his case, the true heir remained without formal education. Knowing what it meant to be unschooled, Njegosh, before his death, petitioned the Russian Ambassador, Majendorf, to accept Danilo as a student in St. Petersburg. It was not meant to be and so another unschooled ruler ruled Montenegro. The attainments and the strength of the unschooled leaders were achieved through the amazing conscience which was maintained and transmitted through the strength of spiritual and moral life, through enculturation. 78

Though Njegosh later spoke Italian, French, German, and Russian, and read the classical languages, these accomplishments were not aided by teachers. There were later sporadically imported teachers, but there is little documentation about them.

78 Sekulich, Njegoshy, passim. The data for this conclusion is from Sekulich, but the conclusion is the author's.
Montenegro could not produce teachers of any measurable education but with great effort imported them. Njegosh's most famous teacher was Simo Milutinovich, called, "Sarajlija," who came to Cetinje when Peter I became concerned with Njegosh's education. A widely traveled scholar, author and poet, Simo had listened to lectures at German universities and had corresponded with leading European literary figures. The Russian Consul, Gagich, in Dubrovnik, and Peter I discussed Simo in their correspondence. Peter I wrote that he understood Simo's adventurous soul and good national Serbianism. Peter told Gagich that he asked Simo to remain in Cetinje as Njegosh's tutor. 79

Simo's appearance in Cetinje was mysterious. He came in 1827 and had problems on the coast regarding his passport. He was suspiciously regarded because of his appearance and the books he carried. The books were confiscated and it was through the tremendous effort of Peter I that they were released. Books entering Montenegro were feared by the Austrians.

The effect of Simo's presence in the monastery, the ascetic, quiet, lonely home of the ruler, must have been electric. He wore a long cape, constantly moved, momentarily frenzied, momentarily angry, momentarily happy. He looked neither heroic nor manly to those who saw him. He was conscious of this and prior to his entrance into Cetinje, wound a sash around his waist, and put a pistol in the sash, knowing from stories about Montenegro, that only women were, "unsashed and unarmed." He fulfilled many functions during his stay as a personal and state secretary, was a connection with Serbia and Prince Milosh, the

79 Ibid., p. 81.
ruler, and upon occasion, was a judge.

Simo's presence had as much effect in the wilderness as did a decree from Russia. Simo kept no record of his stay in Cetinje, nor of his teaching, nor of his pupil. Duscan Vuksan spent many years examining the archives at Cetinje and found no evidence of Simo's teaching. He concluded that no regular teaching took place, but simply a transfer of knowledge from the power of Simo's language, his figures of speech and the power of his logical thought. Simo's language served logic, rhetoric, and poetry. His poetry was logical, clear, his rhetoric, meaningful. 80 Sekulich and Vuksan agree, but Sekulich further states that Simo was a man of tremendous contradiction, disorganization and was uncoordinated. Njegosh, luckily, had the gift of a tremendous mental discipline and, unschooled as he was, it was useful for him to be with Simo and to see the aspects of poetic construction.

Njegosh left a lasting record of his affection for and devotion to Simo. He dedicated his lengthy philosophical-speculative work, Light of the Microcosm, to Simo. He expressed to Simo his gratitude to him who "first turned his eyes to the heavens, where the stars in clusters wander as choirs across the sky." 81

80 Ibid., p. 70. Latkovich states that Milutinovich was involved with political movements in Serbia and Greece and that it cannot be said that he taught Njegosh nothing but poetic expression. Latkovich states, "A man who was Peter I's secretary, who influenced Peter I and who aided in executing state affairs in Montenegro, who, later in Serbia, was an "expert on Montenegro," who was involved in the Balkan movements for freedom, and who had well developed ideas about state and government, certainly influenced the political development of his pupil."

81 Rakochevich, Crnogorski Prometej, p. 49. Translated and paraphrased by this author.
Ever erratic, Simo once decided to put the young Njegosh on a Spartan regimen, romantically conceived. The Montenegrins laughed at Simo saying that no one had to teach them to live like Spartans. Young Njegosh fared well, accustomed to cold, deprivation and hunger. Simo regretted the idea. He was given to wild and dramatic escapades, once ordering Njegosh to shoot him to prove he could face death with courage as well as any Montenegrin.

In Simo, Njegosh for the first time saw a poet with his own compositions in his hand. He was exposed to the outside world by Simo, the world that other poets get from their own experience. Simo was a miniature of the outside world and the world of great literature.

Njegosh also had a teacher of French, a Frenchman called, Dzom, who came to Cetinje in 1838. The fact that Dzom consented to go to Cetinje might indicate that he too was eccentric. He left his wife in Kotor since there was no lodging in Cetinje for her. Dzom's presence in the deserted Montenegrin capital had political ramifications. Austria and Russia inquired into his presence there. Consul Gagich tried to involve him in intrigue. All were concerned that Njegosh might turn to France for political alliance and that Dzom was an agent. This was the era when the balance of power was the political order of the day and France was still regarded with suspicion. Dzom stayed in Cetinje less than two years, but he too was not a regular teacher.

Njegosh, when he became ruler, would go to the monastery kitchen, the only room with a good fire. There surrounded by clan chiefs and Senators, he would have someone read aloud to him from Russian or Italian books. The readers are not known; they were probably imported
from the coast.

Another teacher, a man called Rim, taught Njegosh architecture, sculpture and art. When finally Njegosh traveled to Rome, Florence, Naples and Vienna, he was either too busy with state affairs, or too ill to enjoy that for which he yearned. He never saw Serbia with its old monasteries and cultural monuments.

Njegosh, Prince-Bishop

Njegosh lived during one of Europe's most turbulent eras, between two great revolutions, born not long after the French Revolution and dying shortly after the revolutions of 1848. The era also witnessed the gradual decline of the traditional ruling class and the gradual weakening of monarchy in the face of the Industrial Revolution which gave new men a bid for power.

Most Europeans considered Montenegro to be part of European Turkey. Montenegro came to Europe's attention during the Napoleonic Wars of 1813 when Peter I won the coast from the French but lost it at the peace table to Austria. Austria-Hungary would annex Bosnia-Hercegovina and control the northern Serbian lands. It tried to replace Turkey as the Balkan master. Seemingly inconsequential, in view of events in other parts of Europe, the parceling out of the Serbian lands to Austria by the Vienna Congress, ignited a Serbian spark, which later, Austria would attempt to extinguish with total war.

82 Ranke, in History of Servia, pp. 453-454 states, "Austria is the only continental power that could have any motive for (destruction of Montenegro). She is always alarmed about Cattaro which the Montenegrins claim as their patrimony."
A review of European events is necessary in order to place Montenegro in correct historical context in relation to its neighbors. The appearance of the Osmanli in the 1350's and the fall of Byzantium in 1453 were events of world significance. It began a battle between two different and uncompromising worlds, a war to the death. The war between East and West buried the Slavs. A comparison with other European countries of the time accentuates the Balkan deprivation and isolation from the main currents of life and thought.

Reaction to the French revolution penetrated even the most isolated areas but the power structure of the "ancient regime" was not ready to permit the ideas which had overthrown the political and social structures of France to do the same in all Europe. The Restoration of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, restored the principle of monarchical legitimacy. New ideologies had spread, national identities were formed, and irreversible seeds of nationalism were planted.

C. E. Black places in his third category of modernizing nations those which began modernizing directly or indirectly as a result of the French Revolution. Seton-Watson states that under the influence of the French Revolution, "the idea of nationality had made its entry, not only into Italy and Hungary, but also into the Balkans. The Serbs were the first Balkan people to assert their liberty." Montenegro, along with other Balkan nations falls into Black's third pattern. Nation-building

83 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 91. Also see, Seton-Watson, Rise of Nationality in the Balkans, pp. 1-61. Seton-Watson states, "The events of the nineteenth century were to show that nationality, though long latent and seemingly extinct ... is the new factor which is destined to transform so radically what many generations have known as the Eastern Question."
was essential to modernization because it was the most effective way to mobilize the efforts of the peoples concerned. One of the most distinctive features of the development of nations in the third pattern was the long and generally violent period of the regrouping of territories and peoples. "Many European societies," according to Black, "had participated for several centuries in the development of modern ideas and institutions. In the political sphere, however, these peoples did not break away from the traditional mold until after the French Revolution." The most characteristic feature of the third pattern of modernization was the human expense of nation-building. The history of Montenegro gives an example of the long and costly struggle to achieve modern status. The passions of nationalism in east European societies continued to smolder until they ignited the great conflagrations of 1914-1918, and 1939-1945.

The principle of nationality was in direct opposition to the political philosophy that "Might is Right" which gave early impetus to the claim that a state which possessed a superior organization and culture was entitled to enslave "inferior" nations as a sign of its superiority. This philosophy and Metternich's ideas of equilibrium within a state and between states left their mark on European politics. The quelling of national liberal movements, suppression of revolutions and constitutions, and restoration of legitimate order were the political currents in Europe. Monarchs joined, "in Concert" to maintain order.

84 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, pp. 74-75.
Economic growth and the forces of movement eventually undermined and destroyed the European Restoration system. The middle class, pushed upward by the Industrial Revolution, was to become the chief element of a new political life in the nineteenth century. Montenegro had not experienced the industrial revolution. Further, it had no middle class.

Events in Montenegro were related to the Pan-Slav movement that developed in the last half of the nineteenth century. Slavic aspirations would run into conflict with those of Austria. Francis Joseph Hapsburg ascended to Austrian rule in 1848, remaining until his death in 1916. Austrian power began to decline after the Seven Weeks War with Prussia in 1866, which forced her out of German political affairs. In 1867 Hungary obtained equal rights with German-speaking Austria and the Dual Monarchy was formed. The Hapsburg Empire controlled the Slavs who struggled to gain autonomy within the Dual Monarchy. Austria gained control of some Serbian lands and annexed Bosnia-Hercegovina. World War I began when a Serb, Gavrilo Princip, shot Archduke Francis Ferdinand, but the seeds of World War I were sown centuries earlier in the struggle to control the East at the expense of the human element which lay in the path to this goal.

The Slav movement of the era was essentially intellectual and functioned within the Dual Monarchy. The Bohemian Dobrovsky, the Czechs, Jungman and Hanka, the Slovaks, Safarik and Kollar expressed nationalism in poetry, linguistics and literature. Palacky, an historian, was the first to define the historic rights of the Slavs. Forced to speak German or Hungarian, rejecting Magyarization or assimilation, the Slav intellectuals spoke feebly, but they spoke. The Slovene Kopitar and Serbian Karadzich
urged formation of an Illyrian State based on community of language and tradition. Gaj preached Illyrianism in Croatia. Illyrianism was outlawed and a strong Magyar party in Zagreb desired good relations with Pest as protection to achieve an independent Croatian future.

Russia, the most stable conservative power of the nineteenth century, continued to maintain three basic principles: (1) the Russian national tradition; (2) the mission of protecting Slav states under foreign rule; (3) a religious tradition with the Czar as heir to Byzantium and defender of Orthodoxy and autocracy. The Russia of Nicholas I seemed a colossus until the Crimean War revealed chinks in the structure.

The major European powers viewed Montenegro and the other Balkan states as within the Turkish sphere of influence. When the Great Powers intervened in Balkan affairs, it was to maintain the balance of power. With the exception of Russia, the major European powers would not help the Slavs for fear of encouraging uprisings in their own lands. Russia also pursued her own interests in emphasizing her right to the Dardanelles and shipping rights by protecting Slavs.

Montenegro, with a population of 100,000, was largely an undeveloped state. Its economy, politics, transportation, and communication systems were non-existent or rudimentary. Njegosh wanted to create a state which would be on equity with the other European nations, and wanted other nations to recognize the independent status of Montenegro. This seemingly impossible undertaking was begun when he was seventeen. The young monarch, ignorant of everything except what he learned from his land and his people, early raised his voice against the philosophy that "might is
right," and devoted his life to the ideals that justice and freedom were the right of all men. A student of politics would find Njegosh's writing on justice and equality a remarkable political philosophy. He believed that justice, not the right of the cannon was a divine right.

Coming to rule in the time of Louis Phillipe, Nicholas I, Francis I, Metternich, and Frederick William IV, Njegosh once said of himself, "I am considered a ruler of barbarians and a barbarian among rulers." Njegosh may be called a political liberal.

The conditions which bred warriors and heroes in Montenegro also bred arrogance. It was a destructive as well as a constructive tradition. It led to blood feuds of major proportions that plagued Montenegro during the last years of Peter I's life. The year 1830, was plagued by the most bloody and fierce feuding ever known in Montenegro. Peter I died during a period of pervasive internal anarchy. The forbidden border raids broke out, and clan leaders asserted their authority over that of Peter I. The Turks, aware of these internal conditions, launched major attacks against Montenegro.

Peter I had instituted a Senate and provincial courts, but they had no executive power. The people would not accept anything more than mediating and peace making bodies. Peter I, who had issued a Code of six articles, hoped to create civil order around the Code, but his efforts failed. Knowing that ignorance had caused his failure, he begged Russia, Austria, and Serbia for money to start schools, but was refused. He died, leaving a seventeen year old to deal with the conditions as best as he could.

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86 Vukmanovich, Njegosh, p. 73.
Never having publicly announced Njegosh as successor, this was done when Peter I's will was read. It told the people that Njegosh was the heir and also bade them to discontinue their blood-feuds. The chiefs who gathered at the monastery laid their rifles around the casket and vowed a six-month moratorium and internal peace until St. George's Day, May 6, 1831. The choice of successor, according to some authors, surprised everyone. The Civil-Governor, Radonjich, took advantage of the confusion to dispute the succession.

Radonjich circulated the rumor that the will was a forgery and that young Njegosh was an ignorant youth, unfit to rule. Radonjich, hereditary Civil-Governor, whose family received support from the Venetian Republic when it controlled the coast, now received support from Austria which controlled the coast. It was found that he was paid by Austria to create the disorder. Should he succeed in overthrowing the succession, Austria would support him as the ruler in return for collaboration.

The Petrovich was an organized brotherhood, one which had become a dynasty famous for heroism and leadership. They would not allow their dynasty to be interrupted. Even when George, the first intended successor returned from Russia, hoping to assume civil rule, the Petrovich would not support him because the traditional religious-civil rule was to their advantage.

Eye-witness accounts of the "coronation," tell that young Rade was an unwilling candidate, that he tried to tell his uncle, Stanko Stijepov, that they had no right to make him a monk nor to consecrate him a Bishop. He was ignored. Stanko Petrovich placed the Bishop's
crown on Njegosh's head, the silver staff in his left hand, a cross in his right, and "assumed the sin on his soul."

Led into the monastery by sixty Priests, all armed, all dressed in Montenegrin robes, they declared that they recognized Rade as the ruler. A Filip Djuraskovich went out among the several thousand mourners, raised his pistol and declared that would any care to dispute the choice, he would face them. None did, and the traditional firing of guns signaled acceptance.

In the monastery, Njegosh received the name Peter II and was led before the people by the Archimandrite, Josip Pavichevich of Ostrog, who kissed his hand in acknowledgment, followed by the chiefs. Even Radonjich signed acceptance.87

For the next two years, Njegosh ruled uneasily. After gaining permission for the Bishop of Prizren to come to Montenegro to properly ordain him, Bishop Hadzi Zaharije came and elevated the unprepared cleric to Metropolitan, Peter II Petrovich Njegosh. The Turkish Pasha, Mustafa Busatlije, aware of the events in Montenegro, gave permission for Bishop Zaharije to go to Montenegro readily, preferring to stabilize Njegosh rather than allow Austria to rule through Radonjich.

Njegosh took the first step toward gathering power to himself when he exiled Radonjich and vetoed the decree that his rival be put to death. Njegosh accomplished two things: he abolished the dual rule, and imposed his will over that of the assembly of chiefs. Knowing his people,

87 Ibid., pp. 43-51. The eye-witness account quoted by Vukmanovich was related by D. Medakovich who later became secretary to Njegosh.
knowing that his uncle worked fifty years to form a state, knowing the people's fear and love of the old warrior were not enough, and that he, Njegosh, had not yet inspired either sentiment, he had to plan a course of action.

The first six months of internal peace, wisely forced upon the people by the last wish of Peter I, helped Njegosh by giving him time to devote to organizing himself. Deciding on a course of action, he established law. He decided that an iron hand was the defender of law with the people with whom, "His law is what his heart desires." Njegosh knew that only children and learned men could be governed by love alone. Also, to the mountaineers, rule by love was a weakness, but respect was given to an iron will which ruled with justice.

During the first two years of his rule, Njegosh proclaimed all his actions, "in the name of my late uncle, our beloved ruler, Peter I." He moved carefully, heeded the chiefs, but carried out his own plan. The overthrow of the Radonjich Civil-Governor was a bold and very significant step because it was the first step toward centralized rule and also defeated Austrian intentions to control Montenegro. He asserted the traditional Montenegrin devotion to Russia and made plans to go to Russia for consecration as Bishop by the Holy Synod. This move would enhance his authority among his people, establish personal ties with Russia, re-claim the Russian subsidy, and proclaim to neighbors that he had Russian protection. Even during this period, Njegosh began to assume complete power which he later used more forcefully than any of his predecessors.

Njegosh had many opportunities to change his life and his
country's path. He was offered a "berat," a type of guarantee of hereditary investiture from the Grand Vizier, Reschid Pasha, and enough gold to maintain his country. He was offered peace, prosperity and the protection of the Ottoman Empire in exchange for recognition of the Ottoman Empire and peaceful co-existence. Njegosh refused, replying that he had no need of a "berat" as long as his fellow citizens were willing to defend him, and that should they ever be unwilling to do so, a "berat" would be of no use to him. 88 This answer endeared him to his countrymen who had begun to respect and admire him, seeing in him an apostle of patriotism and religion in whom they could have confidence. Njegosh had many offers of this sort, and later, even when dying of consumption, refused to abandon his hard life for one of European ease.

The Vizier was angered by Njegosh's refusal. In the first year of his rule, the then eighteen year old Bishop faced a massive Turkish attack which was designed to take advantage of what the Vizier believed to be a power vacuum. Njegosh raised an army and defeated the Vizier who did not launch a second attack due to his having to turn to defend Syria from Egypt.

Other battles are recorded in this interim between Njegosh's coming to rule and his going to Russia. Njegosh's successful defense of Montenegro established him with the people. Petitioning Czar Nicholas I

88 This incident supports the position that Turkish claims that Montenegro was a part of European Turkey were "paper claims," and that the internal conditions of Montenegro were such that independent clan action would defeat the attempts of the ruler to make any agreement with Turkey.
to go to Russia for consecration, Njegosh gained the Czar's approval and the approval of the assembly of chiefs. Njegosh set off on June 15, 1833. En route he visited Metternich who received him very rudely. In his absence, the Radonjich party again arose but was contained until he returned fully robed in authority. This time, he dealt harshly and permanently with the dissidents.

Njegosh was received well in Russia, not only as an Orthodox Bishop, but as a ruler. His consecration was planned and attended by Czar Nicholas I and his court. Nicholas I liked and was impressed by Njegosh. Returning to Montenegro, securely consecrated, with Russian protection, Njegosh also brought money, gifts for the monastery, and many books for the church, for schools, and for private use. There was then no library in Cetinje since none was really needed. There were perhaps only one hundred literate men in all Montenegro. Njegosh also brought a printing press to Montenegro. 89

Returning from Russia, Njegosh attempted to modernize Montenegrins by a process of political and cultural consolidation. Njegosh knew that he must take into consideration the temperament of the people and base his rule upon it. He knew, starting from himself, that Montenegrins valued group identity, stood with the clan, identified with one name, one group in which the individual is respected, especially the leader, the one who represents them.

89 This was the first printing press in Montenegro since the destruction of Crnojevich's press at Obod in 1496.
Njegosh himself slowly broke the powerful brotherhoods such as the Radonjich, and then stood alone. Because he knew the nature of the people, he knew Cetinje could not be an exclusive center so he decided to make himself the source around which a unity and a communion with the people was formed. Knowing the Montenegrin people could not lead an urban political life, he knew the ruler must continually be a creative figure who would hold them, lead them and maintain order. Black states, "It is significant that functions can change rapidly and may even be profoundly affected by a single person, an innovator who develops a new conception of human affairs."  

It takes few people to establish the fact that the earth is round, that steam engines can do the work of many horses and men, and . . . . There is no correspondingly simple means, however, of changing the patterns of belief and behavior of millions of people.

It is sometimes thought that charismatic leaders, individuals endowed with superhuman authority, can carry whole peoples along with them. It takes a great many tons of charisma, however, to move a society a single inch. It may be centuries before the teachings of such leaders are internalized to form the unconsciously accepted way of doing things and even this gradual acceptance is achieved only as a result of innumerable and often significant compromises with previously existing beliefs.

Functional changes depend upon the few, and may often be rapid and easy. Structural change depends on the many, and is slow and painful. It is the task of leaders to mediate between function and structure, between the new knowledge and the old customs, and this is never easy.

Njegosh's modernizing effort was transitional and functional. The changes were not internalized and structural change did not take place. Njegosh introduced new knowledge and adapted the functions of existing institutions

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90 Black, *Dynamics of Modernization*, p. 48.
91 Ibid., pp. 48-49.
to the new knowledge. It was a gradual and transitional process that demanded some compromise with previously existing beliefs, but did not abolish the old beliefs. For example, Njegosh wanted to modernize internal rule and to change the role of the ruler. He came into conflict with the people who liked the spiritual ruling role but wanted no political authority above their own. The recognized sovereignty was the will of the people expressed by clan chiefs. Njegosh did not abolish the authority of clan chiefs. He worked to make the clan chiefs a part of centralized organs of state, loyal to state rather than local priorities, and obedient to the ruler. He changed the traditional function of the clan chief from that of local authority to that of being a representative of local society to the ruler and state.

Robert Cyprien, the English author, asked Njegosh, "How do you intend to make Montenegro a civil state when you do not have the necessary things other rulers do?" Njegosh answered, "I'll do what I can. I'll set an aim with my people. I will be with them. I will become as they are to bend them to my will, to conquer their souls. That is what I have done to now, what I'll continue to do in order to cut down the worst brutality."92

Njegosh absorbed the peoples' souls. He always had pen and paper to make notes of conversations of older men and captured the peoples' philosophy. This deep understanding of the people enabled him to preserve the best within them and to abolish that which hindered their progress.

92Quoted by Vukmanovich, Njegosh, p. 32.
In order to make it a capital, Njegosh began to build up Cetinje. He built himself a dwelling called the "Billiard" taking its name from the billiard room. 93 He also built a house for his brother, Pero, and a house for the famous Senator-warrior, Novica Cerovich, the one who beheaded Smail Aga Chengich. Aside from the dwelling, the first governmental building was a Senate.

The "Billiard," built in 1837, was imposing for its time and place. It had twenty-five rooms. The first room contained a museum of weapons taken from the Turks, the second was the Bishop's meeting room, the third his bedroom, the fourth the billiard room, the fifth the archives, the sixth his secretary's office and the others were sleeping quarters for the Senators. From this, one can see that there were Senators and a Senate, that Njegosh carried on state business in an official room and that he had a secretary. This is very insignificant in comparison to the governing bodies elsewhere but in Montenegro, it was a beginning.

William Able, another English visitor, described the audience room as a war camp and the people as nature's children, breathing the clean air of freedom gained by their own efforts. To him Njegosh said, "They (the Montenegrins) are not the barbarians you think them to be. They will be better, but without losing their courage and heroism as some say they will." 94

93 The efforts of fifty mountaineers to carry the heavy billiard table up the mountain from Kotor is recorded as a marvelous feat.

94 Quoted by Vukmanovich, Njegosh, p. 77.
Visitors reported that Njegosh was acquainted with everything in Europe written about Montenegro and especially appreciated Leopold von Ranke's writing. Ranke wrote a review of Montenegro in which he warned that efforts of Njegosh to bring his people into European equity would destroy the virtues which made Montenegro unique. Ranke also warned against sending youth out of the country for education for fear it would spoil them. 95

Cyprien again wrote of Njegosh, "It is a wonder how in ten short years Njegosh was able to quell and calm the wild land, how love for a civil life grew, how he was able to take away the right of blood feuds, institute punishment for theft. The Bishop in 1831 formed a Senate, the highest lawgiving body. He was the President of the Senate. But, this would not have worked had the people not supported him." 96

Returning to the sequence of events of modernization, it is important to note the difference between past and present modernization. In the past, the process of modernization was slower and often preserved more of the traditional culture and identity. 97 Although Njegosh did not want to destroy the hierarchy, he wanted to turn the clans from local to central authority. He restrained independent clan action as

95 Leopold von Ranke, The History of Servia, tr. Mrs. Alexander Kerr, (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), p. 342. It is not clear whether Ranke was in Montenegro when Njegosh ruled, or whether they met. It is certain that Ranke and Vuk Stefanovich Karadzich were good friends and correspondents. Ranke quotes Wilkinson, but the two authors wrote from a different perspective, so Ranke's observations seem to be personal observations, not only research.

96 Quoted by Vukmanovich, Njegosh, p. 77.

97 Black discusses the differences between present and past modernization in pp. 1-39 of The Dynamics of Modernization.
in the case of the Kuchi clan which captured Zabljak, an important city the first capital of the Crnojevich dynasty. As much as Njegosh wanted the city, he ordered the Kuchi clan out, threatened them with excommuni-
cation, and then concluded an "eternal peace" with the Pasha of Scutari. The significance of the action is that Njegosh was able to restrain the people. Secondly, he concluded the peace as the ruler of the district and also gained the Pasha's recognition. This was very important, because though Montenegro always considered itself independent, Turkey did not acknowledge the fact. Acting with a sense of authority that was not actually established, Njegosh made treaties which he could not be sure his people would observe. He closed his eyes to the "minor incidents" in order to present an external facade of strength. He pretended not to notice some private feuds. He declared them not of governmental interest. Under cover of neutrality, he concealed a weakness and gained Turkish recognition of himself as a legitimate ruler.

The "bending into shape" of the clans without alienating the people or destroying their traditions was a gradual process. In analyzing the historical process of modernization, Black has observed that process as one of gradual rather than of massive transformation. One must be careful in comparing events in Montenegro with events elsewhere in terms of judging modernizing progress. The common characteristics discernible in all societies at some point in their development are the hallmarks of modernization. Societies did not modernize at the same rate nor in the same way.\footnote{Refer to Black, The Dynamics of Modernization, pp. 95-129 for an extended discussion of comparative modernization.}
The hallmark of political modernization, establishment of a legal system, absorbed the major part of Njegosh's efforts. Though changes in political functions affected changes in other aspects of activity, the political changes were the most dramatic and most easily identified in Montenegro as they are in all societies. In the 1830's, internal anarchy reigned in Montenegro. Clan rule and autonomy were the rule. There were no laws, no effective legislative body, no judicial agencies, no jails and no police. Njegosh, consolidating rule, began to make laws and to enforce them. Nationalism was Njegosh's strongest ally. Nationalism, according to Black, is the most effective means of consolidating loyalties. Njegosh had to organize a bureaucracy and to establish rapport between state and citizen. In order to do so, he had to establish the idea of a state. Loyalty to a state was a concept which all citizens had to accept as a general norm in order for it to function.

A Senate, established in 1831, consisted of sixteen Senators from the most prominent chiefs of the country. Njegosh was the President, and the Senate had supreme legislative and judicial authority. A lower tribunal, the "guarda" was established to settle minor affairs and to carry out Senatorial decrees. A company of "Perianiki" served as a sort of military police and personal guard. All offices were salaried but it is difficult to determine the salary. The "Perianiki" were said to have received ten dollars per year for upkeep of a horse. The Senators, aside from salary, received an allowance of flour.

Also instituted were a Secretary of State, a Chancellor and a Captain of the "Perianiki." Forty clan captains were instituted as
provincial judges. A police force was formed and dispersed throughout the state and was responsible to the provincial judge of the area.

Njegosh did not let the people decide whether they would or would not accept his reforms. Once he had made the traditional leaders loyal to him and had given them key positions, he succeeded in retaining and redirecting their authority. He knew the people would obey. He told them, "This is the law, it must be so." The people obeyed or suffered the consequences. It was said that Njegosh was such a strong commanding ruler that the heroes who went singing into enemy guns, who sorrowed only when one died in bed, feared him as a child feared thunder.99 Njegosh brought such respect for law and civil order that he could and did leave Montenegro for long periods of time without fear of internal disruption. He lived to see the internal condition of his land so orderly that all were free of fear from internal harm. The people loved him as much as they feared him. One Montenegrin related, "When the Gospodar (ruler) went somewhere out of the land, never was a voice heard. When he returned, the mountains echoed with song."100

The Senate was a long stone building with two doors, one leading to a stable, one to two apartments. In one apartment were straw beds for the Senators, the other was a sort of state room. There was a stone bench along one wall, some wooden stools where the Senators met, and a fireplace in the center where they congregated and where meals were cooked.

100 Ibid., p. 53.
Of all laws, the capturing and sentencing of murderers was the most difficult to deal with. Previously sanctioned as blood feuds, murder was now a crime. The taboo against the violation of the sanctity of the home was a custom that even law did not and Njegosh did not attempt to trespass. He went around it. Therefore, a man who closed himself in his home could not be intruded upon. Njegosh overcame this by ordering that the home be burned down and that the murderer could either burn or escape with what he could carry. He was then legally dead, his property was confiscated, and his land was given to his victim's family. The punishment was rarely used because it would reduce householders to beggary.

If a man was condemned to death, Njegosh in respect to his religious role, did not preside over the Senate. The sentence was carried out by a firing squad of one or two men from every clan. That way, the family would not know who killed him and would not be bound by custom to revenge his death. The victim stood unbound. If wounded, no further punishment was exerted, it was considered that he had undergone his sentence.

Fines were established for every offense. To show he meant business, Njegosh built the first jail in Montenegro in Cetinje. Prisoners were confined at their own expense. The sentencing to prison was a great blow. The concept of manhood and Montenegrin custom were contrary to the jailing and confining of men. Njegosh did not torture prisoners, but he did confine them. People feared being jailed because it was a blight upon their honor and the honor of their brotherhood and clan. Again, Njegosh both used and abused custom to achieve his ends.
Though difficult, acceptance of regulated civil rule was not as difficult to accept as was taxation. Montenegrins considered themselves independent and free because they paid no tribute to the Turkish Sultan. Those who paid tribute were considered slaves. Paying the tribute was considered shameful and a sign of servitude. The code decreed that one should die resisting the subjugation signified by the payment of tribute.

The Montenegrins refused to pay taxes. They stated that they had fought the Ottoman Empire, spilled their blood for centuries, and had never submitted to the degradation of paying taxes and would not submit now. Njegosh personally visited the chiefs and the people to explain the purpose of taxation and to collect the taxes. He was stoned, spat upon, thrown out, but he persisted. Blood was shed over this issue. The taxes were small, one, two, or three florins per house. A florin equalled about eighteen cents. The collection of taxes was the most hazardous occupation in Montenegro. Njegosh quelled revolts against his reforms in 1833, 1835, and 1841. Njegosh used military force and was ruthless but successful in maintaining an orderly state.

The political modernization initiated by Njegosh was extensive for its time and place. Njegosh was a defensive modernizing ruler who knew that if internal order was not achieved European powers would eventually swallow his small people. He was a sensitive and learned man who had traveled and been exposed to other cultures. He wanted to extend to his people the power of knowledge.

Little can be said of Njegosh's foreign policy. His policy with the Ottoman Empire was one of defending himself and making treaties whenever possible. The bulk of foreign policy was in the form of
devotion to Russia. The Russian tradition was very strong in Cetinje when Njegosh became the ruler. He continued the tradition, going to St. Petersburg for consecration.

Russia, interested in maintaining the status quo by containing any revolutionary movement, continually urged Njegosh to make peace with the Sultan, to give up his desire to enlarge territory, and his attempts to encourage an all Slav uprising. Njegosh constantly corresponded with the Moslemized Serbian Pashas in order to awaken their national feeling, to place blood over religion. There were increasing signs of revolt against reforms initiated by the Sultan in 1848. Njegosh communicated with Serbia to prepare a plan to take his forces through Bosnia-Hercegovina and to cause a Serbian uprising by joining an uprising of local Pashas against the Sultan. Njegosh wanted the Serbian Prince Milosh to join him to free the land. However, Prince Milosh was in no position to support this action, nor to give Montenegro money and supplies. Njegosh had a force of fifty thousand men drawn from Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Dalmatia.

Russia watched Njegosh carefully and censured his actions of provoking a revolt. Although he was forced to abandon open planning and agitation, the idea of a total Slav uprising was never abandoned. When Russia stopped Njegosh from re-taking Podgorica and other lands, Njegosh said:

It is my desire to go to Serbia, then to America. Don't be surprised one day to hear I went to New York. It is only fitting that a free land be helped by a free land if that help is necessary. Is Russia's help heavy? I like Russia but I feel the heaviness of the cost of that help. I, a ruler of a free people am Petrograd's slave. I want to take off that yoke.101

101 Vukmanovich, Njegosh, p. 160.
Njegosh could not accept the policy that any nation, because of strength had the right to oppress another. His sadness was heightened because the Christian nations of Europe supported the diplomacy which allowed and encouraged the Ottoman Empire to control the Balkan people.

Nenadovich records the visit of an English Lord while Njegosh was in Napoli. The Lord asked for a picture with an inscription as a souvenir. Njegosh tried to refuse but at the Englishman's urging, told the Englishman to record the following words:

I see before me my tombstone saying, Here lies the Montenegrin Bishop. Dying, not living to see the salvation of his people. Tell your people for that we have you to thank, your hands hold the dead hand of Turkey against our throats. Whenever you see this picture think of the millions of Christians, my brothers, who without any right, suffer the inhuman Turkish hand and you defend them... Tell them we can defeat the Turks but we cannot gain the mercy of you Christians. 102

As can be seen, foreign policy was really beyond Njegosh's control since his policy depended on the will of stronger nations. Njegosh succeeded in securing Montenegrin boundaries, negotiated independent peace treaties, built border fortresses and munitions factories, and was acknowledged as an independent ruler. His major achievements were internal. He made his state secure and based rule upon law and justice.

The Montenegrin economy was limited. Trade was not developed. The state income was derived from family or house tax, duties in salt, fish and dried meat, from land let by the monasteries and a tobacco tax.

102 Nenadovich, Celokupna Dela, p. 594. Translated by this author.
Russia sent a subsidy which was irregular both in amount and time. The inhabitants maintained themselves by raising what they could and by selling or bartering domestic products.

The barren and rocky soil produced little. The mountaineers raised honey, vegetables, barley, maize, and had milk from goats and cattle. Lake Scutari provided an abundance of small fish which were salted, dried, and considered a delicacy. Whatever was available for sale or trade was taken to the coast to market. Skins of animals, honey, smoked and dried lamb, and smoked ham were sold. Montenegro minted no money. Coins of every kind were used and accepted.

The fertile coastal areas and seaports and the fertile lower Zeta region and Podgorica plains were taken from Montenegro by the Vienna Congress. The country remained poor and unable to develop a surplus economy.

Njegosh's political modernization consisted of a gradual introduction of change in existing institutions. He instituted a legal and executive system in order to centralize rule and strengthen the state. Local leadership and autonomy were re-directed to serve state functions. Njegosh was an educator who used the process of enculturation to reconstruct Montenegrin tradition in order to bring his people to a modern status. The following sections will discuss Njegosh's educational contributions.

Education, Literacy and Literature

Chapter II discussed the exclusion of Montenegro from the major periods of Western intellectual development and from the revolution of modernization. Black's definition of modernization states it is a
process which reflected the increase in man's knowledge which permitted control over his environment and accompanied the scientific revolution. 103

Black has commented that modernizing change took place within the political, economic, and intellectual aspects of human activity. The intellectual aspect is especially important and significant since man's knowledge determines the rate and direction of change. In any case, it is difficult to discuss change in any one aspect without discussing change in another because they are all interrelated. The political reforms were necessary because without centralized rule and taxation, maintenance of schools, a printery, payment of teachers would not have been possible.

Njegosh did not want to Westernize his people, nor to Europeanize them. He wanted to teach them and give them the tools by which they could run their own affairs as civil servants, teachers, lawyers, and doctors, of which there were none but a few teachers in Montenegro. Njegosh felt that when literacy and competency were added to the stable values of his people, then his people would survive. He wanted to teach them to understand themselves, to cope with problems, to achieve a common sense of identity and purpose. Black states that such an attitude leads to the ultimate goal of modernization, integration of society. No nation has yet completed integration of society, some have entered the process, some have not. 104

103 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 14.

104 Ibid., p. 59. The concept of integration used in connection with Montenegro is that the individual's ties with local, regional, and other intermediate structures are reduced at the same time that his ties with the larger and more diffuse urban and industrial network are strengthened. This cannot be attained until after a society has completed economic and social transformation. Balkan societies entered economic and social transformation in 1918, and have not yet concluded this phase of modernization.
Intellectual modernization in Montenegro included the development of the idea of state, the acceptance of innovations, the removal of superstition, as well as the introduction of formal agencies of education. Even the quelling of blood feuds depended upon educating the people, and Njegosh's personal effort to collect taxes was a teaching process.

The printing press that Njegosh imported from Russia in 1833 would be of no value if the people could not read what was printed. He was a strong advocate of writing in the common Serbian language rather than the Serbo-Slavonic which the people would not understand. Njegosh wrote and printed his own compositions in the popular tongue. He established a primary school in the Cetinje monastery in 1834, and expanded the regular monastery school. The primary school taught reading and writing to local youths. The first teacher was a Petar Djukovich from Kotor. During Njegosh's time other teachers were Lazar Vlahovich, Teodor Ivanchek and Milorad Medakovich. The school eventually enrolled thirty pupils who came from all parts of the land and lived in the monastery.

One incident tells that Njegosh visited the schoolroom and saw two pistols on a student's desk. Njegosh asked the teacher what this meant. The teacher told him the pupil rode along the plain of Cetinje as a guard until the school bell rang. He brought his horse to the monastery and his pistols to the classroom. The teacher complained that he did not know what to do with him. Njegosh told him it was easy, let him bring his horse into the school too, and by this let it be known, the desire of the Montenegrin for schooling. From this it is evident
that the students divided their time between school and battle. They were probably of all ages and very hard to control. Another school was opened in a monastery at Dobrskom Selo. The two schools were considered state schools. There were some indications of private tutoring and home teaching. There were classes held at other monasteries and in the homes of literate clergymen.

The printing press began its work in 1834. The first publications were two collections of Njegosh's poems, Pustinjak Cetinjski, The Hermit of Cetinje, and Lijek Jarosti Turske, the translation, Healing Turkish Evil, does not do the title justice. In 1834, the Dika Crnogorska, The Montenegrin Pride of Simo Milutinovich was published. In 1836, Srpski Bukvar, a primer and in 1838, Poslovice Vuka Karadzicha, The Sayings of Vuk Karadzich, were published for use in the schools. The first section of Srpska Gramatika, Serbian Grammar of Dimitrije Milakovich was printed in 1839. Milakovich also translated a world history from German which was printed in 1839. Also printed from 1835-1839 was the first magazine, an almanac, Grlitza, Turtle Dove, and a Trebnik, a church book were printed. This indicates that Njegosh had two sets of type, one for the Old Slavonic and one for the Cyrillic print.

While Njegosh actively supported use of the spoken Serbian language in literature, the Church supported the Old Slavonic classical language. Vuk Stefanovich Karadzich had developed a new orthography which replaced the clumsy lj, nj, and j characters with a single character, and succeeded in developing a completely phonetic alphabet of thirty characters. Every Serbian child has heard the saying attributed to Karadzich, "Write as you speak, read as you write." When the alphabet was learned, reading was no problem. Karadzich had been a reknowned
literary figure for twenty years.

Njegosh met Karadzich in 1833 when en route for Russia. He also met Karadzich's strongest opponent the very powerful Serbian Metropolitan Stratimirovich who opposed linguistic reform on the grounds that it undermined the Church. Njegosh defended Karadzich against Stratimirovich and became his lifelong friend.

Karadzich translated the New Testament in the popular tongue and wanted Church approval for its publication. Stratimirovich strongly opposed the translation. Some sources say Njegosh approved it, but he did not. Njegosh defended it but told Karadzich to refer it to more learned Bishops than he, "Bishops better informed of church laws, church canon and more fitting to deal with such matters. If you were to ask my blessings to free the Serbs, obtain weapons, to go to war, there I am a true Bishop and would give my blessing, but you are no more inclined for that than I am for the other." 105

Njegosh gave Karadzich some of his poetry but he never succeeded in publishing it since Austrian censors did not allow it. Karadzich did not realize how his acquaintance with the Bishop would have an impact on his ideas and conclusions, especially where language was concerned. He knew only the Hercegovinian and Srem Serbian dialects, and did not have a clear, formalized picture of nor knowledge of the language until he went to Montenegro. Until then, Karadzich thought what was different was wrong. His stay in Montenegro enabled him to widen his scope, correct his views and concretely form his linguistic concepts.

105 Radovich, Licnosti i Dela, p. 49.
Njegosh ordered Karadzich's new letters for his printing press and used them when he began publishing books. Njegosh also wrote to Prince Milosh of Serbia and Prince Alexander Tatiscev about him, urging them to help him. Karadzich had incurred many animosities almost everywhere he went, but was warmly received and highly regarded in Montenegro. Duncan Wilson tells us Karadzich led a poor and miserable life. He was at times considered an Austrian agent, lived in suspicion and intrigue and had to leave Serbia because of Prince Milosh's suspicion of him. Karadzich also helped counter European opinion of Montenegro. For example, Brockhaus' Encyclopedia said that Montenegro was a brigand area. Karadzich wrote A View of Montenegro in 1834, in German, telling of Montenegrin resistance of Turkey and its heroic example to European countries.

Njegosh's literary contributions were of major importance to the development of Montenegrin literature. From the already beautiful language, Sekulich said Njegosh created an especially artistic language. The Montenegrin vocabulary was able to give sublime expression to common words and to clearly, cleanly express thoughts. Sekulich stated that she thought the Montenegrins are among world leaders in this ability. Njegosh infused a modern note, characteristic of poets, a cold melancholy, and all the grammatical imperfections of the common tongue. He took the common sayings and gave them new meaning based upon hundreds of years of experience. "Too much fuel under a small pot will break it or cause the

107 Ibid., p. 274.
milk to spill." This aphorism, a simple folk saying was used to express the effect of attacks upon his land, which would break the land or cause it to ignite and spill over. He changed the direction of the ballads, gave them a new meter and more lyrical expression. Following Njegosh, a national literature of a more sophisticated type was created by native authors. Those who followed him never equalled nor surpassed him, as none have even today.

Njegosh died of consumption on October 31, 1851. His contribution to Montenegro might be summarized by his statement to Sir Gardiner Wilkinson. "Our neighbors have stigmatized the Montenegrins as robbers and assassins; but I am determined that his shall not be so, and will show they are as capable of improvement and civilization as any other people." Njegosh fulfilled that aim and brought his people to the realization that Montenegro must look beyond its dependence upon the historical past for future guidance.

Njegosh is a rare historical figure. He was a teacher and advisor who developed a philosophy which some call practical idealism. He was not a philosopher of speculation, contemplation nor abstract system building. His philosophy, unlike many, is open to all men, not restricted to the comprehension of a few. He lived during a brutal, cruel and bloody era, among people whose response was brutal, cruel, and bloody. Njegosh taught them that just as God waged heroic war against evil, so must they war against tyranny, injustice, and slavery. The heroic example of God would lead them to achieve freedom and to aid those

108 Ranke, History of Servia, p. 448,
subjugated by others. He developed the idea of obligation to fellow­
man and community as an obligation not felt or understood by creatures
of no intellect or reason. In return for man's obligation to the
community, the community is obliged not to enslave its members. He
claimed that man is poorly endowed for the struggle in nature, that
man's intellect and reason are his only weapons against harm. Man is
obliger to use these endowments to seek truth, justice and freedom for
all mankind.

Njegosh thusly defined the Montenegrin struggle as not only a
struggle for daily survival but as a struggle for the highest moral
principles. The principles were a part of the peoples' philosophy but
had no definition or expression until Njegosh captured their essence in
his philosophy.

Njegosh's nation-building efforts and his efforts to build
schools were handicapped by lack of financial resources. He most
successfully transformed the Montenegrin institutions by giving them
new functions suitable to an orderly civil state. In this way, he
established foundations for future modernizing rulers.

Chapter VI will show that some of his reforms were internalized
by the people, and some were not. The rapid changes of the 1850's were
disruptive and alienated the population. Njegosh's successor, Danilo II,
introduced structural rather than functional changes, angering the
population which reacted with violence. The people fell back upon
traditional reactions and to traditional values to give them a sense
of security during the tumultuous period to follow.
CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL MODERNIZATION, 1851-1918

Chapters I-V described Montenegro's history during certain periods that are of importance to this dissertation. Prior to 1878, Balkan politics was considered a matter to be settled by the diplomats of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, England, France, and Germany. None of the European Great Powers considered the possibility of independent self-governing Balkan states. Russia was interested in expanding its European influence by creating satellite states under its influence or control.

European events began to intrude upon the most isolated Balkan areas after the 1850's. Turkey was less and less able to maintain its empire. This empire was supported by the Great Powers which feared that the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire would give Russia or the Dual Monarchy control of the Balkans. The balance of power was maintained by supporting Turkey's control over the subjugated Balkan people.

Balkan politics was a confusing maze of alliances, pacts, and intrigues, which lead to major conflicts in 1876-78, 1912-13, and again in 1914. The years between wars were periods of Balkan self-assertion and emergence. After 1878 through 1914, the extreme nationalism of Balkan groups was directed first against the Great Powers and then
against one another. The Balkan nations were pitted against each other by the Great Powers who felt threatened by the possibility of Slav union that would destroy their hopes for eastward expansion. Austria and Turkey especially feared that the Balkan societies would rally to free themselves of outside control.

Montenegro's initial defensive and later offensive wars set an example which indicated the possibility that it might become the rallying point of Slav nationalism. Since Slav nationalism was a general attitude among all Slavs, it was not as feared as Serbian nationalism. Serbian nationalism was specific and the creation of a strong Serbian state through union of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina was a more realistic and possible goal.

The intensified efforts by the Serbians to achieve unification were blocked by the Great Powers, especially Austria. It was the pent-up frustrations of the Serbs that caused Gavrilo Princip, a Serbian nationalist, to assassinate the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914. This event was the immediate cause of World War I. After World War I, the creation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, encouraged by Wilson's Fourteen Point Plan, unfortunately, did not live up to expectations. The combined peoples could not overcome their separate historical experience which became a divisive force that impeded formation of a national consensus. The events of Balkan history had produced an extremely localized, defiant nationalism in the indigenous population. The continuing "Balkan Problem" is described in Chapter I.
Conditions in Montenegro, 1851-1918

Montenegrin nationalism was intensified by every attempt to subdue its population. From Njegosh's death in 1851 to Nicholas' deposition on November 26, 1918, Montenegrin history records a society developing its inner resources and strengthening its governing institutions in order to remain free of external control. Montenegro's historical experiences intensified the spiritual and national character of the people. As a nation, Montenegro survived by a system in which every man was a soldier. Constant military preparedness weakened the arts of peace, progress, and civilization.

As indicated, education in Montenegro was largely based on enculturation. When a formal school system was created, enculturation continued to have a formidable educative effect. Prince Nicholas I was a blending of old and new. He was admired and respected for his conservative views by the older inhabitants. To them, it was important that "Nikita" as they called him, played the gusle before announcing his declaration of war on Turkey in 1912, and that he was an excellent military leader, a good shot, and an expert horseman. The more traditional Montenegrins were not impressed by administrative efficiency. They resented external interference, and detested the outside exploiters, financial agents, and syndicates which brought money and cultural change to Montenegro.

109 Temporley, History of Serbia, p. 113. Temporley had a good insight into Balkan experiences stating: "Slavonic nationalities are the despair of historians. Their story is complex beyond ordinary complexity, and bloody beyond ordinary bloodiness." p. 1.
Other Montenegrins were interested in changing the patterns of national life. Scores of Montenegrins had emigrated to America and returned. The youth educated abroad returned. These groups agitated for a higher standard of living and progress for Montenegro. They felt that union with Serbia would strengthen Montenegrin resources and enable Montenegro to progress more rapidly. The two forces, old and new, traditional and modern, clashed. The younger generation could no longer accept the old religious fire nurtured by hatred of the Turk. With the defeat of the Ottoman Empire and the removal of the Turkish threat, some aspects of the heroic Montenegrin tradition became obsolete and grew overly formal. Nicholas forever freed his land of the Turk, but, by so doing, freed the youth from the ethic which was developed during the five-century battle for freedom from the Turk.

Montenegro's glorious past became a closed chapter when it was incorporated into the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Nicholas' rule was terminated when Montenegro's historical purpose was justified. There was no longer a valid reason for her existence separate from the larger and more wealthy Serbian body. Nicholas sacrificed everything, his kingdom, his dynasty and himself to the fulfillment of the ideals from Kosovo.

The history of the conflict between conservative and modern forces will be detailed in a later section. The purpose of these comments is to give the reader some insight into events to be discussed.

It is impossible to determine the exact number of students sent abroad or number of immigrants that returned to Montenegro. The literature indicates that the impact of both groups was significant in the introduction of new ideas and that many political leaders came from the two groups. Educated men and men educated by travel or experience outside Montenegro were respected and influential within the family-clan structure.
The romantic era ended with Njegosh's death in 1851. The ideals of manhood, heroism, and courage became increasingly less necessary. Njegosh's era had introduced values of a more practical dimension such as state loyalty, literacy, and diplomacy. The people of Montenegro were catapulted into a modern era for which they were not prepared. Modernization exacted of them the same price of human suffering, dislocation, alienation and violence that has been exacted of every modernizing society. Modernization in both the political and intellectual aspects of human activity were processes forced by the rulers. Unrest became especially violent in the interim between Njegosh's death and Nicholas' era. The challenge of modernity which preceded the consolidation of leadership was introduced abruptly by the modernizing rulers.

The challenge of modernity may come from within by innovative leaders, by new ideas that call into question accepted beliefs, and by technical innovations. Members of society may travel abroad, or become acquainted at home with foreign travelers, books and machines that suggest different ways of doing things. Societies may meet these challenges by defending the existing conceptions and adapting them to an altered conception. Montenegro was initially challenged by Njegosh who traveled abroad, whose reading and acquaintance with foreign travelers introduced him to many new ideas. He defended existing conceptions and adapted them to an altered conception.

For an extended discussion of the challenge of modernity, see Black's "The Politics of Modernization," pp. 56-77, in Dynamics of Modernization.
Later changes were introduced more abruptly by Danilo II. Nicholas I built upon the changes introduced by Danilo II, but he, in turn, was challenged by new ideas introduced primarily by students who returned from abroad. Black states: "The central problem in political modernization is the process by which a society makes the transition from a political leadership wedded to the traditional system to one that favors thoroughgoing modernization. The transition in Nicholas' era took place after World War I through the process of undermining the traditional ruling oligarchy began much earlier. This problem will be fully treated in a later section. For the present it is sufficient to clarify the concepts of the challenge of modernity and consolidation of modernizing leadership by giving brief statements that apply to Montenegro.

The challenge of modernity, though earlier discussed, needs further clarification. The challenge of modernity comes from a variety of sources and is met in a variety of ways. Societies differ greatly in origin of challenge and in responses to challenges to their traditional institutions. All modern societies faced the initial confrontation of modern ideas within the traditional framework and the emergence of advocates of modernity. This phase is followed by consolidation of modernizing leadership, the transfer of power from traditional to modernizing leaders in the course of a normal bitter revolutionary struggle often lasting several generations. Njegosh consolidated leadership in a relatively peaceful manner. He transferred power to himself by changing functions, not structures of traditional institutions.

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112 Ibid., p. 72. 113 See footnote 110.
This enabled him to introduce gradual reform without disrupting the citizenry to the extent that revolution occurred. This was not the case with Danilo II who abruptly issued major challenges to existing institutions and changed their structure. The work of Danilo II will be discussed in the following section. The significance of the preceding paragraphs is to emphasize the violence that erupts in response to the challenge of modernity. Black states:

Involving the totality of human behavior patterns, these changes are correspondingly unsettling in terms of the identity and security of individuals and institutions. Traditional institutions and functions must be changed but they do not surrender without a struggle. At the domestic level violence has taken the form of efforts to consolidate national authority, to suppress revolts and to overthrow governments. The transition from traditional to modernizing political leaders has invariably involved violence and not infrequently civil wars.  

The experience of Montenegro followed the pattern Black discerns in all modernizing societies, but it proceeded at her own rate and within her own historical circumstances.

The Interim Rule

Though Danilo Petrovich II is not considered a major figure in this study, he is a major modernizing figure and major figure in Montenegrin history. He ruled for a short time, from 1851-1859. His rule will be briefly discussed because events occurred that had a later importance.

Montenegro was becoming more involved in European politics. European events intruded upon the most isolated societies in this period of dissolution of multi-national empires, unifications of territories into new states and the liberation of subject peoples.

114 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 30.
Internal conditions in Montenegro were unsettled because Danilo abruptly broke with tradition on many levels. Heir to an unbroken line of Prince-Bishops, Danilo divested himself of the ecclesiastical function of rule which had been a tradition from 1516. He refused to be ordained as a Bishop, announcing his plans to marry Darinka Kvekich, daughter of a wealthy Serbian merchant in Trieste. He went to Russia in 1852 to seek sanction for this important change.

Nicholas I of Russia acknowledged Danilo as the temporal Prince of Montenegro on July 18, 1852. Danilo legalized the secular status in the Great Charter of Six Articles. The charter was the first written law governing ruling status and succession. To this time, no written law existed that required the ruler to be Prince and Bishop and no law governed succession nor the Petrovich dynasty. The charter declared Montenegro to be a temporal state under the hereditary rule of a Prince. The Prince was Danilo Petrovich of Njegushi: his male descendants were to succeed him in order of birth and provision was made for succession should the Petrovich line become extinct. The church function was given to a Bishop or Archbishop chosen by the government. The remaining articles confirmed the existing laws and customs of the land.\footnote{Jovanvich, Stvaranje Crnogorske Drzave, pp. 242-251, passim.}

Turkey and Austria feared that secularization of rule would strengthen Montenegro. Turkey took advantage of the internal disharmony generated by Danilo's change of the ruling status to attack Montenegro. It was thought this period of weakness would give Turkey a rapid victory. A four month battle was concluded by an imposed peace in April, 1853.
Danilo's experience in this war taught him that Montenegro needed military reform and modern weapons. Until 1853, the armies had fought in the traditional manner and were organized according to clan with no well-defined overall strategy. When the enemy appeared, men were raised by voice, each seized his rifle and supplies and went into the battle.

Danilo copied Njegosh's model for the "Perianiki." He also initiated compulsory registration of males between thirteen and fifty. He appointed "stotinashi," that were captains of hundreds; "desechari," captains of tens; "barjaktari," which were standard bearers; and he developed a military plan. The army was not, at this time, a standing force and there were no tactical instructions, compulsory drill, nor regulations. The soldiers were told who to follow when the battle began, each returning home when it concluded. Soldiers were issued powder, had a few captured cannon, but continued to supply their own personal needs. There were no quarters nor provisions to maintain a standing army.

The Crimean War

The Crimean War, 1853-1856, was a political and commercial war in which Russia fought against France, England, Turkey, and Sardinia. Montenegrins urged Danilo II to enter the war to support Russia. Austria warned Danilo to remain neutral and to restrain border clans from attacking Turkish controlled areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Montenegrins neither understood nor wanted to follow Danilo's neutral policy. They considered neutrality in a war against Turkey as cowardly. Not helping Russia was considered faithless and against Montenegrin tradition.
Danilo maintained neutrality because he needed time to strengthen Montenegrin resources and reconstruct the political institutions. Russia's defeat in the Crimean War further enraged the Montenegrins. The Paris Peace Conference of 1856 dealt harshly with Russia in attempts to stop her expansion toward Constantinople. As Russia's Balkan influence weakened, Austria and England sought to establish their own Balkan influence.

Danilo petitioned the Paris Peace Conference to recognize Montenegro as a negotiator. He requested that Montenegrin boundaries be expanded and that an access to the sea be given Montenegro. England, Austria, and France demanded that Montenegro recognize the Sultan as its representative in foreign affairs. Danilo gained no favor at the Paris Peace Conference, but succeeded in placing the Montenegrin question before the Great Powers as an individual and independent country rather than as part of the "Balkan Question."

The Great Powers were not as troubled by recognizing Montenegrin independence as they were by the Montenegrin-Russian relationship. They wished to detach Montenegro from Russia, to curtail Russia's Balkan influence, and to force Montenegro to keep peace in the delicate Balkan area where European interests crossed paths.

Russia was a splinter in everyone's Balkan eye. France invested money in technological development in Turkey, Austria-Hungary wanted to control the East and England wanted to maintain its commercial interests in the East. It was important to each nation that Montenegro remain at peace with Turkey, that the Balkans remain peaceful and contained so that each country could proceed to its goal without interference. Danilo turned from international politics in order to prepare the country and
citizens for further wars. The Paris Peace Conference settled nothing.

The Battle of Grahovo, 1858

Turkey and Montenegro were in constant contention over Grahovo, an area that was strategically important for controlling Bosnia-Hercegovina. Prince Danilo was determined to control Grahovo in order to gain Montenegrin access to Bosnia-Hercegovina. Danilo continually encouraged the uprisings in the Turkish occupied areas and welcomed those who were able to escape from Bosnia-Hercegovina to Montenegro. The Austrian governor in Dalmatia wrote that, "The Montenegrins are creating havoc for the Turks in Bosnia-Hercegovina."116

In the spring of 1858, Prince Danilo, together with the guerilla leader of the Bosnian-Hercegovinian Serbs, Luka Vukalovich, planned a general uprising of all bordering Hercegovinian Serbs. The desire for freedom was so intensely inflamed by Montenegrin agitation that the uprisings grew more widespread. War with Turkey was made inevitable when the Turkish occupied provinces demanded their freedom to join Montenegro. Austria immediately declared its support for Turkey. Russia promised to help Montenegro.

Details of the war will not be presented. It is presently sufficient to state that Turkey attacked Montenegro in April, 1858. The ensuing battle was decisive and is known in English and Serbian literature as the "Marathon of Montenegro." The Montenegrins defeated the Turkish armies and won a complete and total victory in Grahovo. Grahovo's triumph placed Montenegro in the leading Balkan position and turned

116 Ibid., p. 282. Grahovo was lost in the 1853 war.
all surrounding eyes to Montenegro for leadership and inspiration.\textsuperscript{117}

Danilo failed to take diplomatic advantage of this victory. In waiting for an European Peace Commission to meet in Constantinople, he wanted to negotiate on equal terms and gain the final acceptance of Montenegro as an independent Balkan nation. The major European powers ignored Montenegro at the conference and sought to place Montenegro under Ottoman control to bolster the declining Turkish Empire. Ironically, Montenegro's status became increasingly more imperiled as Ottoman power declined. All Balkan societies were imperiled when Ottoman decline created a power vacuum which other nations, such as Austria and Russia, yearned to fill. After five-centuries of Ottoman rule the Balkan people were to be fair game for the mightiest and the swiftest nation.

Danilo returned to internal affairs after experiencing the bitter lesson at Constantinople. He improved the "Code Danilo" which was to remain in effect until 1888. He turned to internal organization based upon the provisions of the Code.

\textbf{Internal Reform of Danilo II}

The "Code Danilo" has been described as both primitive and advanced. The fact is that it was primitive for Europe and advanced for Montenegro. The code gave every citizen equality before the law, granted equal rights of all to hold office, and was Montenegro's first attempt at constitutional rule. In the document Danilo legalized all his reforms in ninety-five articles. The laws included all the laws of

\textsuperscript{117}Devine, \textit{Montenegro in History, Politics and War.}
Peter I which were written but never enforced. The code was not easily ratified because of the articles governing taxation. Many clan leaders left the assembly which was held to ratify the new laws and determined to fall back upon the old ways and to re-establish their autonomous status. The outlying clans, farthest from Cetinje and on the Turkish borders were especially defiant because of taxation and Danilo's orders to cease incursions into Turkish areas. An especially terrible event took place when Mirko Petrovich led troops into the Kuchi area to suppress revolt. A brutal bloody massacre took place, which has been recounted as "The Destruction of Kuchi." This deed earned for Danilo the fear and hatred of many subjects.

Danilo used taxation to consolidate his ruling position and to establish a financial base for Montenegro. He also began to purge his opponents from the Senate. He wrote Senate regulations that made his word final in any disagreement. He supplemented the "guardija" instituted by Njegosh by establishing lower local bodies which judged small crimes, except murder, which was maintained as the Senate's exclusive right. The local bodies were composed of the captains of the tens and hundreds who were both military and civil leaders. Every citizen was given the right to appeal the lower court decisions first to the Senate and then to the Prince.

The two schools Njegosh founded in 1834 educated 140 men in twenty-one years. The 140 men became state officials in local and central bodies, judges or scribes. Five became Senate secretaries. Four of the secretaries completed the Cetinje School; one completed school at Dobroskom Sel. Since the expansion of government functions
required even more literate men, Danilo ordered the Senate to devote its energies to building schools. While he wanted each clan district to have at least one primary school, he succeeded in opening only nine schools located in Njegushi, Ceklicama, Piperi, Rijeka Crnojevich, Boljevichama, Gluhom Dolu, Dupelu, Ljubotini and Ceklanu. These new schools were to use the one at Cetinje as their model. As well as teachers from Kotor, Stevan Petranovich, Petar Cerkovich, Anto Macura, Nikola Musulin and Stevan Kapa, who were graduates of the Cetinje school, were among the known teachers. Danilo made the Cetinje school a boarding school, gave thirty scholarships to the best students from outlying areas and sent fifteen students to Serbia and four to Russia for further study. The four sent to Russia never returned but elected to remain in Russian government service. Of those sent to Serbia, eight returned and four became Senators in 1864. 118

Elimination of Undesirable Customs

Danilo II was concerned about customs which were financial burdens upon the poor citizens. Elaborate funeral customs, the "Slava," the mode of dress were extravagant and often pauperized households. Danilo was especially severe in punishing the abuse of alcoholic spirits and playing cards for money. Playing cards for pleasure was banned except in designated public houses. Danilo's reforms sought to eliminate the quarrels that often resulted from gambling and drinking.

Danilo banned the purchasing and wearing of the magnificent

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118 Jovanovich, Stvaranje Crnogorske Drzave, p. 294.
traditional Montenegrin garb which is decorated with heavy gold embroidery. The Montenegrin dress is among the most beautiful and most costly native dresses of the Balkan groups. The dress was banned for all except the Prince, Senators, and national leaders.

Danilo considered the burial customs undesirable in two ways. The cost of burial was great because the villagers who attended the ceremonies often stayed several days. This necessitated feeding and housing them. There was also the custom of holding an elaborate meal after the burial. This practice, called the "dacha" was banned.

The second undesirable death custom Danilo wished to eradicate was the cutting of hair and scratching of faces, especially if the deceased was a brother, son, or young hero. Danilo prohibited this and attempted to stop the custom of lamenting. The lament was a spontaneous expression which resembled heroic epics with the deceased as the central figure. Danilo's attempts to ban lamenting was to eradicate a custom he felt violated the Western criteria of civilization. Hair cutting and scratching of faces was banned for the reason that it often permanently disfigured very young and lovely girls.

Princess Darinka and Danilo, in their style of palace life, brought many foreign diplomats and visitors to Cetinje. Danilo sought to ban those customs that he thought would create an undesirable opinion. Civil-servants from outlying areas as well as the Perianiki were always in the palace. The population of Cetinje grew due to the increased governmental services. Those from the provinces encountered people, manners, and customs they had never before seen. This contrast and contact taught them many new ways and new ideas which they carried
back to their villages.

The Perijanici, the Prince's personal guard and palace guard, was composed of especially chosen young men. The only requirement aside from good reputation, demonstrated ability and courage, was basic literacy. The requirement of literacy was an innovation that indicated the function of the guard was not only military but civil as well. The guard came into contact with ministers, famous Montenegrin heroes, with the Prince and Princess, and all foreign visitors. Some of the young men taught themselves one or more languages and showed a willingness and quickness to learn. Although there were no formal means to educate them, many of them advanced to positions in consular service or became diplomatic couriers and local officials. 119 The guard rotated in two-year periods of palace service. Each person who came to the palace learned something by observation, emancipating themselves of rough manners and behavior if nothing more.

Danilo was also concerned with the continued deference paid to clan leaders and other honored citizens. Though the Montenegrins never paid homage with humiliating acts of obesience, they showed respect by kissing hands and baring heads before the most respected elders. Danilo outlawed this. If a clan leader allowed such greetings, he was called for questioning. The greeter, if it was proven that he understood the law, could be fined or jailed. Citizens could kiss only the Prince's, the Bishop's or the Metropolitan's hand. 120


120 Ibid., p. 183.
Danilo banned swearing, lying and the uttering of oaths. This ban was a move toward quelling superstition and fear of the supernatural. Captains were to inform all citizens from ages twelve to eighty of the laws. Transgressions were punished by fines, deprivation of civil rights and the banning of marriages into the house of the transgressor. Priests read the laws in churches and explained them to worshippers. Danilo again banned the bringing of heads to Cetinje and their display on the ramparts of the Monastery. The laws were not all obeyed after Danilo's death on August 1, 1859.

Nicholas Petrovich I

Nicholas Petrovich, Danilo's designated heir had been selected several years earlier since Danilo had no male heirs. Nicholas was Danilo's nephew. Nicholas' father, Mirko, was the hero of the Battle of Grahovo, 1858. He was feared and disliked by many whose resistance to government reform he personally subdued. Mirko was a conservative who had strong political views which he sought to transmit to Nicholas. Mirko became lifetime President of the Senate. These two facts, that Mirko was the father of the ruler and President of the Senate were to be very significant to Nicholas' early policy development. 121

121 Nicholas Petrovich in his Memoari (see footnote 19) relates that his father, Mirko, respected and loved the Western oriented Princess Darinka. Some authors relate that Mirko considered Darinka a bad influence upon Nicholas because of her leanings toward France, and that he and Darinka came into open conflict. Nicholas' memoirs relate that this was not so, that Russia attempted to cause a rift between Darinka and the new ruler in order to assure there would be no French influence in Cetinje. Mirko strongly defended Darinka to Russian officials.
Acceptance of Nicholas as ruler was greatly enhanced among a large segment of the citizens because he was Mirko's son. Mirko was known by all who had any earlier Montenegrin contacts. He had been an advisor and traveled for his brother Danilo Petrovich.

Prince Nicholas was Montenegro's only schooled ruler. He was born September, 1841, in Njegushi, the home of the Petrovich brotherhood. He was nineteen when he became Nicholas I. It is ironic that he was the first schooled ruler but possible the one least likely to have profited from an excellent Western education. His correspondence stated that he endured rather than enjoyed the schooling and life in Paris.

Danilo sent Nicholas to Trieste to live with Princess Darinka's family and to study Serbian history, German and Italian. Nicholas was then fourteen. From Trieste, he was sent to the Academy Louis le Grand in Paris. Nicholas was especially devoted to the traditional Montenegrin ideals and values. Nicholas hated the restrictive school atmosphere and the artificial pleasures of Paris. He wrote: "If I were offered the whole Balkan Peninsula in exchange (for Montenegro) I would not listen . . ."\(^{122}\) He escaped the classroom by going into the woods to ride and shoot. Nicholas was a fearless rider who was to traverse every path and pass of his country on horseback. He was well acquainted with his subjects and knew many by name. When ruler, Nicholas held open audiences with his subjects who were always able to make personal contact with him.

Nicholas married Milena Vukotich in 1860. The marriage was extremely happy and successful. Nicholas wrote many poems to express

\(^{122}\) Miller, *The Balkans*, p. 247.
his love for his wife and children. The marriage produced twelve children, three sons and nine daughters. Nicholas' children became an important part of his foreign policy, the daughters more so than the sons. Nicholas earned the title, "Father-in-Law of Europe," managing to make marital alliances which astounded all Europe. Jelena, (Elena) married Victor Emmanuel who became King of Italy. Milica and Anna married the uncles of Nicholas II, the Romanov Czar, another married a Battenberg, and Zorka became the wife of Prince Petar Karageorgevich who became the Serbian King of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Their son, Alexander, followed by their grandson, Peter II, ruled Yugoslavia until the end of World War II. Nicholas I, monarch of a poor and backward state, allied himself to the most powerful European and English dynasties.

Political Reforms of Nicholas I

Nicholas' political reforms were extensive. He openly declared that he was an offensive military leader and aimed to enlarge Montenegrin territory by freeing Turkish-occupied areas. Nicholas actively intervened in Bosnia-Hercegovina, urging uprisings and supporting rebellion in the Turkish-occupied area. He negotiated with European powers on behalf of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Nicholas' actions resulted in Russian and French support of Montenegrin policy and English and Austrian support of Turkey. In 1862, supported by England and Austria, the Sultan attacked Montenegro aiming at total destruction of the country. This was thought to be the means by which to restore Turkish Balkan prestige lost in the Battle of Grahovo, to frighten subjugated Serbs into ceasing uprisings, and to
end an explosive Balkan situation. Montenegro was in danger of defeat when Russia and France intervened to compel peace. The Convention of Scutari, 1862, set harsh terms for Montenegro. Montenegro ignored them. There was no conclusive end to this battle which lapsed into an uneasy peace.

Nicholas signed a defensive pact with Serbia on September 23, 1866. This was the first formal step toward Serbian unity. Opposing the defensive pact, Mirko urged immediate offensive action and an uprising of all Slavs. Montenegro was not ready for this step. A terrible famine followed by cholera hit Montenegro. Montenegro was weakened and unable to carry on Nicholas' plans of expansion. Nicholas turned to internal affairs and Montenegro was at peace until 1875.

Prince Mihailo of Serbia sent money and food to Montenegro and began helping Montenegro train a modern army. A Serbian gunsmith was sent to construct an arsenal at Obod. Three Serbian artillery officers started a cannon factory near Cetinje. A trumpeter from Serbia came to teach responses to military command. The priority of self-defense outweighed all other necessities. Until defense was secured, nothing else could be accomplished.

Military modernization was political and educational. Military training was the first form of mass regulated education in Montenegro. Russia became more openly supportive, sending arms, instructors and establishing the first military school in Podgorica which was called the "Military College." Barracks were built and compulsory military training was begun. This was the first military school and the first "college of any sort in Montenegro." It was impossible to establish the most important need, a commissary. Wives and daughters continued
to carry reserve supplies to the front.

Nicholas began to make definite statements about his military plans as early as 1871 when he gathered all military leaders for training in Cetinje. He addressed them saying:

The new military organization and plentiful arms will make our friends respect us and our enemies fear us. Return to your troops and teach them what you learned here and prepare for the final examination. That one will count and will identify the heroes. 123

Military training and drill were a constant part of Montenegrin life from 1868-1875. No longer were youth trained in their homes nor by informal games with their peers. Military education was the first system of compulsory education in Montenegro. Military conferences were held frequently. It was common to see leaders from Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Old Serbia and Albania conferring with Nicholas. Nicholas maintained the highest level of military preparedness in Montenegro's history but held back from every minor incident which would dissipate strength or force a major battle for which he was not yet ready. He bade the leaders to wait and to prepare for a united uprising that would not fail due to lack of coordination or preparedness.

Montenegrin society was integrated. Devotion to Nicholas was increased because he surrounded himself with the tradition of the past and raised the Montenegrin standard of living. The ban on border raids was enforceable because the population was able to survive without them. The integration of society was accomplished by the sense of purpose and identity that originated from Nicholas' confident behavior and spread among the population.

123 Ibid., p. 104.
Nicholas was a propagator of nationalism and positive action to raise Montenegro's status among European countries.

Integration of society is a final aim of modernization. In Montenegro's case, the integration was not on the level of being the culmination of the process, but was a psychological aspect of modernization reached during this period. Black's discussion of integration of society includes the following:

A society's understanding of itself and its problems--its sense of identity and purpose--is the principal binding force that integrates members of that society and enables them to act effectively in common to solve their domestic and foreign problems. This is a profoundly conservative force, and properly so. The welfare and security of all the members of a society depend on its effectiveness and they cannot lightly abandon beliefs, practices and institutions that past experience has proved to be reliable.\(^{124}\)

The condition in Montenegro from 1868-1875 are described best by Black's statement. Though Nicholas reached back into the past for the heroic Montenegrin ethic, this does not make him less a modernizing ruler. He used the ethic to inflame nationalism, a major step in modernization, and to prepare for expansion of boundaries to enhance the state's economic potential.

At the same time Nicholas returned to the old traditions, he efficiently assumed control over all Montenegrin agencies. He maintained a close rapport with the citizens and involved them in the many changes he introduced. Economic incentives were used to gain, "the necessary degree of acceptance and participation on the part of the public," though

\(^{124}\) Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 56. Black further states that a society with a common purpose and understanding of its goals is stable and peaceful, whereas crime, delinquency and fragmentation occur when people are insecure and not united by a common purpose. This period of integration in Montenegro is described as being, "a haven of safety where citizens had no fear of criminal acts of any kind." p. 32, Memoirs, of Nicholas Petrovich.
the spirit of nationalism was his major source of power. Nicholas' control in Montenegro was autocratic but not dictatorial. Of dictatorships Black states:

It is not possible to run a modern political system by sheer terror and modern dictators depend upon their ability to win support through plebisites and nominally representative bodies.125

Nicholas' policies did not conflict with existing norms and values. He had the total support of the Senate and the clan leaders.

In 1868, Nicholas convened a large peoples' assembly. At this time he astounded the citizens by renouncing uncontrolled rights over public funds and separating public from private funds. Some new agencies of government were introduced at this time, but the major reforms came in 1874.

On July 8, 1874, Nicholas reorganized the function of the Senate making it the highest Montenegrin court. Nicholas considered it an outdated and inefficient representative body and formed a Legislative Council with broader representation to replace the Senate. Ministries of foreign and internal affairs, war, justice, and education were formed. Nicholas remained the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies, and reserved the rights of pardon and control of foreign affairs to himself. District courts were organized and competent men replaced the local captains who formerly were district judges. Dr. Balthazar Bogisich was commissioned to write new laws to regulate the public and private sectors, laws for civil rights of the people and laws to regulate the government. Nicholas announced, "With good laws, a land progresses, protecting citizens and their property. The law defends everyone and

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125 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 15.
everyone is equal before the law."126 The outline of reforms, reorganization and new laws were Montenegro's first constitution.

On October 7, 1874, Nicholas' power and reforms were tested. Some Montenegrins attending a bazaar in Turkish occupied Podgorica were shot in retaliation for the killing of a Turkish merchant by persons unknown. Montenegrins demanded an immediate attack upon Podgorica to avenge their honor and revenge the victims of the "Podgorica Massacre." Nicholas ably subdued them and turned to diplomacy for satisfaction. European diplomats feared that any Montenegrin action would inflame the Balkans and exerted pressure upon the Sultan to satisfy Montenegrin demands.

Nicholas' ability to contain his people and his diplomacy proved that the Montenegrins were a civilized people and that Montenegro was an orderly state ruled by law. The Sultan feared the reaction among subjugated Serbs and other Balkan societies if he capitulated to Montenegrin demands. The conflict continued into 1875 with Nicholas in complete control of his people.

In 1875 Nicholas called a significant peoples' assembly and announced that war was inevitable and bade them to prepare and wait his command. The Bosnian-Hercegovinian leaders who continued to communicate with Nicholas also prepared for war. The Bosnia-Hercegovinian insurrection began in Hercegovina in March, 1875.

126 Petrovich, Memoari, p. 111. Translated by this author.
Insurrection and War  
1875 - 1878

The years from 1875-1878 were critical for all Europe. Political events became very complex. Montenegrin history became primarily external and diplomatic. The entire Balkan Peninsula began to boil; German and Austro-Hungarian politics became openly avaricious to the dismay and temporary submission of Anglo-French and Russian interests, and the Central Powers now emerged in an open thrust to the East.

The unity movement of Serbia and Montenegro became the focal point of Central Power Balkan politics. Metternich earlier decreed that Serbia must be either Turkish or Austrian; but as the leading representative of legitimacy, Metternich could not openly attack Bosnia-Hercegovina and annex it and Serbia as well. When, in 1875, the Bosnian-Hercegovinan revolt spread through all Turkish occupied areas, it created the Austrian opportunity to march in to "maintain order."

With the Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbian westward expansion would be stopped; with the occupation of the crucial Sandzak area, Serbia and Montenegro could not unite nor collaborate in any military action.

On July 1, 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey.  

This was a war which united two branches of the Serbian people against

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127 The date given for entry into the war is generally recorded as July 1 in English and other sources. Nicholas' memoirs give the date, June 18, according to what is popularly called the, "church calendar." This calendar sets Serbian Orthodox Christmas at January 7.  
See maps on pp. 52 and 53. The crucial Sandzak area is marked by Novi Pazar, the important city of the Sandzak region.
the descendents of those who destroyed the old Serbian Empire nearly five centuries earlier. Montenegro invaded Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Hercegovinians joined Prince Nicholas, and he soon had an army of over 20,000 men. On July 28, Nicholas won the significant battle of Vucidol defeating Muktar Pasha. An armistice was concluded in November, and Prince Nicholas sent two representatives to Constantinople to negotiate peace. The proposals sent by Nicholas were rejected and, in April, Nicholas resumed the war. Nicholas' position was enhanced by the capture of Turkish weapons and the knowledge that Russia would soon enter the war. Nicholas was a master of mountain warfare. He pushed the Turkish troops back to Spuzh, laid siege to Niksich, captured it, then proceeded to the harbors of Antivari (Bar) and Dulcigno, (Ulcinj), triumphantly reaching the sea. By this time, Russia entered the war (1877). 128

Events of 1875-1878 indicated the Ottoman Empire was collapsing. When Russia entered Constantinople in 1877, the Turks were forced to sign the treaty of San Stefano. Nicholas was at the entrance to Skadar when he learned that Russia and Turkey concluded the Treaty of San Stefano. He suspended operations to participate in the fruits of the treaty. The Treaty of San Stefano trebled the size of Montenegro, gave full independence to Romania, promised sweeping reforms in Bosnia-Hercegovina and ceded strategic areas to Russia. Had the treaty been adopted, besides a territorial and population gain, Montenegro and Serbia would have been geographically joined, and the possibility of restoration

of the Serbian Empire might have been realized. The treaty was replaced with the Treaty of Berlin. Bismark assembled a Congress of all the European great powers at Berlin. The major powers again attempted to restore the Concert of Europe by collectively dealing with the Eastern Question. The Berlin Treaty kept European peace at Turkish expense, but continued to protect some Turkish possessions. Austria-Hungary was authorized to police, but not annex, Bosnia-Hercegovina in compensation for the spread of Russian influence in the Balkans. Although the immediate threat of war was postponed, many problems remained unsolved and became the cause of World War I. Balkan nationalism and Russian Pan-Slavism were not satisfied. Bismark appeased and promoted the Dual Monarchy's "Drang nach Osten," intending it to be an agent for German domination. An interesting insight into the conference was Lord Salisbury's supposedly humorous remark, "We backed the wrong horse," after realizing the real Central Power motivation. Curbing Russia with Austro-Hungary seemed the normal thing to do at this time. The immediate effect of the treaty was to surround Serbian lands and to separate Montenegro from Serbia. Austro-Hungaria was established in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Montenegrin modernization proceeded rapidly in the political aspect of human activity. Political modernization began with the consolidation of policy-making which enabled Nicholas to administer increasingly larger enterprises and areas from a single base. Black's theory of modernization states that the modern state arose from the consolidation of local authorities then proceeded to extend its power.

129 Miller, The Balkans, p. 67.
on a functional basis to many activities that had hitherto been in the private or local domain. The state gathered the power formerly held by local agencies. Montenegro met this criteria during the period from 1868-1875, when Nicholas became the first Montenegrin ruler able to implement policy with the consensus of the citizens. One cannot compare Montenegrin conditions with those of any other modern state; one can only measure the progress against Black's infinite continuum toward which the final form of modernization is expected to progress. This simply means that each society at some point in its development meets criteria which are applicable to any society at some point on the continuum. The final form of modernization is unknown. Black derived his criteria from studies of the similarities in stages of progress of the earlier modernizing nations. Some simple criteria applied to Montenegro, achieved by Nicholas, are as follows:

1. Consolidation of political leadership
2. Regulated system of laws
3. Local loyalties are transferred to centralized bodies
4. The state controls local functions
5. Resources are mobilized by state agencies for more efficient production and distribution.
6. Montenegro received recognition as an independent and self-governing state

The years from 1878-1912 were active years during which major improvements in communication, transportation, and technology brought some economic prosperity to Montenegro. The reforms and progress were great in establishment of a state system of schools. Reforms and progress in education will be presented in Chapters VII-IX.

130 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, pp. 14-15

131 Ibid. The criteria were selected passim from Black's discussion of political modernization and stated in simple terms which apply to Montenegro.
Nicholas worked through a bureaucracy of civil-servants to implement his policies. Even so, he retained a personal touch with the citizens by dispensing justice from his front porch, carrying on state business in the open, and by communicating with his subjects. He later declared war on the Ottoman Empire after playing his gusle and firing the first shot from his front porch.

Nicholas continued to maintain a consensus until the 1900's by an amalgam of tradition, nationalism, and teaching the citizens the value of the new goals of the state. As do all states, Montenegro depended upon the basis of its support from the people. Nicholas' strongest basis for internal support was the common historical experience of a citizenry which shared one language, one religion, and increasingly manifested this base with a common nationalism guided by Nicholas. Black considers a common historical experience the most significant basis for support. Nationalism, the most effective means of consolidation of loyalties, gave Montenegro an unshakeable consensus until the 1900's.

Nicholas preserved an aristocracy of birth and created a merit intelligensia for political leadership in Montenegro. Nicholas, like some reformers, was not really prepared to go all the way. He realized too late that he had set into motion a process which would eventually undermine him. The violence which usually accompanies the displacement

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132 This statement implies the forces of modernization cannot be halted nor reversed once set into motion. To "go all the way," means that the ruler must permit his reforms to become structural changes and that Nicholas was not prepared for thoroughgoing modernization, "remaining wedded to (some aspects) of the traditional system." When Nicholas realized he was reforming self and friends out of a traditionally enjoyed position, it was too late to turn back.
of a traditional oligarchy began shortly before World War I. Nicholas' last years of rule were troubled by discontent of a segment of population which did not trust him and did not like his policies. His government was weakened from within, ready to collapse with the final struggle in World War I.

On August 2, 1879, Nicholas called the last assembly of peoples' leaders held in Montenegro. He wanted approval for revisions of governmental agencies. Nicholas disbanded the Senate and replaced it with a Council, somewhat like a Privy Council. The Council was to be composed of heads of ministries and other members chosen by Nicholas. This Council was the legislative body. He instituted a Supreme Court of five members to replace the Senate which was the highest court in Montenegro. The government employed 103 civil-servants in 1879.133

The state was divided into ten counties, each of which were already divided into "Kapetanije" with Captains retaining the duties given by the Code Danilo which was discussed in an earlier section. The county officer presided over a county court thereby giving him both judicial and executive power. The Ministry of Interior handled all internal affairs. In order to function more efficiently, it was divided into sections for sanitation, construction, maritime and postal-telegraph departments. Education was not yet a separate agency, it came under the Ministry of Finance. Justice and Military were separate ministries. This separation of powers under the Council, gave a new direction to internal affairs. Judicial affairs were conducted by local courts with local Captains presiding. They judged minor affairs, cases between

133 Jovanovich, Stvaranje Crnogorske Drzave, p. 329.
citizens and cases that involved fines of less than the equivalent of one dollar. Inheritance and commercial matters were judged by the higher County Court presided over by a County Judge and three lower judges. This was a court of appeals, cases were sent to the Supreme Court from the County Court.

The Code Danilo was the basis for judicial affairs through 1888. In 1888 Baltazar Bogisich completed the work Nicholas commissioned in 1874, producing a comprehensive legal system. The new system became effective on July 1, 1888, replacing all but a few of the Code Danilo articles. 134

Post Offices were constructed in fifteen centers. As other countries made postal agreements with Montenegro, the monetary base for postal service was strengthened. Communications were expanded with the Marconi wireless enabling the seaport Bar, to communicate with Bari, Italy. The telegraph was for state purposes until 1910 when a few interior lines were erected.

People of the areas regained in the wars had to be integrated into the centralized state. The people held the same customs and traditions and were nominally and spiritually united with Montenegro though formal unity was not accomplished until after the war of 1876-1878. The incorporation of the areas introduced new problems as well as greatly added to the economic expansion of the state. The clans

134 Dr. Niko Martinovich, Baltazar Bogishich Istorija Kodifikacije Crnogorskog Imovinsko Prava (Cetinje: Obod, 1958). Martinovich tells of Bogishich's coming to Montenegro as well as gives an analysis of the laws he wrote. Bogislich refused to begin his work until he studied the customs of the people, traveled throughout the country, spoke with the people and leaders in Montenegro. Bogisich remained in Montenegro, working as a journalist, educator, and lawyer.
which inhabited the areas were not as imbued with the spirit of centralization, a spirit which weakened as one traveled away from the center of activity. They would later be strong supporters of unconditional Serbian unity, retaining the original ideals from Kosovo untouched by the educative efforts that supported the formation of a modern Montenegrin state. They were not concerned with preservation of the Montenegrin prerogatives developed through the years of consolidation of rule.

As time passed, Nicholas called upon the clan leaders less and less frequently. They were accustomed to being consulted for every decision even when the Senate was the legislative body. Increasing replacement of respectable and honored clan-leaders as decision makers brought some local dissatisfaction. Many questioned the new trends. Many who emigrated to the United States and returned to Montenegro began expressing dissatisfaction with the lack of progress and Nicholas' autocratic stance. Students Nicholas sent abroad began returning, full of new knowledge, new standards, and eager to participate in the development of state resources. They began to openly oppose Nicholas.

In response to increasing unrest, Nicholas issued a call for selected provincial representatives to come to Cetinje for a Constitutional Convention. An open election of representatives was held on November 14, 1905. Any male over twenty-one could qualify for the convention regardless of education or position. Fifty-six counties and six towns sent delegates which joined the fourteen delegates from the ministries.

The Constitutional Convention convened on December 19, 1905. Nicholas presented a plan which the assembly ratified. The main point of the new Constitution was to authorize an election of representatives.
The members were elected and met in Cetinje in October, 1906. The door was opened to new problems by the creation of rival political parties and political agitation among a people not accustomed to the new freedom.

Members of Parliament immediately began to attack Nicholas. They protested his bringing of foreign investment into Montenegro and his continued control over Montenegrin finances. Many of the members of Parliament were from among the students that had been educated abroad. They were particularly vocal opponents.

From 1906 through 1914, because of the new Parliamentary structure, the government changed hands frequently, resigning and reorganizing according to ability to gain support for platforms and programs. This is a confusing era which will be considered briefly at this time. The details of these events are not of importance to this study, a general overview is sufficient to indicate the source and reasons for dissent.

A publication entitled, "University Students," openly questioned Nicholas' absolutism. Nicholas suspected the movement as one aiming to force Serbian unification on unconditional terms. The students were convinced by what they saw in Serbia and other countries that unification was the only means by which progress and prosperity could be brought to Montenegro.

Nicholas expressed his wishes for unification but not by force, and not without securing Montenegrin rights within the union. Sixteen

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student agitators were arrested and held for trial. They continued to
attack Nicholas' "uncontemporary" government. Nicholas eventually
dropped the charges against the sixteen students. These events were
picked up by the foreign press, especially that of Austria which
unremittingly maligned Nicholas. Nicholas was disturbed by his critics
and adopted a more watchful passive position. 136

The Parliament was composed of two leading parties, one called
the "Klubashi," composed of the students and their supporters, and the
other, the "Pravashi," composed of Nicholas' supporters. Presidents
were elected, programs were formed, and the government changed from hand
to hand, none able to confirm a stable policy. Plots and counter-plots
were exposed, and internal weakness increased. A strong anti-Nicholas
European press continued to attack him. Austria led the attacks upon
Nicholas in order to create the proper atmosphere for the formal
annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In order to accomplish annexation
without European disapproval and to weaken Montenegrin opposition, it
was necessary to create internal dissention and a climate of opinion
in support of the move. 137

Austrian propaganda sought to convince Europe that the Balkan
indigent population was uncivilized, revolutionary, uncultured and
unfit for self-government. Bosnia-Hercegovina was formally annexed
on September 23, 1908.

Serbia and Montenegro declared solidarity with the Serbs of

136 Ibid.

137 Devine, Montenegro in Politics, pp. 90-137, passim. Also see,
Vukovich, Ujedinjenje, pp. 115-125.
Bosnia-Hercegovina and with one another. As in earlier days, the Montenegrins allied themselves solidly with their ruler in times of crisis. Nicholas declared, "The hungry dragon whose stomach has already swallowed our brothers has not been filled but wants to swallow more to the shame of the great powers who permit it, to our misfortune and, I am convinced, to their greater misfortune." Nicholas convened the Parliament, declared that Montenegro was no longer bound by the Berlin Treaty, energetically established ties with Serbia, and prepared to go to war with Austria.

Austria-Hungary viewed the events grimly having based her moves upon the certainty of Serbian-Montenegrin disunity. Serbia and Montenegro consulted Russia. Russia advised them to request the great powers to demand Austrian cession of the Sandjak which separated them. Russia planned to build a trans-Balkan railroad from Odessa through Serbia and Montenegro to the Adriatic. Austria wanted a railroad from Sarajevo to Solon, to make the Balkans economically dependent upon Austria. Turkey agreed to allow the Central Powers to proceed, dismayed at losing Bosnia-Hercegovina, but still no strong reaction came from France and England. The annexation crisis proceeded and passed with no firm opposition other than verbal declarations.

The next Balkan crisis followed Italy's Turkish war which gained her Tripoli and some islands, greatly embarrassing Turkey. With this, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria, seeing the inevitable collapse of Turkey, formed the Balkan League, declaring war upon

Turkey in 1912. This move was secretly planned and independently executed with the aim of ousting Turkey and placing Balkan societies in control of the Balkans. Turkey was defeated, but, in 1913, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Romania resumed the fighting, this time against Bulgaria which had claimed a major portion of the territory taken in 1912. To settle the claims of Serbia, Greece and Italy to Albania, the Great Powers conjured up an independent Kingdom of Albania, a Great Bulgaria, and confirmed the Austrian policy to shut Serbia from the sea and to frustrate Serbian expansionism.

The third Balkan crisis was fatal. Austria was exasperated, Serbia desperate, Russia humiliated and all Europe was in confusion. On June 28, 1914, a young Bosnian Serb, Gavrilo Princip, shot the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinand. Austria had Germany's full support to issue a drastic ultimatum to Serbia, one calculated to be refused so that war could allow Serbia to fall to the Austrians. Serbia judged that Russia would support it rather than lose its Balkan influence. Russia counted on France who feared being caught alone in a war with Germany. France determined to keep Russia as an ally, backed Russia. Serbia rejected a critical item in the ultimatum and Austria declared war on Serbia. When Russian mobilization began, Germany declared war on Russia August 1, 1914, and on France August 3. The German decisions counted upon Great Britain's neutrality. British policy was evasive and no advance promises were made. Great Britain entered the war in protest of violation of Belgian neutrality on August 4, 1914.

Montenegro was weak and depleted by the Balkan Wars, but
Nicholas immediately declared himself ready to stand at Serbia's side even though he had opportunity to remain neutral. The ancient traditions on Montenegro would not permit neutrality even under the conditions of having no food, no munitions, and having concluded two major wars the past year. Montenegro was defeated and occupied by Austrian forces, the first occupation of Montenegro by a foreign power. Nicholas was advised by Parliament to leave rather than surrender or be jailed. Nicholas left Montenegro on January 16, 1916, never to return. He died in France in 1921.

Nicholas' leaving was considered desertion. The Montenegrin tradition decreed that one fought to the death. Nicholas left his son, Mirko, in Montenegro with the Montenegrin army. Many details of Nicholas' leaving are unclear and must be left to political experts for clarification.

After the armistice, the Montenegrin Parliament, on November 26, 1918, deposed Nicholas and unconditionally united with Serbia. On December 1, 1918, this union became the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, headed by the Karageorgevich dynasty.

Chapter X will summarize the political contributions of Nicholas I. This chapter showed that Nicholas was a modernizing ruler who participated in significant events in Balkan and Montenegrin history. Balkan freedom was greatly enhanced and brought about by Nicholas' efforts. His participation in the wars of 1862, 1876-1878, 1912-1913, and the final war of 1914, were all directed to consolidation of Balkan power and attainment of Balkan independence.
CHAPTER VII

ORGANIZED EDUCATION

Schooling developed slowly in Montenegro. Previous chapters described the struggle for daily existence and indicated why schools were not necessary or, when built, why they could not function in a regular manner. Due to war, famine, and epidemic, schools were closed in 1852-1853, 1855, 1861, 1862, 1867, 1873-74, 1876-1878, and closed completely and finally in 1916. A great impetus to development of a school system resulted from the Berlin Congress which expanded Montenegrin territory to three times its former size and recognized Montenegrin independence. The new territory gained after 1878 and territory gained in the Balkan War of 1912 gave Montenegro fertile land and opportunities for economic expansion. Years of peace between 1878-1912, were a short span but significant intellectual achievements occurred in this period.

Intellectual foundations were laid slowly over the difficult decades of attempts to institute civil order, to organize the state, and to achieve recognition of Montenegrin independence. When the state needed a literate citizenry, a school system was established. The number of students educated abroad could no longer fill the increasing state offices. There were not enough educated men to staff the new schools. Educated Serbs from Serbia and other areas were used by Nicholas to prepare the population to manage the state. The "outsiders,"
so called in the literature, greatly contributed to the development of the Montenegrin school system. Chapter V told of two outsiders who came to Cetinje during Njegosh's rule. For example, the Frenchman, Dzom, was an unusual man simply because he consented to stay in the desolate monastery in Cetinje to teach Njegosh French. The famous Simo Milutinovich-Sarajlija was earlier described as an erratic, but talented man with a romantic nature and impractical outlook. Those who came to Montenegro during Prince Nicholas' time were also unusual men. Some were political exiles. Others were journalists who incurred the wrath of the Serbian ruler or were expelled from Hapsburg-controlled areas. Still others were idealists who were drawn by Montenegro's reputation as a "nest of eagles," and for other romantic notions. Few were disappointed. Those who came from personal ambition with a messianic mission soon left. The majority were a noble group of men whose contributions to Montenegro's progress was of inestimable value. Among them were Jovan Sundechich, Milan Jovanovich Bautit, M.D., Simo Matavulj, Lazo Kostich, Ilija Beara, Bozo Novakovitch, Luko Zora, Jovo Pljevlja and Baltazar Bogishich. Each deserves his own chapter for the work accomplished during his stay in Montenegro. The work of Jovan Pavlovich will be related in detail in a later section that discusses school administration in Montenegro.

There were native leaders in schools and in government and many native authors of great merit, but the need was greater than the supply. The most important intellectual contributions to Serbian literature from Montenegro number among some of the most important works of Serbian authors. Other than Njegosh's writing, which crowns Serbian literature,
King Nicholas and Marko Miljanov contributed classics to Serbian literature. More will be said of this later. For the present it is important to note that Miljanov, Vojvoda of Cuca, was a great military figure who became literate in his fifties as did many other Montenegrins. Many native authors and poets were able to preserve works which would have otherwise been lost or simply remained part of the rich oral tradition had literacy not been so energetically encouraged for both young and old.

Outside authors who wrote about Montenegro called it a land which inspired heights of poetic, dramatic, and literary expression. This was in some ways an unfortunate truth. Montenegrin men of the 19th century were bred to live with extremes and were not disposed toward what they considered the drudgery of life because their lives were so uncertain. Combatting the notion that occupations other than the military life made them less manly was difficult. The years of peace and banning of forays into enemy territory resulted in an unoccupied class composed of men who were not ready to earn a living within an economic system dependent upon other than military skills. The introduction of a military pension enabled them to have some small economic advantage. There are many humorous anecdotes about the many pensioners in Montenegro. The anecdotes imply the men were scornful of work. They did not lack the will to work, but for many years, the underdeveloped land offered little employment for those who were not schooled.

Adult education played a great role in the intellectual development of Montenegro. There were literacy classes in the cities. In
rural areas teachers were paid for the number brought to literacy. Technical and agricultural schools enrolled adults. The acquisition of basic literacy was facilitated by the phonetic alphabet of Vuk Karadzich which enabled one to read anything after mastering the thirty characters of the alphabet. Many adults were self-taught or learned from their children the skill necessary to read newspapers and journals. Publications of many kinds did a great deal to further education as well as to extend the arm of the state to the most remote areas.

The love for poetry and drama enabled theatre groups and literary societies to form in all large centers. The presentation of Njegosh's dramas and Prince Nicholas' *Balkan Princess* drew large crowds. Domestic literature which drew from Montenegrin history appealed to the citizens because they understood and loved it. The guslar continued to be an important cultural agent. Many evenings were devoted to the narrations and singing of folk epics from the distant and recent past. Prince Nicholas encouraged these evenings as a part of his program to maintain a consensus and inspire the people to maintain the highest military traditions.

Prince Nicholas was the direct benefactor of many cultural agencies, funding them from his personal income, assuring others of state financial support. He personally guided all cultural activities and energetically sought talented youth to educate them at his personal expense and state expense. He also supported many foreign teachers whom he brought to Montenegro. Prince Nicholas' literary works were a great contribution to intellectual activity in Montenegro. His writing was an amalgam of old and new just as he was an amalgam of old and new.
Technological and scientific knowledge as well as trades and professions were introduced in many ways. Schools which offered work experience in state controlled agricultural areas and vocational enterprises trained many who were expected to return to their villages to teach the local population methods of agriculture. Men, trained to be telegraph operators and railroad engineers, were immediately put to work in the areas which required immediate expansion. Many of the teachers of scientific and technological skills came from Russia.

Organized education was extended to include temporary schools as well as the permanent primary, middle and upper level schools. From the 1870's through 1916, Montenegro's school system included some outstanding institutions to which neighboring areas sent their youth. This was especially true of the Montenegrin Female Institute.

**Intellectual Modernization**

Intellectual modernization in Montenegro is evidenced by the change from mass illiteracy to literacy, by the numbers of publications that reached many citizens, numbers of books published, introduction of new knowledge and new legislation which laid foundations for transferral of supernatural explanations of natural phenomena to rational explanations, and expanded communication that enabled the state to control even the most remote citizen. None of the foregoing conditions were evident until Nicholas' era.

The reader is again cautioned to measure Montenegro's intellectual progress according to Montenegrin resources, its historical experience and uniqueness. Black states that "little changes except man's knowledge,
the diversity of the physical environment was present before man understood it.\textsuperscript{139} Intellectual modernization is the key to modernization as political modernization is its most easily measured aspect. In Montenegro, it is safe to assume that intellectual modernization measured in terms of transformation of popular concepts of the universe to a more rational concept was limited to a small group. The teachings of the Church and the values of past generations were difficult to transform and continued to dominate the minds of ordinary citizens.

Prince Nicholas initiated the sweeping changes in Montenegro by importing educated men and encouraging the dissemination of new knowledge. Even he, though, was ambivalent toward the change he introduced. Though Prince Nicholas was an authoritarian, he was still a modernizing agent.\textsuperscript{140} Nicholas' dilemma was his unwillingness to break with the past while maintaining a balanced transition, and his desire to retain the best of the past while moving toward modernity.

Placing Montenegro on Black's infinite continuum is possible despite the stated qualification.\textsuperscript{141} One measure of intellectual modernization is when functions of existing static institutions change in response to new demands. The changes in all aspects of activity

\textsuperscript{139}Black, \textit{Dynamics of Modernization}, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{140}Black allows for a great variety of relationships between ruler and ruled, which range from extreme dictatorships to democracies. See pp. 1-33 in Black's \textit{Dynamics of Modernization} for an extended discussion of the forms of modernizing societies.

\textsuperscript{141}See Chapters II and VI of this dissertation for a discussion of Black's infinite continuum.
were interrelated in Montenegro, one forcing change in the other. The transformation of the ruling role and the corresponding separation of the clerical from the secular function of the ruler changed the position of the Church. The Church's role in education changed from that of a major agent of enculturation to that of controlling and organizing schools. Eventually the school system was secularized and clerics were replaced by secular teachers. The amount of religious instruction was reduced from a major to a minor part of the curriculum. The Church gradually lost a great deal of political power in the gradual changes described.

During the period from 1870-1916, parents continued to be strong agents of enculturation while the schools remained agencies of literacy for the major portion of the population. Those educated beyond primary school inside Montenegro were not the initiators of the eventual clash between tradition and modernity. That clash, described in Chapter VI, was initiated by students educated outside Montenegro and, in lesser degree, by men who returned to Montenegro after having lived and worked in Western countries.

The School System-Legislation

The first known state educational agency in Montenegro was an educational headquarters headed by Todor Ilich in July, 1860, located in Cetinje. Ilich was a former teacher in Trieste. Little is recorded of his work. His duties were to establish primary schools in Montenegrin districts and to prepare a program for a gymnasium. Ilich sought to use Russian models but made little progress. Schools were closed in 1861, 1862 and 1867.
In 1868, Metropolitan Ilarion was made head of public education under Senate jurisdiction. The Church treasury was to pay teachers and support scholarship students. This plan was very localized and unsuccessful. The Church actually did no more than supply books and supervised only the Cetinje schools.

Milan Kostich in 1870 changed the character of school work. Kostich, a knowledgeable pedagogue, devoted his energies to school construction and school legislation. He urged the Senators to devote attention to school administration. In 1870, Kostich succeeded in getting Senate approval of a school code. The code placed schools under government control and placed them under supervision of a Commissioner of Education who was to be chosen competitively and confirmed by the government to whom he was responsible. The Commissioner, in consultation with the Prince and the Metropolitan, was to place local school officials. He was to make an annual inspection of schools and report his findings to the Prince. A school fund to pay teachers was created. No other benefits were provided by this code. 142

The Senate reform of 1874 placed educational affairs in the office of the Prince's secretary, Senator Stanko Radonjich, who was one of six Senators comprising an Educational Advisory Council. Following the war of 1876-1878, another governmental reorganization created another school office. A general school law of 1878 stated that all public education fell under the jurisdiction of the Prince's government and his executive offices. The Commissioner of Education, Steven

142 Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjete, p. 19.
Cuturilo, asked that local school officers and offices be discontinued, that the newly created Captains, who were to function in a mayoral fashion, assume the supervision of local schools. This proposal was not accepted at this time.

March 8, 1879, the Senate was disbanded and replaced by a Council which was a law giving body. The executive branch was to be a Ministry of six cabinets, whose Ministers, members of the Council, were responsible to the Prince. The Ministry of Education was to be supplemented by a Board for Educational Affairs which was to expand educational opportunity. All public and private educational endeavors fell under the jurisdiction of the Ministry and the Board for Educational Affairs. Public meant state supported and private usually meant locally financed and controlled. The Commissioner of Education was to be a member of the Council. Prince Nicholas began to search for a reputable educator or a well known intellectual figure to fill the new post. He asked Ljubo Nenadovich, Njegosh's companion and biographer of the "Italian Period," to come to Montenegro to be Minister of Education. Nenadovich, recently retired from the equivalent office in Serbia, rejected the offer. The post was temporarily filled by Minister Cerovich, Metropolitan Ljubisha and others. The material rewards were minimal and there were few bargaining points to attract established educators to Montenegro.

Until 1882, the Minister of Education did not have a separate office, but was housed in the Ministry of Interior or the Ministry of Finance. The office was then combined into an Educational and Church Ministry with the Metropolitan Ljubisha filling the post. The first assistant to the Minister was Marko Dragovich, a graduate of the
Spiritual Academy in St. Petersburg. Dragovich was a Montenegrin, one of the first important internal educational leaders. After the death of Metropolitan Ljubisha, Jovan Pavlovich was made head of the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs but was not given the title, Minister, until 1886. Pavlovich will be discussed in a later section.

The literature is often confusing about the various titles of educational officers. In some cases, Minister and Superintendent are used as synonyms. In other cases, it is difficult to distinguish between local and state officers by title. Titles used in this paper are those used in the most reliable source, Pejovich, and are most often reflected in other, less scholarly sources.

Pavlovich was given the power to establish schools and act in the Prince's name. He was to recruit teachers and make all decisions necessary for school progress. This was a considerable departure from previously stated duties. The chief educational officer had the delegated authority to make decisions and to execute them without turning to the Council or Prince for prior approval.

In 1902, the Ministry was given authority over all public and private education and was given the authority to regulate all literary and cultural societies and any other educational agencies in the land. This was the first time that agencies other than schools were included in legislation. Prior to this, the Prince made all significant decisions which regulated cultural agencies such as the museum, libraries, literary societies, the activities of the "Zetski Dom," which was a cultural

\[143\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 20.\]
center for the theatre and public gatherings of various kinds. Prior to 1902, the Ministry of Education did not have the personnel to supervise and nurture the growth of cultural agencies.

The Board of Educational Affairs ceased to exist in 1905 and was replaced by an Educational Advisory. The Advisory was to print textbooks for primary and middle schools, to oversee writing of teaching plans and programs at both levels, to regulate teachers' examinations and to give monetary rewards for manuscripts and textbooks written for schools. The regular members of the Educational Advisory were appointed by the Prince from among teachers, physicians, engineers and civil servants. From this regulation one may assume that by 1905, there were physicians and engineers in Montenegro as well as regulated middle schools and qualified teachers who were expected to pass examinations prior to receiving assignments. The Educational Advisory had irregular members who could not vote. In all there were eighteen members, twelve regular and six irregular members. The Educational Advisory became a powerful body which functioned until the independent era of Montenegro ceased.

In 1907, the Minister of Education supervised local school boards, regional superintendents, principals of schools, all local educational officials and the Educational Advisory. Later, in 1914, the Ministry was given control of technical schools, regulated its financial affairs, collected and published statistics. The Ministry was expanded to include an Inspector of Middle Schools, a Superintendent for Primary Schools and a secretary with three clerks. The schools were closed from 1914-1916, resuming no significant activity until
after the union into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918. 144

The Commissioner of Schools

A Commissioner of Schools was first mentioned in 1862. The office was not significant until Milan Kostich, Rector of the Cetinje Seminary School was appointed to the position in 1870. There is no evidence that the office was governed by written regulations before 1870. Kostich was the first qualified pedagogue to fill the post. Kostich had an established record of successful innovation as Rector of the Seminary School. The school provided a great number of teachers who, before Kostich's coming, had no pedagogical training. Kostich introduced new teaching methods and revised the Seminary program to a significant degree.

Kostich wrote, "Upustvo," in 1870. This was a guidance manual which outlined the work and duties of the chief officer of schools. The book was approved by the Senate in October, 1870. The duties were the first real written regulations for the office. The Commissioner was to oversee the work of all primary schools and with the agreement of the Metropolitan to appoint local school inspectors, to appoint local administrators with Senate approval, to oversee the instructional program, to evaluate school progress, and at least every third summer was responsible for practical in-service sessions for all teachers. The in-service sessions were to introduce new methods and to improve teaching skills. Primary teachers were generally students who completed

144 Ibid., p. 30-35, passim.
three or four year primary schools. Some had five or six years of school and others were graduates of the Cetinje Seminary School which will be discussed in a later section. The usual case was that the lesser prepared teachers worked in remote and village areas while the more qualified teachers worked in large centers. In-service and other activities were significant in teacher education because teachers other than Seminary graduates had little or no knowledge of pedagogy.

The Commissioner was also obliged to visit each school yearly to report progress to the government. He could dismiss incompetent or inefficient teachers and the local inspectors. Dismissal of teachers or inspectors could be effected only after the Commissioner presented written reasons to the Senate within eight days following the dismissal. There was no mention of the right to appeal the decision.\footnote{Ibid., p. 24. At this time, Captains supervised local primary schools aided by a local inspector. Neither had any qualifications for the educational post.}

Kostich's, "Upustvo," was the first good plan for the organization of education in Montenegro. Results of his work became increasingly more evident. Teachers, often little better prepared than their students, were able to have written sources for guiding their work, were supervised and encouraged by Kostich, and were given many opportunities to improve themselves. Kostich introduced visual teaching methods, use of objects, and a basic child psychology, and wrote widely circulated teachers' guides.

Clerical duties of the Commissioner were to obtain texts and school materials. Kostich personally corresponded with teachers,
answered their mail, read their reports, and gave them advice. His return to Serbia was a great loss to Montenegro, but he left significant contributions to all aspects of schooling in Montenegro.

Spiro Kovacevich replaced Kostich, holding office from 1875-1878. He was able to place Seminary graduates in positions of local school inspectors in order to equalize the work of the schools. He thought that by placing those with "higher" education in supervisory posts in all areas, local teachers of unequal abilities and preparation would benefit. Reports of the inspectors were made public to all citizens. Also, the introduction of teacher-inspectors provided one more prepared official between local units and the Commissioner. Local teacher-inspectors were now expected to assume many of the original duties listed in Kostich's guidance manual as duties of the Commissioner. Other than this change, the Commissioner followed Kostich's plan until 1884.

Stevan Cuturilo succeeded Kovacevich in 1878. Cuturilo was a Serb from Croatia. His educational contributions, were in the areas of discipline, writing of textbooks, introduction of German pedagogical literature, and holding of many lectures for teachers. Cuturilo was also editor of the state newspaper, Glas Crnogoraca, the Montenegrin Voice. Cuturilo remained in office until 1882.

Professor Simo Matavulj filled the post from 1882-1883. Matavulj was primarily an author whose short stories are translated in many languages including English. He lived in Montenegro for eight years. These eight years were significant in his literary life and are considered the period in which he developed his talent and wrote his
most significant works. He also worked as a teacher in the gymnasium, published articles in Montenegrin journals and newspapers. Prince Nicholas at his first meeting with Matavulj said, "This land awaits its 'pripovjedace'." Matavulj is classified as a realist and an historian for his factual narratives of Montenegrin life.

In 1882, the Ministry of Education received separate offices and a Minister was designated. There were two officials, a Commissioner and a Minister. Matavulj was the Commissioner and Metropolitan Ljubisha was the Minister of Education and Church Affairs. From 1883-1884, Djuro Popovich, a Montenegrin teacher for twenty years, was designated Commissioner. Popovich was educated in Russia and was the first important native educational figure who understood pedagogy in theory and practice, who worked with teachers to raise standards of teaching and remained Commissioner of Education until 1902. Metropolitan Ljubisha died in 1884, at which time Jovo Pavlovich was appointed to head the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs. He did not receive the title, Minister, until 1886.

First Minister of Education in Montenegro
Jovo Pavlovich

This section title was taken from Cetinje i Crna Gora in which an article about Pavlovich carried the same title. There is a question raised by the title of the article about Pavlovich, "First Minister . . . ."

146 "Pripovjedac" may be translated as narrator but Prince Nicholas used the term broadly to mean historian, collector of folk-lore, recorder of clan history and one who will interpret Montenegro to the outside world.

147 Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjete, p. 290.
General historians state that the post of Minister of Educational and Church Affairs was created in 1879 and was filled by Metropolitan Ljubisha. It is possible that Metropolitan Ljubisha was considered a temporary Minister because there was no other person to fill the post. In any case, one may claim that Pavlovich was the first true Minister of Education in that he gave the office its structure and actively executed his educational responsibilities. Pavlovich is not given a particular place of honor in general histories of education, but is presented as one of many outstanding educators in Montenegro.\(^{148}\)

Considering the enormity of Pavlovich's work, one might equate him with the American Horace Mann. Had he worked anywhere except in Montenegro, he might have become a renowned educational figure. Pavlovich was a reformer, the initiator of cultural agencies, and a prolific author of political and educational articles. He organized teachers' conferences and associations, wrote school codes and laws, built schools, instructed teachers, educated the public through his newspapers, journals and meetings, and greatly influenced the direction of Prince Nicholas' active role in education.

\(^{148}\) The historical collection, Cetinje i Crna Gora, is a primary source with articles written by eye-witnesses to the events. The section about Jovo Pavlovich was written by a contemporary, Mirko Mijuskovich, who recognized that Pavlovich was a significant contributor to the educational development of Montenegro.

\(^{149}\) Objectivity might be achieved by being removed from people and events both in time and space, but eye-witness accounts have an added dimension lacking in the more objective histories. Mijuskovich's article, "First Minister . . . " not only presents facts about Pavlovich but also tells how the people of Montenegro regarded Pavlovich, the man, and pays tribute to him for his work in conditions that only an eye-witness would understand.
Jovo Pavlovich was born January 29, 1843, in Sremski Karlovac, a Serbian area under Austro-Hungarian control. He completed studies at the Belgrade Philosophical College, then went to Geneva where, Mijuskovich states, he was able to breathe the air of freedom in Switzerland. In Geneva, then Frankfort, he completed three years of post-graduate studies in political science and economics. Pavlovich returned to become Professor of Economics in Panchevo, also an Austro-Hungarian controlled area. There he was also Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and secretary of the Serbian Church Congregation. An outspoken critic of the political situation in Panchevo, he founded the newspaper, *Panchevac*, in which he freely expressed his political opinions. *Panchevac* became a well known newspaper and Pavlovich became a well known journalist. In 1870 he was selected to be a representative to the Serbian Church Assembly, and here too Pavlovich attacked church policy and disagreed with Church authorities. It was not long before his enemies began to seek a reason to act against him. He was charged with treason for a toast he made at a Belgrade gathering on August 10, 1872. He was jailed, then taken to Pest for trial. In Pest he was found innocent of charges of treason but was detained in jail for a long period. When freed, Pavlovich returned to Panchevo then went to Zemun where he began printing, *Granichar*, the Border Guard. He again offended authorities and was jailed several times.

No longer wishing to fight against Austro-Hungarian authorities and refusing to abandon his chosen profession, Pavlovich went to Belgrade in 1876 seeking a freer atmosphere. In Belgrade he organized two newspapers, *Novu Srbiju*, New Serbia, and *Serbische Corespondent*,.
Serbian Correspondent. He had problems in Belgrade with Serbian authorities and moved to Novi Sad, founding the newspaper, Zastave, Banners.

Prince Nicholas heard of Pavlovich and invited him to Montenegro. Pavlovich arrived in Cetinje, October 1878. Simo Matavulj, in Cetinje at that time, wrote in his, "Notes by an Author," that a well known journalist, one of the best qualified publicists of the South Slavs arrived in Cetinje. Matavulj describes Pavlovich as follows:

Pavlovich comes to Montenegro, October 1878, in the full strength of his life, known because of his political-nationalistic work. A mature man, formed by life's school, armed with the knowledge of all living European languages, well educated, stable of character, very serious, he could understand our situation and circumstances in a realistic manner. He could always understand (our life), though he might not justify it as would a native Montenegrin.150

Pavlovich's work in Montenegro was in three areas; political-journalistic, cultural-educational and literary. He was immediately appointed editor of Montenegrin Voice, the Prince's official newspaper. In the beginning, he did not sign his work nor was his name printed as editor in order not to offend surrounding powers. His presence in the land was delicately maintained so that the neighboring Serbian monarch and Austro-Hungarian authorities would not complain. Pavlovich realized the delicacy of the political situation, seeing all around him Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and French officials who reported back about Montenegrin political activity, and who hoped to control the Montenegrin military action.

150 Jovichevich, et al., Cetinje i Crna Gora, p. 245. The only known copy of this valuable source in the United States is badly worn with the first two pages torn, and the others disintegrating.

The fact that Nicholas sought Pavlovich and others like him to come to Montenegro is contradictory to claims that he stifled free speech and opinion. Though Pavlovich's politics might have agreed with Nicholas' there was a chance that Pavlovich and others like him might set examples that a true dictator would not tolerate.
Seeing this, Pavlovich decided it better to turn his energies to cultural affairs. His first act in this new area was to write a proposal to the Minister of Finance, Djuro Cerovich, "Regarding the Establishment of a State Library and Museum." There was a small, poorly kept library in the Cetinje Monastery. Pavlovich feared permanent loss of all historical documents, the writings and libraries of Petar I and Njegosh, which had already been carelessly abused due to lack of understanding their value. Searches by historians have found the valuable remains among private homes, in school libraries, aimlessly scattered everywhere, and in many countries of Europe. Pavlovich was horrified by the condition of the existing books and improper care. He told Prince Nicholas that no small organized state was without a library and museum and that the library would serve three purposes: a cultural repository, a center for foreign scholars, and an agency for adding to the existing knowledge of the world. There was no money for the project though Pavlovich proposed only a modest sum and offered his services without pay. The proposal was rejected by Cerovich and the museum and library were not organized until some years later. In 1883, Pavlovich was appointed director of the state gymnasiu which was opened three years earlier. The school was called the Gymnasium or the Cetinje Gymnasium. No other existed in Montenegro.

The Cetinje Gymnasium had no director prior to Pavlovich's appointment. Its work was directed by a non-professional council. Pavlovich did not teach. He administered, supervised instruction and organized the work of the school. There were no rules or regulations governing the work of the gymnasiu, but a curriculum plan and some
regulations were printed in 1881, according to Marko Dakovich, an historian. Pavlovich began to make rules and regulations and to enforce them. He wrote a constitution and a program suited to the existing conditions. Professors were asked to submit their proposed teaching plans for discussion at meetings and revision according to suggestions by participants. There were no teaching materials of much value, only a few maps and old books. The gymnasium was not a school in a regularly imagined sense. It was then located in the basement of the monastery. Simo Matavulj, then teaching in the gymnasium, recommended that Pavlovich appeal to Prince Nicholas to get better facilities or at least some more rooms in the monastery.

Subsequent meetings of the gymnasium staff further organized its work. Subjects were assigned to teachers and department heads were appointed. Natural sciences were introduced and an economist and librarian were appointed. The economist was to oversee school finances. Written assignments of students were to be given to the Ministry every fifteen days. The Ministry could see that students were unevenly prepared for entrance into the school and that primary schools were in need of standards. Pavlovich was concerned about the quality of the lower schools, and eventually hoped to improve them and to set standards so that all students would be equally prepared.

May, 1884, Pavlovich became the head of the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs after Metropolitan Ljubisha died in April, 1884. He became Minister in 1886. He continued being both director of the gymnasium and Minister of Education.
Pavlovich's new role enabled him to turn to expansion of cultural agencies and opportunities in Montenegro. He revived the Cetinje Reading Room, a type of library which had been in operation from 1869-1876. He used his own money to finance the re-opening. He first moved it to his lodging, supplying all newspapers and magazines himself. He then organized a "Peoples' University," which sponsored public lectures on literature, history, geography and public health.

Pavlovich decided to collect donations to expand the "library" as the reading room was called. A foundation for the "Zetski Dom," a cultural center, was laid on May 1, 1884. This edifice was a home for cultural activities and for the library. Pavlovich then organized a theatre group whose first production was Prince Nicholas' lengthy drama, "Balkanska Carica," the "Balkan Princess," on January 2, 1884. The play was attended by the "Palace," by the Diplomatic Corps, and a large audience. Jovan Lipovac was Pavlovich's co-worker in organizing the theatre group and played the leading role of Stanko in "Balkan Princess." Many productions were staged the first year and thereafter.

The official state newspaper, reorganized in 1871 by Simo Popovich, stopped publication in 1876 when the editor, the Prince's secretary and the Prince led the army in war. It was taken over by Pavlovich when he came to Montenegro. Pavlovich, in December 1883, initiated Crnogorka, a literary and cultural supplement to Crnogorac. In the first issue he wrote:

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151 Ibid., p. 249. "Balkanska Carica" has as its theme the unity of the Slavs and is set in the historical period of the Crnojevich rulers.
The wars have ceased. Peaceful times are with us. Needs of a special nature will be filled by Crnogorka. She emerges in a land, that part of our people which, until today, contributed to Serbianism in heroic wars, but which has not yet placed its talent in the Serbian cultural front. Can Montenegro reject the call to use its intellect to bring out the collosus of the spiritual life of our people and contribute its part to the cultural foundations? No, it cannot, it must not, because where The Mountain Wreath was woven, where Ljubisha's Pripovijesti were born we must assume that all conditions needed for literary fronts will produce men of great original works. Further, seeing that, as a part of the Serbian people, Montenegro is by character and by its entire formation, a type of its own, it seems to me that the product of its intellect will carry with it signs of that type; and because of that, Montenegrin literature will not only embellish the cultural formation of the Serbian people, but will fulfill that form making it more solid, more eternal, pour more illumination in it and with that, add new color.  


Crnogorka was printed for one and one-half years. Articles by Pavlovich were, "Mens Sana in Corpore Sano," "Poetry of Our Times," and articles reviewing folk and formal Serbian poetry and reviews of new poetical and literary works.  

Publication of Crnogorka ceased in 1885 due to the Austro-Hungarian refusal of allowing it to cross the borders for export outside Montenegro. J. Popovich-Lipovac wrote the poem, "Manita Majka," "Crazed Mother," which was an allegory directed against Austria. Zeta,  

\[152\] Ibid., p. 251  \[153\] Ibid.  \[154\] Ibid., p. 252.
with the same format and editor replaced Crnogorka on July 11, 1885, printing articles continued from Crnogorka. Filip Kovachevich, a professor at the gymnasium, allowed his name to be used as the editor because Pavlovich was so compromised that the new paper too would have been prohibited by Austro-Hungarian authorities. During its life, Zeta contained articles from respected Serbian authors. Among them were Lazo Kostich, Simo Matavulj, Jovan Jovanovich Zmaj, Prince Nicholas, Dr. L. Tomanovich, Jovan Sundechich and others. This dignified list of authors attests to Pavlovich's reputation among men of letters who responded to his invitation to write for his newspapers. Later, Nova Zeta replaced Zeta. It was edited by Dr. L. Tomanovich with Pavlovich's collaboration.

Pavlovich's educational contributions to Montenegro were even more important than his literary work. By 1884-1885, the number of primary schools increased to forty-five with an enrollment of 2,168. Until this school year, local schools were supervised by unpaid non-professional men. Many of these supervisors had a minimal education. Little progress was made under these conditions. To encourage better school supervision, Pavlovich set a small salary for promising school supervisors. He brought a new order and discipline among teachers. The law of 1883 served to correct some bad practices and introduced more harmony between teachers and local school authorities. He unmercifully dismissed undisciplined or incompetent teachers. He devoted his energies to improvement of primary schools in an attempt to raise them to a modern level. He called teachers' conferences at least once yearly. The conferences were for the purpose of discussing philosophy, theory and
practice of pedagogy. Teachers presented papers on education, geography, and ethnography. Work on collection of historical data and artifacts was discussed. Pavlovich attended the conferences and urged the teachers to continue their cultural work and instructed them to maintain good relations with the people. The conferences were actually courses where teachers were exposed to the newest research and knowledge unavailable elsewhere in Montenegro. Prince Nicholas accepted Pavlovich's invitation to attend the conferences. His attendance contributed to their prestige. Prince Nicholas praised the most worthy presentations, freely commented upon others, and encouraged competition among participants by awarding prizes for outstanding work.

Under Pavlovich's guidance, parent-teacher conferences were conducted to discuss student progress, child-rearing, and problems in schools. Parents were instructed in subjects useful for their children's success in schools. Parents were very responsive. The first such conference was held in Cetinje with sixty parents in attendance. Reports of all conferences and selected works of the teachers were sent to the Ministry. Pavlovich sent the reports to Prince Nicholas who discussed them with him and with other officers of the Ministry.

School finances were handled in such a manner that there was little assurance that monies needed for the next year would be available. In 1887 Pavlovich influenced the passing of a law which instituted a separate school tax. The tax enabled Pavlovich to plan ahead to improve existing schools and to replace the worst by new schools which were to be built according to hygienic and pedagogical needs.
In his correspondence with teachers, Pavlovich instructed them to abandon the "mechanized drumming," to attend to the individual needs of the students, to prepare interesting lessons, and to relate to students in a pedagogical manner. He urged teachers to interest students by good teaching rather than by fear of the switch. He firmly prohibited corporal punishment which was widely used. He prepared guides for primary school administration and issued directions for the keeping of a school chronicle. Teachers were required to regularly send their lesson plans to Pavlovich. He read them and commented upon them by mail.

The first educational journal, Prosvjeta, Education, was begun by Pavlovich in 1889. As the official journal for the Church and schools, it contained information about laws, teaching methods, reports on teachers' work, and the status of the schools. It compared schools to point out deficiencies and inequalities among them and introduced the newest educational theories and practices. Pavlovich was the main contributor to Education and was its editor. Through this journal, he instructed teachers in school law, school finance, administration, and daily practice. He wrote about teacher examinations in order to aid those who had only a primary education and whose tenure depended upon passing the examinations. They were given time to prepare for the examinations and were warned that if they did not pass them in a given time they would be dismissed. Teacher examinations and teacher tenure will be discussed in a later section.

155 Ibid., p. 253.
Practice teaching was initiated in 1890. Pavlovich supervised the organization of the "Vjezbaonica," a practice-room next to the Cetinje Primary School. The students from the Seminary-Teachers' School were given practical experience and opportunities for observation in the practice-room. It is not clear just how their experiences were organized, but the literature indicates that the re-organized Seminary-Teachers' School had a Professor of Methods who supervised practical experiences. The Seminary-Teachers' School will be discussed in later section, but Pavlovich's work to improve it is discussed in this section. A commission was appointed to insure the Seminary-Teachers' School was supplied with new textbooks which "fulfilled the contemporary needs in pedagogy and didactics."\(^{156}\) At this time, Djuro Popovich was Commissioner of Education under Pavlovich. Popovich directed his efforts toward the primary schools while Pavlovich remained director of the gymnasium, Minister of Education, and worked to improve upper level agencies of education.

Several changes in curriculum of both the Seminary-Teachers' School and the gymnasium were made in the years from 1885-1890. The "Law for Students of the Gymnasium in Montenegro" was printed in Montenegrin Voice in 1885. With this law, Pavlovich changed the teaching plan for 1886-1887. A classical curriculum replaced the earlier curriculum. The Karlovac Gymnasium from which Pavlovich graduated was a noted classical school. Pavlovich believed classical studies to be the proper choice for Montenegro because, "classicism is the

\(^{156}\)Ibid., p. 255.
cradle of tradition and offers so many examples of manliness and courage as opposed to real studies which were not as concerned with the human status." There were other more practical reasons for the change. Pavlovich wanted to coordinate the work of the gymnasium which fed students to the Seminary-Teachers' School with the requirements of the Seminary-Teachers' School. Latin and Greek were required for theological studies and the gymnasium was required for entrance into the higher school. By instituting classical studies in the gymnasium, Pavlovich hoped to improve the abilities of the gymnasium graduates and raise the standards of the Seminary-Teachers' School. He added one more year to the gymnasium making it a five year school. He intended to add a sixth year but finances and lack of personnel postponed this. Many of the teachers taught in both the gymnasium and the Seminary Teachers' School because of the lack of highly qualified educators. When a student completed the Seminary Teachers' School, he had completed eleven or twelve years of school depending upon whether he attended a three or four year primary school.

May 28, 1887, new rules were made for the supervision of students. Their supervision was extended to include between class and outside school behavior. Duties of the department heads were re-defined and expanded. Students were required to have a physical examination and homework was regulated. The law included regulations for teachers' conferences. Education carried an article, "Discipline Code for Students of the Seminary-Teachers' School," which set rules for conduct

\[157\] Ibid.
in church and school, responsibilities toward school authorities, teachers and fellow students and society, with punishment stated for various infractions. The same article called for the writing of textbooks more suitable to Montenegro because the present texts were "German oriented and not suited for Montenegrin needs, nor the spirit of pedagogy." 158

A Code for Cadets, the state supported students, stated that scholarship students must complete studies successfully and take examinations on time. They were obliged to return to the state and were expected to work in state service for as many years as they received state support, or to return the money. State supported students inside Montenegro were provided with special lodgings in Cetinje. There was controversy about their selection, and some charged that they did not perform as well as those who paid their own way. Attempts were made to regulate their selection but charges that children of favored families were recipients continued. 159

Pavlovich's last law, the 1890 Law for Organization of the Gymnasium, was the most comprehensive school law passed in Montenegro. It contained general provisions, a teaching plan and sections for administrators, teachers, and students. It also stated a number of rules and gave a detailed interpretation of each article and its provisions. It contained regulations governing student conduct during vacation and also investigated why students dropped out before the end of the school year. It set regulations for the reinstatement of

158 Jovichevich, et al., p. 257.
159 Ibid., p. 258.
such students. This law will be discussed in detail in a later section. Pavlovich also wrote a plan for the printing of school textbooks and with Prince Nicholas' approval reorganized the state printery according to "By-Laws Governing the Work of the State Printery in the Principality of Montenegro." 160

Jovo Pavlovich was a rare Balkan figure, solidly and broadly schooled in classical and modern studies, highly cultured, of solid character and serious nature. He was destined to work in Cetinje under the most difficult conditions until his death in 1892. It is clear that he was a devoted and dedicated man whose unusual nature found peace in Montenegro. The author, Mijushkovich, concluded, "He had bitter hours, difficult experiences as do all who travel the righteous path and work for the common good, but the honorable and intelligent Pavlovich was able to understand everything and to forgive." 161

Pavlovich was dynamic and creative. He nurtured a spirit of cooperation among all involved in education. In a land where everyone was a novice, confusion and disorganization might have been the case had it not been for educational leaders like Pavlovich. He urged that education on every level and by all means possible be made available to the citizens. Parents were involved in education and in every phase of building schools. Pavlovich wrote school reports and many articles pointing out needs and advantages of schooling. His articles and reports were available to all through journals and newspapers.

160 Ibid., p. 259.
161 Ibid., p. 260.
All citizens, even the most remote villagers, had opportunities for direct contact with teachers. One of Pavlovich's dictums was for educators to respect and heed the wishes of parents. School meetings were often open forums which instructed everyone present and won the confidence of parents.

Superintendents

After Pavlovich's death, his co-worker and the Commissioner of Education, Djuro Popovich remained in office until 1902. From the literature, one sees that from 1900 onward, there was a decentralization of authority and an enlarged educational hierarchy. The Minister of Education was no longer the one most important officer though the Ministry was the central agency of educational decision making.

The teacher-inspectors assumed a more important role, from that of being solely concerned with the teacher to that of participation in final examinations of students and reporting upon student programs. They also were to assess the financial condition and needs of the schools and to set small tuition fees for the next school year.

Further decentralization took place in 1905. Three regional superintendents were assigned to three geographic divisions, east, west, and north. The men were to be of "unimpeachable character, highly qualified pedagogues, with practical experience of high quality." Their duties were to inspect all schools in their region three times per year, to evaluate general school progress, to introduce new methods and new knowledge to lesser prepared teachers, to hold teacher

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162 Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjete, p. 20.
conferences and to supply school needs. They were responsible to the
Minister of Education. A small school board was appointed for every
school to care for the needs of the library, the school grounds and
school finances. Local superintendents were then appointed to oversee
the work of a district. They were responsible to the regional superin­
tendents. Their duties were to recommend censure or approval of
teachers, to see to it that every school opened and closed the year with
a parents' meeting and to report conditions to the regional superin-
tendents.

Once the legal and structural foundations for a state system
of schools were established, the building of schools and the operation
of schools in Montenegro on a good pedagogical foundation proceeded.
Chapter VIII will discuss the economic foundations for and the building
of a system of Montenegrin schools.
This chapter on Montenegrin education will indicate that political and intellectual modernization in Montenegro were interrelated and inseparable. The basis for the ability to build schools and to expand educational opportunity depended upon the work of the centralized state. Until state resources were rationalized and state finances were stabilized, schools could not be supported. State agencies that were able to reach all citizens and which were empowered to make laws for the common welfare of the citizens equalized opportunities by providing even the most remote villages with a school. Local agencies and local authority were unable to serve the educational needs of the population. As the functions of the local agencies and rulers were redirected toward cooperative centralized rule, conditions for educational and economic equalization were enhanced. Prior to this, only the area around Cetinje had stable schools and stable economic support.

The schools did not replace enculturation as a system of education. The schools served the need for literacy and helped to create a competent corps of citizens who were able to maintain a modern state. There were some changes introduced in the schools that aimed toward a rational explanation of phenomenon. Montenegrin rulers had
worked to eradicate supernatural explanations, superstition, traditional mental attitudes and outlooks that they considered harmful to progress. The schools became less and less influenced by the Church when the Ministry of Education was separated from the Ministry of Church Affairs, and when the ability to train secular teachers permitted replacement of clerics as teachers.

Black states, "An important feature of the intellectual revolution was the application of science to the practical affairs of man in the form of technology." A consistent theme of the modern era has been the opportunity offered by the new knowledge for the betterment of man's material life. This criterion for modern status was fulfilled in Montenegro with the introduction of schools for agriculture, technical schools of many types, and temporary schools which trained adults in skills for industries previously unknown in Montenegro. Black also states that it is important to recognize how central the concern for knowledge is in a modern society. It is a fact that, following military security, the major Montenegrin concern was to better the conditions of the state and the population through education.

Enculturation continued to maintain the ideals necessary for military strength. Chapter VI discussed Nicholas' active encouragement of the old ideals and traditions and his work to maintain a consensus through nationalism. Nicholas aimed to expand territory and to expel the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans. Here too we see an amalgam of

163 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 13.
old and new, not unusual in progress toward modernity. The schools propagated the ideals of nationalism and freedom because they were an extension of Nicholas' centralized government and served the needs of the state.

Economic Problems

Economic development in Montenegro was a slow and difficult process. The process of political and intellectual modernization was hampered by the lack of adequate financial resources. Many households continued to depend upon barter and exchange of services for needs. Wages were minimal and it was a rare family which could supply its needs with wages. Children were often unable to attend school due to hunger, lack of clothing, inability to buy books or to pay a small enrollment fee. Students seeking more than a primary education were often unable to achieve it because they were not able to survive away from their homes. Middle schools, gymnasiums and other post-primary schools were located near large cities. Rural inhabitants had to find a means to supply room and board for their children who attended post-primary schools. Though there was a compulsory school law, it was difficult to enforce because of financial problems. State stipends enabled some students to live away from home but the majority were forced to conclude their schooling with primary education due to lack of money. Frequently large families or clans combined their resources to enable one or more outstanding members to attend higher schools. Nicholas attempted to support as many poor students as possible, to pay for their schooling, in order to prevent education from becoming the privilege of the "aristocracy." The "aristocracy" refers to those who had land, livestock or who were civil-
servants.

In the 1860's as evidence of stronger state centralization appeared, improved taxation stabilized Montenegro's financial condition. Russian money continued to be a great factor in development of education. In 1863, the total educational budget was 6,480 "cekine." From that account teachers were paid and scholarship students at home and abroad were supported. Nicholas supported some students at his own expense. The total state budget allowed 10.5 percent for education. In 1870, the government began to repair schools, planned to build a school in the Bijelopavlich district and to build a gymnasium and Female Institute in Cetinje. The number of schools increased slowly after the war of 1876-1878 because finances were unavailable. In 1881, the budget for education was one-fourth less than the interior budget, but was more than the military budget.

The school budget was raised and lowered according to available means. The number of years of schooling in the primary schools was decreased from four to three years when funds were scarce. In 1899, the educational budget was greatly decreased and was only one-eleventh of the total budget. After 1900, the middle schools with the exception of the Female Institute, the museum, library and theatre were supported by the state budget. Primary schools were locally supported though

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164 The lack of a uniform currency complicates a discussion of economic conditions in Montenegro. The literature uses a variety of units, florins, sequins, and cekine. The cekine was the equivalent of one dollar though its buying power cannot be compared to the present dollar.

165 Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjete, p. 34.
teachers were paid by the state. From 1907, the educational budget varied from eight to nine percent of the total budget.

An 1870 school law stated that each child should pay a small tuition fee the first year, with the remaining years to be free. This fee was discontinued because the amount discouraged poor parents from sending children to school. Then in October, 1874, the Senate levied an educational tax to consist of one-sixth of the regularly paid tax. The Captains were to bring the taxes to Cetinje by St. Basil's Day in April.

Primary schools were considered tuition-free but local householders were expected to pay for support of the local primary school, within their means. People not having their own home and garden were exempt from paying for school support. The poor and widows could make voluntary contributions. Schools were unevenly financed. Some were supported by donation, some by subscription and some by taxation.

Prior to 1870, many schools were located in private homes without adequate furniture, space, and supplies. In 1870 a school census was taken to determine where and how many schools should be built. The census indicated that of a population of 190,000 there were 2,000 male students and forty buildings were required. It was at this point that Captains were ordered to collect local taxes for schools. Schools often were built near churches according to needs of the local population. Schools were also located between two villages. Beside the school, a teacher's dwelling was built and maintained by local money. A classroom usually housed seventy students. They were two stories high, the lower for the younger students, the upper for
the older students. Rooms for females and males were separate when possible. School inspectors closed schools considered unfit for use.

Teachers and civil servants were equally paid. In 1868 the Church paid teachers. In 1871, the Prince raised teacher salaries which in 1870 had begun to be paid by the state. A teacher at the Seminary School received 800 florins, was given lodging and a furniture and travel allowance if he came from areas outside Cetinje. The first generation of Seminary graduates were paid 280 florins. The Prince gave merit pay for those who demonstrated success. In 1874, a pension fund was created, into which teachers paid three percent of their salaries. After ten years of service a disability pension could be granted. 166

A teachers' assembly attended by the Prince was held in Cetinje in 1885. It was necessary to request money for the pension fund which could not be supported by teacher contribution. Prince Nicholas, Princess Milena, the Ministers, and others donated money to the fund. The following year, Prince Nicholas contributed a substantial sum and gave 600 acres of land for the fund's support. The teachers requested a regulated pay scale rather than merit pay. The law of 1897 regulated pay according to training and service. Teachers in lower scales could, with outstanding service, move to higher pay. Teachers in city schools were given an additional allowance because of higher prices and social obligations in cities. Permanent status and higher pay could be achieved by passing professional examinations as well as by demonstrated ability.

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166 The florin was equivalent to more than one dollar. It is impossible to determine its exact value.
Regular teachers received raises after five years of service and were eligible for pension. Temporary teachers, those with no certificate, received neither raises nor pensions. College graduates with experience received the highest pay followed by new graduates. Pay also was given according to whether one taught required or elective courses. The pay scale had seven raises, the last given after thirty-six years of service.

Teachers and all workers in Montenegro were poorly paid. Teachers' assemblies aggressively pursued higher salaries. At one point, assemblies which placed teacher's pay on the agenda were banned. Many left teaching because the pay was so small. Though salaries were increased and regulated, as of 1911 it was estimated that teachers' pay could not supply the daily requirements of the most isolated peasant in Montenegro. 167

Compulsory Education

The 1870 school law said nothing about school attendance. People did not send their children to school regularly. Captains were told to order all who could and who desired to educate their children to send them to school. The law of 1879 stated that education was free, public and compulsory for all children except the spiritually ill and physically handicapped. Girls were expected to attend a female primary school if one was available. If not, they were to attend a mixed school until they were ten years old. 168

A law passed in 1915 set the entrance age for boys at seven, for girls at six years of age. Parents or employers who caused children

167 Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjete, p. 41. This comment might apply to the average pay, or the minimal pay of teachers. It seems to be a very broad conclusion and was not supported with any data.

168 Ibid., p. 43.
to miss school were to be fined. Compulsory education was mandated but not enforced. Enforcement was a local obligation of the Captain and other officials. Due to the many hardships which prevented school attendance especially in the poorest and most distant areas, attendance was irregular and non-attendance penalties were rarely enforced.

Schooling for Girls

The first mention of schooling for girls was in 1867 when Spiro Kovacevich succeeded in enrolling twelve girls in the Cetinje Primary School. The aim of female education was to prepare girls to be better mothers and to prepare the best of them to be teachers. The first female teacher in Montenegro was Jelena Vickovich who, in 1871, taught poor girls to read, write and do needlepoint. This was a charitable act performed free in her home.

The first state primary female school was opened in 1874. That year, ninety-seven females were enrolled in all schools and forty were enrolled in the new school which opened in Cetinje. A humanitarian organization from St. Petersburg helped support the female primary school. Attendance of girls did not rise rapidly. In 1879-1880, there were only fifty-eight girls in schools. In 1880-1881, there were one hundred-eleven girls enrolled and in 1881-1882, one hundred-nine enrolled.

The Montenegrin Female Institute

The Montenegrin Female Institute was a private school begun in Cetinje in 1869 by Prince Nicholas' daughter, Marija Aleksandrovne,

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169 Ibid., p. 44. 170 Ibid., p. 51. 171 Ibid., p. 52.
wife of a Grand Duke of Russia. The school was patterned after similar Russian schools and aimed to prepare teachers for primary schools. Those who completed the school in its first decade were literate, accomplished in home arts and needlepoint. They boarded at the school and were nurtured in "love of their homeland and their religion," in order to better raise their children, be better examples, and better teachers. 172

Primary education was an entrance requirement to the Institute which was the first female middle school in Montenegro. It accepted girls from nine to twelve years of age. The school gradually expanded from four to six then eight year courses. Girls were grouped in two year divisions with new enrollments accepted every second year.

The Institute was one of the most stable institutions in Montenegro. Of the original thirty entrants, twenty were completely supported by the school. By 1910 there was a special fund to attend to all medical needs of students. Graduates received a small dowry from state funds. 173 Though financially stable, lack of qualified female teachers was a problem. There were five permanent teachers from Russia which were irregularly supplemented by teachers from the Seminary-Teachers' School. In 1888, Madam Mertvago, a Russian, was appointed to direct the school. In 1880, there were six permanent teachers at the Institute. The first teaching plan from 1869-1870 covered two divisions of two years each as shown by Table 1.

172 Ibid., p. 125 173 Ibid., p. 127.
TABLE 1
FIRST TEACHING PLAN FOR THE MONTENEGRIN FEMALE INSTITUTE
1869-1870

<p>| Year in School | I     | II    | III   | IV    |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Periods per week</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>Christian Studies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serbian Language</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Russian Language</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>French Language</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calligraphy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raising Silk Worms</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home Arts</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Periods</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


After 1878 a fifth year was added to the Institute and the program was changed to include more scientific studies. Catechism, Serbian, Russian and French were required for all five years. Natural History and physics were taught in the first three years, chemistry in four and five, technical studies in one through four, home arts from three through five, drawing in one through four, with singing, music, and physical education taught all five years. 174 More

174 Ibid.
concentration upon pedagogy required addition of a sixth year in 1885. There were two significant points in the new plan. The sixth year was devoted to pedagogical studies. Hygiene and the Russian language was extended to the sixth year but the Serbian language was taught only five years. French literature and conversational French were added during day classes while evenings were to be devoted to reading Russian and French classics. Students of the fifth year were to observe first year classes while sixth year students were given opportunities to teach first year classes under supervision of regular teachers. In 1890-1891, eighteen subjects were taught. Serbian history, Russian history and local history were added.

The school constitution of 1885 which governed the school until its final 1913 school year stated that a committee would oversee the work of the Institute so that "teaching would be oriented toward the national spirit, traditions, and needs of Montenegro." The committee consisted of Princess Milena, the Russian Minister in Residence, and others appointed by Prince Nicholas. A conflict between the Minister of Education and Madam Mertvago concerning the heavy Russian orientation of the school originated within this committee. Many complaints had been leveled against the Institute. The most objections were to its curriculum which was considered impractical for the needs of the state. It was felt that graduates would have no need of the French and Russian studies and that they should be replaced with scientific and natural science subjects. The legislature in 1907 discussed the problems and urged a change in the program. It was observed that graduates were not

175 Ibid., p. 128.
as prominent for their pedagogical contributions as they were more inclined to make good marriages than to teach. This was probably as much due to the prescribed female role as to accusations that graduates were weakly trained in pedagogy. Students were generally from leading families and married in cities and towns. Their role as a model was valuable but not as valuable as it would have been had they gone to rural areas. The success of the Institute was often measured by pointing out that certain outstanding ladies were its graduates, and that their conduct and homemaking abilities set the pace for those around them. In 1913, King Nicholas wrote the Russian Czarina that the school would be closed and replaced by a state supported school designed to meet state needs and to provide for the needs of the areas gained from the Balkan Wars.

Prior to the Institute's closing a seventh and eighth year of studies had been added. The first six years were considered a complete course while years seven and eight were to concentrate upon teaching methods. Those who completed eight years were qualified teachers available for immediate placement in primary schools. Those who completed six years were qualified to enter the gymnasium.

The Institute library was very good for its time and place. There were plentiful supplies of Russian and French books. It was noted that in 1889 the Institute had a telescope and a piano. The teaching plan for the eight year school was adopted in 1907, and was in effect until the final year of the Institute's existence. The heavy

176 Ibid., p. 131.
emphasis on languages and the Russian orientation remained but there was a move toward more science and teacher preparation courses. Added to the existing studies were physics, anthropology, chemistry, minerology, animal husbandry, logic and psychology.

Education of females was not given the attention given to education of males. The total number of females enrolled in schools rose slowly beginning with fifty-three in the school year 1878-1879, totalling 2,103 in the final school year, 1914-1915. The number of female teachers ranged from one in 1878-1879 to the final figure of forty-one in 1914-1915. 177

Technical Schools and General Courses

A practical army school opened in Cetinje in 1895. Five hundred youths were taught use of weapons and army drill by Officers Pejovich and Georgevich who came to Cetinje from Serbia. Technical courses were often attached to military training schools of this type.

Most frequently, the technical courses were of short duration preparing a limited number of men for postal and telegraph service, weights and measures, for civil service and other occupations. Technology and minor industry were not well-developed nor were there skilled men to initiate progress in those areas. The need was so great that there was a great demand to open a vocational-technical school rather than a gymnasium. The agitation was especially strong in Podgorica, a trade center, and Bar, a seaport. There were some technical courses or schools, but they were temporary offering a few months of training. Army

177 Ibid., p. 53.
officers were quickly prepared. They became teachers, enabling Podgorica to open a year long military school to train lower ranking officers. In 1898, Cetinje had three officer courses and in 1906 opened a military school. An army communications course prepared army telegraph operators in 1906. Courses for "sanitary assistants" provided army medical assistants who received rudimentary medical training. There were no physicians attached to the army and only a few physicians in Montenegro. Medical practice will be discussed in a later section.

A four year military-technical school opened in Obod in 1906. The first group to complete the school in 1910 were trained to be army mechanics, construction workers, munitions technicians, accountants, clerks and draftsmen. The state weights and measures course in Cetinje was held in 1891 to prepare the Captains' scribes to be state officials for weights and measures. A financial-administrative school prepared civil servants in 1909. These schools were ranked as middle schools and were directed by the Minister of Finance. The financial-administrative school was an eleven month course teaching political and theoretical economics, taxation, finances, merchandising, accounting and bookkeeping, political arithmetic, geometry, administration of Montenegro, basic law, citizens' rights, and statistics. The school enrolled civil-servants regardless of age or prior education and enrolled others of good conduct who had completed the four year gymnasium. Those from Cetinje who were not civil servants were not permitted to attend the financial-administrative school. The non civil-servant enrollment was recruited from other Montenegrin areas.
It is assumed that civil-servants were literate and proficient therefore requiring no special educational background to enter the school. One hundred sixty men enrolled in the school in 1909.\footnote{178}

As town life developed, the need for tradesmen and craftsmen increased. Niksich instituted summer schools to train as many men as possible for the needed occupations. A Society for Crafts and Merchants was organized in 1903 to help prepare workers and support courses. Private initiative was the most significant source of help. The Russian diplomat, M. Karlovic von Medde, organized and financed a book bindery and school to train workers in Cetinje. He supported the school and clothed students for three years. The school became self supporting from its own production and the aid of the Craftsmen-Merchants Society. The Society opened a night and Sunday school in 1907. The school was free, enrolling older citizens and was supervised by the Ministry of Education.

Niksich, expanding in civil needs and commerce, opened a City Academy in 1903 for students who completed four years of gymnasium studies. It worked three years preparing merchants, agriculturalists, and administrators. The state partially financed the Academy, the city bore the greater part of the expense. Great pressure was exerted upon the government to recognize that this type of school would lessen economic emigration. Many men were leaving Montenegro to seek work in other countries. The City Academy also proposed to prepare workers for railway construction in order to bring trade and foreign capital

\footnote{178}{Ibid., p. 134.}
to Montenegro and to aid in industrial development. Various bills supported and changed the Academy program. It became a stable institution working until 1910.

Podgorica opened a private business school in 1910, requiring only primary school for entrance. Its aim was to prepare financial and clerical workers for business and industry. Two ten month courses which included German, business arithmetic, bookkeeping, later adding Italian, indicated that foreign investment had become an important part of the economy. Both Podgorica and Niksich were added to Montenegro after the 1876-1878 war. They became important trade centers adding much to the Montenegrin economy.

Many short courses were offered all over Montenegro. Some taught bee keeping, fruit raising, vine keeping and construction. Usually the courses were intended for primary teachers who would then teach villagers. Forestry became important. It was planned that every region have at least one qualified forester. There were many traveling courses which taught women hygiene, home arts, and child-rearing.

A female work school was organized in Cetinje by the directress of the Female Institute, Sofija Mertvago. The school taught knitting, lace-making, and technical drawing. Teachers were native women skilled in those arts. The school successfully operated from 1901 until World War I. Over one hundred women attended the school.

Singer Sewing Machine Company sent machines and instructors to Montenegro in 1903. Girls were taught to sew the delicate and decorative native patterns by machine using gold, silk and cotton thread. Machines could be purchased by monthly installments. The women learned quickly
making the decorative sewing a highly valued art. Larger towns opened technical-handicraft schools whenever possible.

The short term schools and courses filled the great need of preparing workers for many occupations in a very short time. Industrial and technological development was dependent upon a trained corps of workers just as political development depended upon a trained corps of literate men. The citizens eagerly sought entrance into the many schools which, for the first time, offered a wide variety of opportunities for economic survival. The government proposed a system of lower and middle vocational schools and evening courses throughout Montenegro, especially in rural areas. The plans were finalized in 1914 but due to World War I were not implemented.

Primary Schools

The most basic and most necessary agency, the primary school, was the most stable and important foundation of Montenegrin education. Its development from an agency of basic literacy to a broader curriculum was a slow process always dependent upon the feeble financial resources of the state and the lack of enough qualified teachers. The evolution of an educational hierarchy has been generally discussed in a prior section. The educational hierarchy's role in development of primary education and a system of primary schools will be presented in this section. The most important role of education officials was to find teachers and to prepare teachers.

Inexperienced, poorly trained teachers found it difficult to cope with students who were often as old as they. Some primary students were as old as twenty-one years old, attending when they could or when
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they wished. Classes were crowded with as many as fifty students to one teacher who had no idea of how to organize a program suited to the large group and the great age span. Town schools had better trained teachers and were more stable, better financed and better organized. The schools in Cetinje had the advantage of being close to the Ministry and its agents who were the most able educators in Montenegro. The agents of the Ministry closely supervised and worked with the teachers of the schools in Cetinje.

Expansion of and definition of duties of the educational officers as well as the gradual addition of more officers extended more opportunities for in-service education and summer courses to enable rural teachers to improve their skills. Legislation raised standards, increased and equalized finances and required teachers in primary schools to meet minimal requirements or be dismissed. Teacher-inspectors were a great help to rural teachers. They visited the schools frequently, offered practical suggestions, helped teachers with problems, evaluated instruction and helped guide the work of the schools. This office, previously held by non-educational officials, was a tremendous aid in raising standards of rural primary schools. The emphasis upon parental involvement and parent education resulted in a cooperative atmosphere, better discipline and better attendance. The rural teacher was expected to be an active community worker and was generally the only educated adult in the area. He was exposed to many pressures and often came into conflict with local leaders who continued to resist the attempts of the state to eliminate the traditional local autonomy. Elimination of local autonomy was one of the most necessary elements in political
modernization in Montenegro. The local teacher was often the agent through which the government introduced new laws and attempted to change local customs. Here too, the interrelatedness of political and intellectual modernization is evident. The local rural teachers, on the other hand, were careful to observe and live according to the standards of the community they served while attempting to introduce new standards and norms. Their's was a difficult and poorly paid position but one of the most important in the educational system.

Primary schools were generally three year schools, but the length of their work depended upon financial and political circumstances. The few female primary schools were especially unstable, the first to close whenever a crisis arose. After the gymnasium was founded, its entrance requirements influenced the work of primary schools. Legislation decreed that all primary schools should be at least four year schools and when possible, six year schools for terminal education. Nevertheless, in 1890, there were primary schools with as little as two year programs. A 1907 law fixed all primary schools at a minimum of four years. 179

The Cetinje Primary School, an extension of the one founded by Njegosh was the best school of its kind. It offered reading, writing, arithmetic, church history, Serbian grammar and church singing. Each new teacher brought new methods and ideas. History of Montenegro was added and textbooks not available in rural schools were used. Rural schools taught from Church-Slavonic primers and from the Psalter according to the teacher's ability. As more and better prepared teachers came

179 Ibid., p. 140.
to Cetinje, a formal plan for the primary school was written and the school was extended to five years. Nikola Musulin instituted a plan for primary schools in 1860. The plan covered four years and depended entirely upon rote learning. Prince Nicholas asked Nicifor Duchich to re-organize the primary school in 1862. Duchich proposed a three year school to teach reading, writing, prayer, arithmetic, and completion of the first reader the first year. The second year was to cover general history, arithmetic, the second reader and religious studies. The third year would be devoted to catechism, Serbian and Montenegrin history, Serbian grammar, geography, the third reader, and church history. Church singing was to be taught all three years.

Two teachers from Dalmatia, B. Novakovich and M. Nisich, introduced Vuk Karadzich's grammar and phonetic methods of reading in 1864. From this, it is assumed that the Serbo-Slavonic alphabet and grammar were taught in the schools even though it was noted earlier that Njegosh introduced Karadzich's orthography and grammar in 1851.

Milan Kostich reorganized primary schools in 1869 so that all town schools had four year plans and the smaller village schools used three year plans. The curriculum was religion, Serbian language, Church Slavonic, arithmetic, and church singing the first year. In the second

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180 Serbian history means the history of the Serbian people of Serbia, and Montenegrin history means the history of the Serbian people of Montenegro. This also applies when speaking of Serbian or Montenegrin government. The population is Serbian or one may say Serbs when speaking collectively of the population without designating geographic area.

181 Njegosh also ordered type for Karadzich's alphabet. It is possible that the Serbo-Slavonic remained in the schools because schools primarily trained clerics who were the teachers as well as priests.
year, religion, Serbian language and the other subjects were taught. The third year repeated the first two years at a more advanced level and added geography, agricultural and animal husbandry classes. Three year students were required to memorize several folk ballads and were to be able to sing them. In the fourth year, the town schools offered third year courses at an advanced level. Kostich's guidance manual, discussed in an earlier section, was supplemented by Natasevich's, Short Guidance for Serbian Teachers, a methods guide which emphasized understanding rather than memorization and rote learning and aimed to advance moral and intellectual development suggestive of the "whole child" approach of today's psychology and pedagogy.182

Teachers began to oppose the emphasis upon religious subjects and succeeded in lessening them in favor of natural science subjects. Christian studies, practical geometry, nature studies, biology, decorative writing, drawing, and physical education were added to the curriculum. The program was considered too ambitious to be practical for the circumstances of Montenegro. Some subjects were dropped and the curriculum was adapted to local circumstances even though regulations stated certain requirements. Plans for development of the country's agricultural expansion, after the addition of fertile areas regained in 1858, 1862, and 1878, brought pressure upon primary schools to train students to manage land and domestic industries as well as to deal with practical daily problems. Many changes were proposed throughout the 1870's and 1880's. Some changes became permanent but conditions did

182 Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvejete, p. 74.
not permit all schools to be of equal quality, nor school laws to be fully implemented.

The most significant primary school plan was made in 1895. It was proposed for use in three and four year primary schools. The four year plan was to teach religion in grades I-IV, Serbian in grades I-IV, Slavonic in grades II-IV, arithmetic in grades I-IV, geometry in grades III-IV, geography in grades I-IV, Serbian history in grades III-IV, hygiene in grades I-IV, natural studies in grades II-IV, with handicrafts, home arts, singing and military exercises added for all four years. Schools were to be in session for twenty-five hours per week. The aim of the primary schools was to educate children in conformity with their nature and growth, to gradually develop physical and spiritual strength with great attention to religious and moral development. 183

Teachers were active participants in planning every phase of the educational program. As teachers became more qualified, more emphasis was placed upon learning by experience and use of psychological methods in dealing with students. The last primary school plan was written in 1907 by a committee from the Ministry of Education in consultation with the best teachers in Montenegro. The plan went into effect September 1, 1908 through 1916 when all schools closed. The plan gave the most emphasis to Serbian language and history, arithmetic and natural science subjects. Practical experience and audio-visual teaching were the basis for the prescribed method developed by the committee. 184

183 Ibid., p. 75. 184 Ibid., p. 72.
The plans of 1888, 1894, and 1902 were primarily the work of Djuro Popovich, Commissioner of Schools and the first native pedagogue in Montenegro. He introduced new methods and borrowed ideas from foreign systems of education. Popovich had textbooks printed. He also brought more and better textbooks to Montenegro and helped plan professional and school libraries. Popovich worked very closely with Pavlovich, the Minister of Education. The new educational plans were increasingly more professional but their implementation was difficult except in cities. Although they did not include literature, the plans required religious education and also emphasized more scientific studies. Clergymen were the first teachers and were the foremost educational officials at this time. It was their presence that resulted in curricula dominated by religious studies. Also, the first native teachers were products of the Cetinje Theological Seminary. Petranovich's 1856 plan was a totally religious educational plan. The 1868 reform which created the Educational-Church Office, and the 1870 law which stated that school officials should "see that children take Communion and observe all Lenten Days," and Kostich's 1870 plan continued the religious emphasis directed by the Serbian Orthodox Church of Montenegro. School regulations in 1878 required church attendance. In Cetinje, teachers were required to oversee church attendance of children and to take children to church on holidays. Prince Nicholas declared that, "religious training of children was the most important cultural obligation of the land."\textsuperscript{185} In 1886, Lazarus Saturday was made an obligatory holiday. As late as 1902, teachers

\textsuperscript{185}Ibid., p. 80.
were told that the religious-moral education of the children and the people was the school's duty. All instruction was to be centered around moral and religious concepts. In 1908, the Ministry requested by letter that all school boards and school officials see that one hour of catechism, liturgical instruction and study of the Evangelists be held for all primary students. The lessons were to be given in the school. Religious-moral objectives were gradually replaced by more secular aims. Priest-teachers were totally replaced by secular teachers by 1915.

Primary schools were usually as successful as the teachers who staffed them. There were few resources available. In 1870, it was stated that aside from necessary teaching materials, schools should have supplementary teaching supplies. Schools were supplied with a globe, world maps, maps of Europe, and teaching pictures. Some schools had letters which could be pasted to form words and small sentences. After 1878, school supplies and teaching aids were increased. The teacher was responsible for the careful use of the supplies and aids. A committee for designing and making visual teaching aids was formed in 1908. Results of the committee's work are unknown. All aids not issued by the state had to be authorized for use by the school board and regional superintendent or Ministry. Teachers who made their own aids had to submit them for approval before using them.

Primary School Statistics

Prince Danilo (1851-1859) attempted to set a small tax to provide for teacher retirement and building of primary schools. When the war of 1852-1853 ended, the Cetinje Primary School was reorganized and
reopened in 1854. In addition to increasing the length of the school from three to five years, a dormitory for scholarship students was to be built. Other students were to attend at their own expense. Danilo requested that students from each district of Montenegro be sent to Cetinje for schooling at state expense. In 1861, there were only three stable, regular primary schools in Montenegro, with one in Dobrskom Selu opening and closing frequently. In 1863, the Cetinje school was the only four year primary school in Montenegro. Prince Danilo was unable to maintain schools and did not succeed in opening a gymnasium. It was not until after the war of 1862 that the state was able to open schools and pay teachers. Statistics for 1863 indicate there were only six primary teachers paid by the state, three of whom were in Cetinje. Two primary schools were opened in four districts and one opened in two other Montenegrin districts in 1863. The teachers were selected from the best students of the Cetinje four year primary school. In the school year 1863-1864, eleven schools enrolled 417 students. Three new schools were planned for newly acquired areas. There were some private primary schools maintained in an irregular manner.186

A temporary Theological Seminary opened in 1863, closing in 1864. Candidates for the clergy were to be absorbed by the four year primary school thereby making it necessary for the school to include theological studies.

By 1870-1871, primary schools enrolled twenty-four students in Boljevichama and twenty-eight in Dobrskom Selu, sixty-eight in Andrijevica, seventy-eight in Ljubotici and ninety-one in Zdrebnik. There were seven

186 Ibid., p. 83.
primary schools of three year duration in the Crmnica district. The Cetinje school enrolled two first year classes and one each in the second, third, and fourth years. Total primary school enrollment in the 1870-1871 school year was 1,424 males and twenty-three females. There were thirty-eight recorded schools in that year. It is difficult to determine number of years duration of each school but all schools provided from two to four years for those enrolled. At the end of 1873, there were 928 students enrolled in grade one, 645 in grade two, 431 in grade three and forty in grade four. Figures for grade four indicate that there were few schools with a four year curriculum. In all, there were forty-three primary schools with fifty teachers and about 2,000 students. The 1873-1874 data speaks of twenty-nine schools with 2,000 students. Famine prevented many from attending school at all and others attended irregularly. Some students are known to have been twenty-one years of age.

Plans to open fifteen additional schools were postponed due to lack of teachers. In 1874 it was proposed to select the best students from the four year primary schools in Cetinje and to send them to the permanent Theological School to prepare to teach. At this time, seven schools were raised to four year schools with at least two teachers in each.

In the 1874-1875 school year six new primary schools were opened. Statistics for this year speak of only twenty-eight primary schools. There are few available sources for statistics for the 1875-1876 school year.

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187 Ibid., p. 100. 188 Ibid., p. 101.
year. Each Captaincy had at least one school, and 3,000 students attended primary schools. Teachers were paid by the state and schools were erected at local expense. 189

Statistical data for the 1860's and 1870's are not complete. Data was compiled from attendance figures, based upon numbers of teachers or location of schools. There was no uniform method for compiling statistics nor was there an office for that purpose.

During the 1876-1878 war and for several ensuing years, most primary schools completely closed or worked irregularly. Data indicates that fourteen rural schools and no town schools were able to maintain any program during this war. Statistics from 1876-1878 were incomplete. It is known that twelve new primary schools were built in 1881-1882, and that they were called county schools and were locally financed. Table 2 gives the most complete available statistics for number of schools, state and local supported, and numbers enrolled in each grade.

Teacher Education

The first native teachers were graduates of the Cetinje Primary School and the temporary Seminary which operated from about 1861-1863. Slowly, students sent to Serbia and Russia began returning to Montenegro. Teachers trained outside Montenegro received a higher and a different kind of education in the early years. In the school year 1880-1881, sixteen of twenty-six teachers were graduates of the permanent Cetinje Seminary, one from a Russian gymnasium, one from a gymnasium in Zadar, one from a teacher's school in Sombor, and the others had two or three

189 Ibid.
TABLE 2
PRIMARY SCHOOL STATISTICS 1883-1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Year</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1900</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1901</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1902</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-1903</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909-1910</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1911</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1912</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914-1915</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**The five years from 1904-1909 are not included due to lack of data.

***The significant gain in the five years not included in this table was probably due to more financial ability, better administration by the new District Superintendents. The 1910-1911 figures were taken from figures given during the Montenegrin Jubilee which celebrated Nicholas' fifty years of rule and his coronation as King of Montenegro. The publication was, Pedeset Godina Na Prestolu Crne Gore, by N. Minich, n.p., n.d.
years of post-primary school. Of two women teachers, one had attended primary school and another had completed teacher studies in Belgrade. In 1883-1884, of forty-one teachers, eleven were priests. Laws did not state minimal teaching requirements but made pay and position dependent upon training and experience. In 1884-1885, twenty-two of the teachers completed the Seminary and fourteen were priests. Until 1890 many teachers with only primary preparation continued to fill positions with a few who had post-primary training of some sort. The Seminary was re-organized as a Theological-Teacher's Seminary in 1887. The results were noticeable in the resulting better prepared teachers most of whom had both primary and middle school education. The Theological-Teacher's Seminary was considered a middle school at that time. Other middle schools began to offer two or three years of post-primary education in other areas. By 1896-1897, there were only four teachers with primary education working in Montenegro.190

When the Seminary was reorganized in 1869, it was organized with the aim of preparing teachers. Later organized as a Theological-Teacher's Seminary, it became a permanent and the most important source of native teachers. Three years of primary school were required for entrance to the three year Seminary. The original curriculum was heavily weighted with religious studies and contained Serbian and Montenegrin history, practical physics and Slavonic grammar the first year. The second year, dogmatics, rhetoric, Old Testament, logic and psychology were taught. The third year included only religious studies. It was difficult for primary students to master the courses of the temporary Seminary, and

190 Ibid., pp. 115-117.
scholarship students were required to maintain excellent grades in more than half the subjects.

Prince Nicholas' visit to St. Petersburg in 1869 resulted in yearly financial aid to support the new Seminary re-organized that year. When it became the Theological-Teacher's Seminary, candidates were required to pass a difficult entrance examination after four years of primary school. This excluded students from areas where four year primary schools did not exist. Kostich and the Russian educated Arch-priest Rajevski devised a plan for the new school. Rajevski recommended that Kostich be appointed Rector of the school. The school, which prepared both clerics and teachers, was under the authority of the Metropolitan and under Prince Nicholas' protection and the Rector's guidance. The Rector was to have a Magister's Certificate from a religious academy even if he were not yet ordained. Teachers were required to have attended a theological seminary or religious academy. Seminary teachers were appointed by the Rector who taught all religious subjects and was obliged to attend teachers' classes to observe and evaluate student progress. Serious infractions of rules could result in a jail sentence. The Rector was responsible for every aspect of the school program and was expected to write textbooks for seminary subjects. He reported to the Metropolitan at mid-year and to the Prince at the end of the school year.

There were ten state-supported students in each of the three grades. The students were from fifteen to eighteen years old. The school year was from September to June. Grade points were from one to five with a one and a two considered as unsatisfactory. Make-up
examinations were given to determine whether students should be allowed to remove the unsatisfactory marks and pass to the next grade. Many students were dismissed. The Rector and teachers were paid a minimal salary and were given housing and a furniture allowance. Pensions were given after fifteen years of service, the amount increasing with years of service. Outside teachers were given a travel allowance to come to Montenegro. Table 3 gives the teaching plan for the 1869-1870 school year. The school was expected to fulfill many needs, religious, educational and cultural. It began doing so with the first graduates of 1871 who became outstanding religious and pedagogical figures in Montenegro.

Captain Djoko Vlajkovich, a military instructor in Cetinje, and Vaso Pelagich donated one hundred books to the school library. Books and magazines began arriving from Belgrade, Subotica and Moscow. Pelagich, an Archmandrite, frequently talked with the students about the Montenegrin past and about Serbian suffering under Turkish occupation. The students decided to hold an evening program on November 11, 1871 with Archmandrite as the lecturer. The program also included the singing of folk epics to the accompaniment of the gusle. Pelagich,

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191 Bozo Radovich, a post-World War II emigrant to the United States related his experiences as a student of the Seminary-Teacher's School to this author. He told of the rigorous discipline and training in other than academic areas. The students were expected to attend all court functions and present themselves in proper attire and conduct themselves in the proper manner. He related that Prince Nicholas was particularly attentive to the progress of the students and was acquainted with them and their work. Mr. Radovich's education is evident in his detailed knowledge of history, his ability to recall dates and events perfectly, and was a very useful source of information for this paper. He is an octogenarian.
TABLE 3
THE 1869-1870 TEACHING PLAN FOR THE SEMINARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Grade Level Each Subject Was Taught</th>
<th>Periods Taught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catechism</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church History</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Language</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Language</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavonic Language</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropology and Physiology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didactics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Singing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Theology</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Testament</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible Studies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parish Theology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liturgics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Law</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Polemics</td>
<td>3 (first semester)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Methods and Pedagogy</td>
<td>6 (second semester)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography and History</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Drill</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjete, p. 118.
before leaving Cetinje, urged the students to form a literary and cultural society and gave them money and books with which to begin. The students aimed to collect and record folk ballads and stories, among other things. In February 1872, the society was formally organized as the "Montenegrin Warrior," with the names, "Lovchen" and "Gorski Vijenac," (Mountain Wreath) also suggested. Members worked to develop their intellect and to excel in the educational and literary fields. They soon realized the joys of creative work and the necessity of their responsibility to the backward country. They appealed to all publishers of Serbian or Slav publications to donate subscriptions to their society. They soon received publications which they avidly read and added to their new library. Original papers and literary works as well as translated works were read at their meetings. Friends of the student society were Simo Popovich, editor of Crnogorka, Jovan Sundeichich, the Prince's secretary, and most helpful of all was the Rector, Milan Kostich. The initiative of Pelagich, Sundeichich, and Kostich who were not from Montenegro, was a highly instrumental factor in development of Montenegrin leaders.

The Seminary did not operate from 1876-1878. It was reorganized in 1887 as the Seminary-Teacher's School with a separate school and dormitory for those who would specialize in teacher education. It was a major step to realize that priests and teachers required a different education. The teacher's section would enroll students of at least fourteen years of age who completed a four year primary school. Lodging was to be free for twenty-five poor but excellent students in each grade. Candidates were to sign a contract to teach in Montenegro at least ten years after graduation. By-laws for the school were comprehensive.
Discipline, hiring of teachers, qualifications of teachers, their duties, associations and pensions were fully defined. They provided for teacher aides and stated the duties. The duties of the principal, a teaching plan for four years with a sixteen subject curriculum, evaluation of teachers and students were given great attention in the by-laws. Other areas covered were textbooks, a practice teaching school, a primary school of eight years and the definition of the role of the Ministry of Education in promoting the aims of the schools. The by-laws also stated the teachers must be Serbian.\textsuperscript{192}

The necessary finances to implement the plan were not available. During the nine years from 1878-1887, a gymnasium was built. The gymnasium closely followed the plan of the Theological-Teacher's School. The gymnasium will be discussed in a later section. Building of the gymnasium preceded the implementation of the plan for the Theological-Teacher's School because it was felt that the Theological-Teacher's School should require four years of gymnasium studies as an entrance requirement.

Some thought there should be a separate teacher's school but this was not practical in terms of personnel. The plan for a combined Theological-Teacher's School to be built for "professional studies and educational preparation of males who wish to dedicate themselves to the calling of Priest or teacher in Montenegro," became the final decision.\textsuperscript{193} The new plan did not make provision for room and board, but was tuition

\textsuperscript{192}Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjete, pp. 119-120.  
\textsuperscript{193}Ibid.
free. Students were to support themselves unless they received a scholarship. The school accepted excellent students from the lower gymnasium of four years but also accepted some primary school students.\textsuperscript{194} The school was to have four permanent teachers and as many aides as needed. One teacher was required to be a professional teacher with a pedagogical background. Teachers were to have a higher pedagogical or theological training or successful practice and good professional reputation. Duties of all personnel were listed in the by-laws. The school was to have an Advisory Council. Students were to receive a practical and theoretical education based upon sixteen subjects. Some of the subjects taught were, general theology, the Bible, Old and New Testaments, hermeneutics, dogmatic-polemical theology, moral-pastoral duties, Church Slavonic, Serbian, and Russian, anthropology, diatetics, home healing, theory and practice of pedagogy, practical teaching and agriculture.\textsuperscript{195}

The school successfully operated from 1887-1905, closing in 1905 until 1908. The closing was due to the fact that the gymnasium was not preparing candidates well enough to succeed in the Theological-Teacher's School. Re-opening after three years, the school used the same regulations except that all candidates were required to have four years of gymnasium.

After 1896, the poorly regulated system of practice teaching was improved. The first efforts at practice teaching had placed potential teachers in near-by primary schools. This was considered a

\textsuperscript{194}Ibid., p. 121 \textsuperscript{195}Ibid., p. 123
disruptive practice which took too much teacher time and was not well organized. In 1896 the practice was regulated by hiring a methods teacher to supervise the practice teachers. The regular teacher was to supervise the practice teacher in the absence of the methods teacher. The school continued to supply Montenegro with clerics and teachers until 1915. The re-organized school which re-opened in 1903 gave more emphasis on teacher training and teacher preparation. Table 4 gives the teaching plan for the 1908-1915 school years. No new enrollment was permitted in 1913 due to plans to close the school after the three upper classes graduated. This was to enable the school to become two separate schools, one for theology and the other for teacher training.

The Theological-Teacher's School's extra-curricular activities included a choir, displays of student work, holiday programs and presentation of scenes from Njegosh's Mountain Wreath. In 1891, third year students published a literary newspaper, Cetinje Theological Paper. The format was patriotic and nationalistic. The first issue carried an editorial stating the purpose and contained geographic information, an article on hygiene, a travelogue, "From Crmnica to Cetinje," and some short stories. It was a weekly publication.

The Seminary-Teacher's School operated for thirty-two years with some interruptions and in different forms. It was an influential factor in the cultural and intellectual development of Montenegro. This first middle school, later a secondary school, turned out a significant number of teachers, priests, captains, civil servants, commanders and diplomatic officials. The school was nurtured by Prince Nicholas who was an active participant in the planning and financing of its work.
# TABLE 4

1908-1915 TEACHING PLAN FOR THE SEMINARY-TEACHER'S SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Year in School and Periods Taught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Bible and Hermeneutics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liturgics and Church Archeology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canon Law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of the Christian and Serbian Church</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogmatics and Theological Polemics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Teaching</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastoral Duties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apologetics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation and Study of the Evangelists - Sermons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy (Theory of Teaching, Didactics, Methods for Primary School)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church-Slavonic Language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian and General History</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography of Serbian Areas and Montenegro</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural History</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hygiene and Home Healing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>State and Civil Law</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Singing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing and Manuscript Writing</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics and Military Drill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Teacher's School in Pec

A teacher's school was built in Pec after the 1912-1913 Balkan War. Pec was formerly Turkish occupied. It was considered an immediate necessity to develop every level of education and extend the arm of the state to the liberated areas. A three year teacher's school opened in Pec in 1913 which admitted four year gymnasium students. The school in Pec had a practice-school, a library and a garden. The Minister of Education was responsible for developing teaching plans for all schools opened in liberated areas. The state intended to reach all citizens through a system of education. The Pec school consisted of a principal, an undetermined number of professors and an Advisory Council. Examination was required prior to entering the next year of school with the final examination being a teacher proficiency examination. Poor students were given stipends to attend. The school opened with fifty students and added thirty-two new candidates in 1915. The school which ceased its work shortly after World War I began was the third middle school in Montenegro. 196

With the exception of the Theological-Teacher's School, the private, Female Institute, and the Teacher's School in Pec, there was little other opportunity for professional education in Montenegro. The technical courses, military courses and business courses were valuable but unsystematic and omitted many important areas. Agriculture, for example, was neglected except for general courses offered in existing schools. There were no agriculturalists to form or supervise practical

196 Ibid., pp. 125-126.
agricultural schools and practice. In 1874, Prince Nicholas decided to send three young men to a school outside Montenegro to prepare them to teach in a planned agricultural middle school. George Radich, former Professor of Economics at Pozarevac, was invited to come to Montenegro. He agreed to supervise the newly opened agricultural school located in Danilovgrad. Eighteen students from all parts of Montenegro attended. Twelve students were state supported. The curriculum consisted of courses in fruit raising, maintenance of domestic animals, raising silk worms and bee-keeping. The most necessary equipment was obtained for the school but the war of 1876-1878 disrupted its work. 197

The Gymnasium

As centralization and expansion of governmental function progressed, it was obvious that Montenegro needed a large number of prepared men to fill government positions. Njegosh had discussed plans for a higher school in Cetinje in 1845. Danilo II had appealed to Russia for funds to develop higher education in 1853. Building and maintaining a higher school was a financial impossibility for many decades. In 1860, plans for a program for a gymnasium were requested from Russia and Serbia. Vojvoda Mirko Petrovich, Nicholas' father was the most energetic propagator of the work to build a gymnasium. There was opposition from many of the educated men that came from outside Montenegro. Their opinion was that all energy and money should be used to stabilize and improve primary education rather than to build a gymnasium or a

197 Prince Nicholas intended that Danilovgrad become the trade center for Montenegro. It was located on the Zeta River and was a fertile area. When Niksich and Podgorica were re-taken in 1878 those cities, already better developed for trade became the trade centers.
realgymnasium patterned after the German model. They proposed that it would be better to make the Cetinje Primary School a six year school.

In July 1873, a realschule was initiated and the gymnasium was deferred. It was thought more practical to develop the lower school to fulfill higher requirements for the Seminary and Female Institute and to prepare students for a general gymnasium.

In 1880-1881, a gymnasium was built in Cetinje. The graduates were prepared for the re-organized Theological Teacher's School. That was the first step toward a ladder of education. The rudimentary knowledge gained in primary schools was no longer adequate to serve state purposes and was not adequate to enable students to succeed in any middle schools in Montenegro or abroad. Another consideration in the agitation for upper levels of education was that the expense of bringing in and supporting foreigners was a financial burden which would be eliminated by preparation of native professionals. It was still considered that, though the gymnasium would fill many needs, the best students would be sent abroad. Lively debate about the function and purpose of the school ensued. There were complaints that the program was too theoretical, too heavy with Latin scholarship which was of no use or interest to Montenegro. Another complaint was that the school would form a bureaucratic army composed of sons of leaders in whose hands the state would become an "aristocratic monopoly."\(^{198}\)

The second year, the number of scholarship students was increased from sixteen to twenty. It was said that the Prince and government

\(^{198}\) Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjete, p. 147.
looked upon the school with love but that the people did not share that emotion.\textsuperscript{199} Because it was the only school, enrollment was large, as students came from all over Montenegro to attend. Graduates became scribes, clerks and government officials. Some graduates continued higher studies.

No evaluation of the work of the gymnasium is available. In 1907 it was proposed to the legislature that an evaluation should be ordered but none was made. A continual aim was to prevent certain elements of western culture from overshadowing and defeating the traditional culture upon which Montenegro was founded.

The first written regulations for the gymnasium at Cetinje were approved in 1883-1884, were signed by Metropolitan Visarion who was then Minister of Religious and Educational Affairs. The law had twenty-eight articles which dealt with pupil behavior in and out of school, conditions of student housing, duties of the Advisory Council and of school personnel. With the coming of Jovo Pavlovich to head the Ministry in September 1885, regulations for the gymnasium were immediately issued. The regulations governed student behavior in school, in church, and outside school. The regulations provided for independent study, forbade whispering in class, and encouraged cleanliness of quarters, and grooming. It was insisted that students should live with respectable families. From August through September of 1886, Pavlovich regulated entrance qualifications which governed students from ten to fifteen who had completed a four year primary school and passed the entrance examination.\textsuperscript{199}

\textsuperscript{199}Ibid., p. 149.
Students with two unsatisfactory grades could repeat the courses; those with more than two unsatisfactory grades could not be admitted. Students with one unsatisfactory grade from primary school were permitted to take an examination and then appear for an oral examination before the faculty. Even following that, such a student had to convince the group that he would successfully master the unsatisfactory subject during the summer prior to being accepted.

Dushan Vuksan, writing in *Cetinje i Crna Gora*, tells of the first gymnasium located in the monastery in 1880-1881, prior to the building of the new gymnasium. It enrolled a small number of students and had a few poorly qualified teachers. There were about ten or twelve students in each of four grades. Vuksan related that only children of the first families attended this school which had no regulations, no program, and was governed by the one written document, "Teaching Plan for Lower Grades of the Prince's Realgymnasium in Cetinje." Table 5 gives the curriculum for the 1880-1881 year of the Prince's Realgymnasium.

The curriculum for the Realgymnasium was difficult and certainly too advanced for the poorly prepared primary students who entered the school. The new gymansium had a somewhat different program which was revised when Jovo Pavlovich wrote *School Law* in 1883. He also wrote regulations for every phase of the gymnasium, added a fifth year to

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TABLE 5
THE 1880-1881 TEACHING PLAN FOR THE REALGYMNASIUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Year in School</th>
<th>Grades and Periods Per Week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Law of God</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Language</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Language</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Language</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics - Arithmetic-Geometry</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geography and history</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natural history</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physics and chemistry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Studies</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calligraphy and drawing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gymnastics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Jovichevich, et al., Cetinje i Crna Gora, p. 259.

to the school, changed the courses and added Greek. Table 6 shows the changes made by Pavlovich.

The curriculum of the 1885 plan was very difficult in that three, four, and five languages were taught simultaneously to students in the gymnasium. A major reform was made in 1890 with laws passed to provide for both a four year and an eight year gymnasium. The law stated that the gymnasium could be state or private. The Minister of Education was to supervise all institutions. The higher gymnasium was to have twelve instructors and the lower was to have six. The director of the higher was to teach ten periods per week and the director of the lower was to teach fourteen periods. Regular instructors taught twenty periods per week, with rotation of subjects in order to assure lively
TABLE 6
PAVLOVICH'S 1885 PLAN FOR THE GYMNASIUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Year in School</th>
<th>Periods Per Week and Grade Levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian Language</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Slavonic Language</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin Language</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Language</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Language</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography and History</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature Studies</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuscript Writing</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Periods Weekly 26 27 30 30 29

SOURCE: Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjetet, p. 152. Also see Cetinje i Crna Gora, p. 260. This plan gives the school a classical character. The instructions accompanying the plan stated that several subjects required teaching with visual aids and giving students practical experience. It was replaced with a new plan in 1908.
instruction. Students were to be punished according to the aims of
the school and in consideration of the nature and dignity of mankind.
It was prohibited to punish students by humiliation or by demeaning
them. Corporal punishment was forbidden except by kneeling, which was
used only in the lower grades. The students were to be examined at
least every other month and given a grade. At the end of the year,
the examination grades were to be averaged with a year-end examination.
Year-end examinations were given in July with the Minister or his
designee presiding. 201 The laws remained in effect until 1915. The
Prince approved the selection of instructors who were considered
government civil-servants. They were to be of excellent reputation and
character and have satisfactory preparation. Potential instructors had
to pass a "Professor's Examination." They were to teach both academic
content and manly virtues. Extra service was rendered without extra
pay. Instructors could not lose pay nor pension without a court trial
to determine personal guilt if accused of wrongdoing. They could
temporarily leave their profession if the school in which they worked
closed or if state interests required their transfer elsewhere. The
transfer could be to a non-teaching position and was not considered a
break in service. An instructor was at the disposition of the state
if his school closed and until a new position was found. He would
continue to be paid at thirty percent less than full salary. The
Minister of Education, authorized by the Prince, could release an

201 Ibid., p. 259. The rules for discipline were very progressive
and considered the student's self-image. This type of regard for
students was a part of the Montenegrin ethic which placed the dignity
of a man above all else.
instructor who was found clearly and without doubt to be inefficient, lazy, unproductive, or if discipline problems resulted from his inability to motivate or teach students properly. There were routes of appeal in all cases. Instructors could be dismissed if their debts equalled more than one year's pay.

Regulations for instructors remained in effect until 1907 when the fifth year was added to the gymnasium. When the Cetinje Gymnasium became a five year school, a lower gymnasium was opened in Podgorica. Intensive work to open more gymnasiums began after the Balkan Wars. In 1913, a four year gymnasium opened in Berane, Niksich and Plevlje. An eight year gymnasium opened in Pec. In 1913, there were forty-four instructors and 1,738 students in the gymnasium. No new gymnasiums opened in Montenegro until after 1919.

The lower gymnasium in Cetinje was raised to six years in 1907, then to eight years in 1908. A new teaching plan added philosophy, psychology, logic and a civics course which taught understanding of the governmental organization of Montenegro. French or Greek were required for the last four years of the school whereas German was required for years two through eight. Five languages were required at some point. Mathematics was required for eight years. Literature was an important part of every language course. The Serbian literature studied included Njegosh's, The Mountain Wreath, and The False Czar, Steven the Small, and Nicholas I's, Balkan Princess. The dramas, from Montenegrin history, served both as excellent literature and as national
history courses given in grades two through eight.\footnote{Ibid., p. 128.}

The curriculum of the eight year gymnasium conformed to gymnasium studies in other European countries. The maturity examination required for graduation was very difficult and helped maintain high teaching standards. The examination determined that the graduate was ready to enter a university or higher technical school. Only those intending to enroll in higher institutions were required to take the maturity examination.

Prince Nicholas was instrumental in giving the gymnasium a classical and humanistic character. The Prince suggested that French and Russian be taught for eight periods weekly for eight years and also suggested the inclusion of Italian. The suggestions could not be implemented due to lack of professors, finances and textbooks.

Textbooks were a problem in schools of every level. They were purchased from Serbia and Serbian areas under Austro-Hungarian occupation. The professors of the gymnasium wrote textbooks for use in the gymnasium and primary schools. The 1890 law decreed that the Minister should approve textbooks which must be strictly followed by all teachers.\footnote{Ibid., p. 155.}

Where no textbooks were available, professors wrote their own lessons. Most texts written in Montenegro were written for the Theological-Teacher's School and were patterned after Russian books. It was considered imperative that native authors write texts for the primary and middle schools because of the difficulty for students caused by the different dialects and use of the "Latin" alphabet of imported books.
Discipline

Prior to 1870, teachers and professors disciplined students however they wished. They were permitted to use a switch, but only at the end of the school day when they were less angry. In 1870, it was forbidden to hit children on the hands, fingernails or on the head. The child was to be punished by isolation as near an open door as possible, by moving him to the back of the room, or in extreme cases, he could be dismissed from school. In that case, the other students were forbidden to play or to speak with him. If a teacher went beyond the disciplinary methods set down, he could be dismissed.

Kostich was instrumental in censure of physical punishment though it was not legally forbidden until 1890. Kostich was an advanced pedagogue who shared with Pavlovich the belief that poor behavior was caused by poor teaching. It was finally declared that physical punishment trespassed upon the traditional Montenegrin values which upheld man's "face, dignity, and honor."²⁰⁴

Summary

Montenegro created a stable state school system in thirty years from 1870-1900. The foundations for the system were laid by Njegosh in 1834 when he built two primary schools that were expanded to one hundred-four by 1900, and one hundred ninety-two by 1915. He prepared the people to move toward living in an orderly civil state which, in turn, enabled the creation of a state system of schools.

²⁰⁴Ibid., p. 79.
There was little progress in building schools prior to 1870. It was first necessary to modernize the state by consolidating rule and introducing the reforms necessary to enable the state to function. Prince Nicholas' program of political modernization brought Montenegro to an orderly civil status. He trebled Montenegrin territory, gained an outlet to the sea, created an economic base for the state and improved the standard of living. People were able to earn money by working in small industries, engaging in trade and commerce, or working for the government. Heretofore, a subsistence level was maintained by barter or sale of domestic products.

Chapter VII discussed political modernization and stated that Nicholas' strongest ally in maintaining popular consensus was nationalism. Nationalism in Montenegro depended upon maintaining the old traditions and customs perpetuated by enculturation. Enculturation remained a strong force throughout Montenegrin history of the period from 1831-1916. Formal institutions of education did not replace enculturation in the home or by the Church. One sees the elements of enculturation reflected in the early years of the school system with a heavily religious curriculum. Many teachers were clerics who were among the strongest enculturative agents in Montenegro. Some of the later changes in curriculum were introduced to remove the heavily religious influence and clerics were eventually replaced by secular teachers. Other changes were introduced to maintain the Montenegrin ethic and reduce Western influence in an attempt to maintain the consensus and nationalism necessary for state solidarity. The courses in history and literature of Montenegro also served to maintain the elements within the process of enculturation.
The school system was primarily intended to prepare the needed corps of civil-servants, teachers, technicians, skilled workers and professional men. As Montenegro's needs and territory expanded, the school system expanded. The school system was an arm of the state used to extend the state and its aims into newly acquired territory. As was noted in Chapter VII, some of Nicholas' strongest opposition originated in areas which were farthest from the capital. These areas lacked the strong state and the strong Petrovich tradition of areas closer to the capital. The need for a better prepared citizenry demanded higher standards in existing schools and creation of higher levels of schooling. In some cases, more courses were added and the curriculum became heavily weighted with courses in natural and physical sciences, mathematics and languages. The languages were necessary for trade and commerce. The emphasis on Russian language was as much for that reason as for the traditional regard for Russia as the "Slav Protector." The sciences were needed for the rapidly expanding technology and to prepare students for universities. Though it was impossible to provide middle and higher education for all students, by 1915, Montenegro had middle schools or six year primary schools near or in every large center. Secondary schools were located only in the largest cities of Cetinje, Niksich, Podgorica and Pec.

Intellectual modernization also depended upon some elements of enculturation. Nicholas used clan leaders as unpaid local educational officials and tax collectors. He initially used these local officials as his agents to disseminate educational information and to implement
educational policy. As state expansion permitted addition of more paid officials and as the educated men became available, Nicholas replaced the Captains with paid professional men. The Captains continued to be tax collectors and were responsible for enforcing the compulsory school laws.

Without comparing Montenegro to any other society, one may claim that its educational institutions were remarkable considering the short time in which they developed. One may see the dramatic gains in primary school enrollment from less than one hundred in the 1850's to 13,428 in 1914, and from two to 343 primary teachers in the same period. By 1914 literacy was estimated at fifty percent. The gain in literacy from one in one-thousand in the 1850's to fifty percent only five decades later attests to the energy behind the effort to educate the people.

Achievement in establishing a state system of schools was Prince Nicholas' success. He was the initiator and propagator of the effort. His personal guidance was evident in all cultural and educational endeavors. He financed many poor students, supported students educated abroad and made tremendous financial contributions to cultural and educational institutions in Montenegro.

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205 Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjetet, p. 201. Pejovich does not define literacy. It is assumed that it means the ability to read simple printed matter and to write the alphabet. A correspondent informed this author that now there is no problem in teaching reading because of the phonetic alphabet. He stated that all students learn to read and write in less than four months and that there is no reading problem of any sort.
Perhaps Nicholas' greatest contribution as the leader of intellectual modernization was his intense effort to bring outsiders to Montenegro. He brought them and supported them at his own expense for a long period. The outsiders introduced new ideas, new methods and new knowledge. They helped direct all activities and helped prepare native youth for state leadership. They gave a new direction to Montenegrin literature which will be discussed in Chapter IX. Nicholas brought them to Montenegro because he desired new sources of knowledge and modern knowledge for Montenegro. Through Nicholas, the outsiders were agents of modernization that shattered Montenegro's intellectual isolation and created a lively flourishing period of intellectual progress.
CHAPTER IX

INFORMAL AGENCIES OF EDUCATION

Informal educational agencies consisted of the publications, library societies, literary groups, theatre and choral groups formed in Montenegro after the 1870's. The agencies were generally state supported or supported by Prince Nicholas' private funds. Some required membership dues or subscriptions. The newspapers and journals were important because of their availability in remote areas of the state.

There was no printing press in Montenegro from 1496-1834. After Njegosh brought a press from Russia, church books, an almanac, Grlitsa, and some monographs were immediately printed. Printing of books, newspapers, and periodicals was a very irregular process due to lack of money and Austro-Hungarian or Turkish prohibition of their export.

Journalism and literary publications were closely associated with cultural societies which often initiated publications. Cultural associations were informal until Prince Nicholas and his closest associates organized the "Cetinje Citaonica," a library, which is sometimes called the "Cetinje Reading Room" in English literature. This association intended the library to serve as a cultural center. Twenty organizing members worked to expand the association's activities, forming a choir in 1871, a voluntary theatre group, archives, and a museum. After the war of 1876-1878, branches of the association were formed in other areas. Members were to be of good reputation and able
to pay dues. The Cetinje Library was supplied with books from Odessa, Zagreb, Novi Sad, Belgrade and Bulgaria. There were 600 books in 1891 and 200 pictures. Jovan Pavlovich was instrumental in the reorganization and leadership of this association and its work.

In March 1884, Prince Nicholas' personal gift and a sum from Russia made it possible to build a new edifice to house the library, museum and archives in Cetinje. Donations were received from Serbia and Trieste. At this time, the Library Association purchased another printing press, the first private press in Montenegro. This press printed Crnogorka, the literary supplement to Glas Crnogoraca, the official state paper. The Mountain Wreath of Njegosh was also printed. The edifice built was called "Zetski Dom," and was intended by Prince Nicholas to serve as a cultural center and peoples' school which would maintain ties with all literary and cultural agencies in Montenegro.

Members came to the "Zetski Dom" to play chess, billiards, cards, and to attend programs. There was a regularly planned program every Saturday. The Russian archeologist P. A. Rovinski, was then excavating the ruins of Diocletia on the Montenegrin coastal area. He brought many artifacts from the site to the museum. Jovan Pavlovich, president for many years, was instrumental in giving direction to all activities housed in the "Zetski Dom."

In 1897, the society combined with another cultural-literary association, the Mountain Wreath Society. Its aim was to uplift the intellectual and moral spirit of the people, to perpetuate national feeling, to nurture the development of literature and prepare cultural
evenings for the people. In 1898, there was a thirty year celebration of the founding of the Library Society which had existed in various forms since 1868.

Podgorica developed a similar society in 1881, with twenty-four regular and four honorary members. It was originated by Marko Miljanov, the Vojvoda who became literate in his fifties and wrote classic Serbian literature. In 1884, a theatre group was added, its first productions were *Balkan Princess* by Prince Nicholas and Maksim Crnojevich. A choral group was formed in 1895. By 1898, there were one hundred regular members. The association printed a newspaper and two magazines. It ceased existing after 1904.

Forty-six citizens of Niksich organized a literary group in 1881. Donations were solicited and received from many sources. The theatre group was its best branch. A newspaper, *Nevesinje*, the first in Niksich, was printed by the group in 1898, followed by *Onogost* in 1899. A printery was built in 1899. There were eighty members of the Niksich Literary Society in 1908. In 1912, the association, its housing and work were taken over by a union of workers and craftsmen which intended to prepare skilled workers, organize evening schools for adults and sponsor educational lectures.

Publications

When Njegosh's type was melted down to make bullets in the war


207 Ibid., p. 212.
of 1853, there was no type to replace it. **208** Prince Danilo was eager to re-open the printery, writing to Vuk Vrcevich that he would do so as soon as he successfully concluded the war. He wrote, "If I do not succeed in the war, no press will be needed." **209** There was no opportunity to re-open the printery until 1861. In the meantime, Danilo II printed the Code Danilo in Novi Sad in 1855. Mirko Petrovich went to Belgrade to ask for a printing press. Russia prevented Prince Danilo from obtaining a press fearing he would use the press to agitate against her. **210**

The 1861 press was installed in the Prince's Printery and Prince Nicholas assumed all expenses for its operation. The press continually worked until 1914, except for the years of the 1876-1878 war. As the government grew and educational opportunities expanded, there was a need for more publications and a new printing facility. It was then that Prince Nicholas authorized Pavlovich to buy the second press and place it in the "Zetski Dom." The earlier section about Pavlovich tells of his extensive work in regulating printing in Montenegro. The publications were printed in the Serbian Cyrillic, with some Latin, some Church Slavonic and some Greek texts. A bindery was added to the printery.

In 1907, Prince Nicholas financed the purchase of a large, modern, mechanized press that used a gasoline engine. Since there were

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**208** Montenegrins often state the irony of shooting Njegosh's most hated enemy with bullets made of his own words. Some state this was poetic justice.

**209** Jovichevich, et al., Cetinje i Crna Gora, p. 216.

**210** Prince Danilo's relations with Russia were maintained in international politics but Russia did not forgive him for remaining neutral during the Crimean War. They feared his politics and feared he would turn Montenegro away from Russia.
no trained operators in Montenegro, five printers were trained. In
1910, the press began to accept privately financed jobs in order to
support its operation. From 1861 through 1915, the major regular
publications in Montenegro numbered less than one dozen. The state
printery printed official documents, political documents and seventy
percent of its time was devoted to state work.

Orlich, or Eagle, was printed regularly from 1865-1870. It was
a periodical which intended to extend the format of Grlitza, which was
printed by Njegosh from 1835-1839. The editor of Eagle was Jovan
Sundechich. In urging the expansion of cultural activities, Sundechich
stated: "It is necessary to live a spiritual life whose gifts, the
development and wisdom and the words of Njegosh are to be carried on
the wings of the eagle, to carry greetings to our Slav brothers."211
Eagle printed statistics, outcomes of meetings and assemblies, historical
articles such as, "The Battle of Grahovo," and "The Baptism of Converts."
Eagle discussed contemporary affairs and printed poetry. The Montenegrin
anthem "Onamo Onamo," written by Prince Nicholas was first printed in
the Eagle.212

Other important publications of the era were a pocket calendar
printed in 1901, and Lovchen, a geographic and historical magazine.
From 1907-1914, a state almanac was printed. It contained articles by
state scholarship students, pensioners, historians and contained poetry,
ballads and biographies.

211 Jovichevich, et al., Cetinje i Crna Gora, p. 239.
212 Ibid., p. 240.
Weekly Newspapers

There was a need for regular publications, especially urgent during the period Prince Danilo began re-organizing and furthering centralization of the state. In 1855, Prince Danilo told the Russian I. Kovaljevski that his secretary Medakovich would also be a political and state publicist.

The need continued but no regular publication existed until 1871. Montenegrin edited by Simo Popovich was first published on January 23, 1871 continuing through February 17, 1873. Its aim was to acquaint foreign readers with Montenegro and to correct misinformation spread abroad. It also aimed to acquaint Montenegrins with events in Serbia and other Slav areas. The most important aim was to work toward complete Slav freedom and unity. The Montenegrin was popular in Boka and Bosnia-Hercegovina. It attracted attention because of the calibre of its contributors who were leading political and educational figures. The continual promotion of the ideal of free and united Slavs made it a spokesman for Serbian and Slav nationalism. Some especially pointed articles that agitated against the Dual Monarchy and Turkey resulted in the prohibition of its export which reduced its financial support.

Montenegrin boundaries were coterminous with Turkish or Austro-Hungarian occupied areas on every side. The Montenegrin Voice replaced the Montenegrin. The new publication was more obviously literary-cultural and less obviously political. Montenegrin Voice was published from 1873-1895, except during the war years. Its editors were Simo Popovich, Stevo Cuturilo, Jovan Pavlovich, Bozo Novakovich, Lazo Kostich and Dr. L. Tomanovich. Its most important function became that of
publishing articles about education, art and literature. It became the official state paper in 1895. 213

Montenegrin Voice was widely read and from 1896 through December 20, 1915, continued to be Montenegro's most important publication. It included translations of news from Europe such as the history of Italian unification, Lermontov's poetry, the works of Maxim Gorki and Herbert Spencer. Other subjects covered were internal organization and reform, problems in expansion of territory, plans for extension of schools and governmental functions in territory regained from the conflict of 1876-1878 and the Balkan Wars. The paper did not have a systematic educational role but for forty years was a most important peoples' educator.

Cetinje published another weekly newspaper after Nicholas granted the Montenegrin Constitution of 1905. It was called, Ustavnost, Constitutionalism, and was edited by Jovan Nikolich. Its purpose was to make all citizens aware of their rights and obligations and to explain the new system of government initiated with the Constitution. Aside from political purposes, Ustavnost printed short stories by native authors, had correspondents in Serbia and printed entertaining and informative articles.

Peoples' Thought was first published in September, 1905 in Niksich. It was formed in opposition to Nicholas and wrote against government policies to which the publishers objected. Prince Nicholas

213 Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvjete, p. 244. Also see Cetinje i Crna Gora, pp. 229-237 for a discussion of journalism in Montenegro.
banned *Peoples' Thought* because of its political agitation against him. Podgorica's official publication was *Free Word* which was published to answer *Peoples' Thought*. Nicholas did not want to involve the state paper, *Montenegrin Voice* in publication of internal controversy.

In June, 1908, the semi-official Cetinje *Vjesnik* began a twice weekly publication lasting until 1913 when Austria-Hungary prohibited its export. Its name was then changed to *Vijesnik*, and it resumed publication twice weekly until 1915. This publication was aimed at defense of the government against attacks.

From June through August 1914, two papers were printed daily and sometime more often than once daily due to Montenegro's engagement in World War I and due to internal governmental events concerning Nicholas. From 1914-1915, six papers were printed in Cetinje, three in Niksich and one in Podgorica.

Scientific and Technological Publications

Dr. Milan Jovanovich came to Montenegro in 1881. In January 1882, he began publication of *Health*, the first technical publication in Montenegro. *Health* was subtitled, *Physician*. The motto was "Health is peoples' wealth and strength, illness is destruction." The

\[214\] Correspondents for *Peoples' Thought* were generally Montenegrin emigres who experienced what they thought was a better way of life and government and were anxious to introduce both to Montenegro. This was the first open opposition to Nicholas and the first censorship of any publication in Montenegro.


\[216\] Ibid., p. 248.
publication contained eight pages and was printed twice monthly. It printed short articles from various medical fields, gave medical advice and answered basic health questions.

The first educational paper was Prosvjeta, Education, which began in 1889 and was directed by Minister of Education, Jovo Pavlovich. Its purpose was to enlighten people about religious affairs and schools. During its first phase from 1889-1891, it covered palace news, official gatherings, church and school news, printed official documents, reports of teachers' meetings, explored the history of Montenegro and other subjects of interest to teachers and readers. It was intended to be a technical teacher and cleric's magazine. Many important Cetinje professors contributed articles and much Montenegrin history which might have been forgotten was recorded in only that source. One especially excellent series was devoted to a discussion between the archeologist Rovinski and Ilarion Ruvarac. They explored the history of Montenegrin Bishops, monasteries and other monasteries and other ethnographic materials. 217

In 1905 a teacher's magazine called, Teachers' Monthly, was begun by Djuro Spadier, A. Vukich and A. Milunovich, native professors. It was intended to aid in cultural and technical development by publishing articles about progress and development in Montenegro. Articles directed to teachers examined educational questions and treated new developments in pedagogy, teaching and training of pre-school and primary children, reviewed pedagogical publications from other areas and discussed conditions.

217 Ibid. Also see Cetinje i Crna Gora, pp. 228-29.
of schools and education in Montenegro. Also printed were biographies of deceased heroes and historical figures, stories about the pensioners, school laws, rules and practice. It stopped publication in 1907. There was a strong move to revive it in 1908. The legislature asked for funds to subsidize the magazine which was to be partially supported by subscriptions but needed a guaranteed financial base. The publication was not revived due to lack of finances. 218

Several technical publications for merchants, farmers and craftsmen had short success from 1907-1912. Some were only printed a few times, others were monthly or semi-monthly, but financial circumstances prevented any regularity and continuity in these areas of publication. Finances determined the regularity of all Montenegrin publications, the only well supported publications being the official newspapers.

Literary Newspapers

The first literary newspaper mentioned in preceding sections was Crnogorka (Montenegrin, fem). Crnogorka was published as a supplement to Crnogorac, Montenegrin, which later became Montenegrin Voice. The literary supplement first appeared in 1871. Its editor, Simo Popovich intended it to reach places where Serbian books were not available in order to "enrich the intellect with beneficial knowledge." It was not very successful, publishing only twenty-three issues containing political, cultural, statistical, economic, legal, literary and technical articles. There were some articles about medicine, some prose, poetry,

218 Pejovic, Razvitak Prosvjete i Kulture., p. 248.
translations of Greek Italian and Russian literature and histories of Italy, Serbia and Montenegro. Contributors were Jovan Sundechich, Vlado Dadjanskog, Djuro Srdich, Nicholas I Petrovich, Simo Popovich and others. They wrote about Dante, Galileo, Turgenjev, published their original work and wrote commentaries about other literature. Finances crippled what was thought to be an excellent literary supplement. It had a sporadic existence from 1871-1915.219

In January, 1884, Pavlovich became editor of Crnogorka. He glorified Montenegro's role in Serbian history, writing that Montenegro was "rich with experience, knowledge and history, was pure and uncluttered by foreign occupiers and foreign influence, that it was particularly suited to give expression to original and creative thought and should acquaint outside areas with its wealth."220 From time to time, Crnogorka was banned by the Dual Monarchy because of its nationalism. Some of the most famous Serbian men of letters were its contributors. Unknown poems of Njegosh were printed as well as Prince Nicholas' work. It also included the works of Matavulj, Goethe, Poe, Gogol, Zola, Zmaj, Kostich, and carried translations of famous works such as Hamlet, the Iliad and others.

Zeta was a literary paper which was printed from July through December, 1885. It was an offshoot of Pavlovich's Crnogorka which was banned for the period. New Zeta, published from January 1889 through April 1891, printed local history, folklore and unpublished ballads. Luca, or Light was published from 1895-1900, replacing New Zeta. It was

published by the Mountain Wreath Society which named it after Njegosh's work, Luca Mikrokosma, or Light of the Microcosm. Light was intended to have at least one correspondent from every Montenegrin area and one from every Slav area. There were over one hundred contributing authors and many subscribers. Some articles were written by Prince Nicholas. It was an excellent publication which ceased printing when the Mountain Wreath Society merged with the Cetinje Library Association.

Light was replaced by Literary News in 1900. Literary News was a monthly paper with an intensely nationalistic format which furthered "love for our disunited people." It was replaced by Dan, Day, which sought to teach and inform readers about developments in learned and scientific areas and ignored political questions. The editors, Skerovich and Djukich could not attract co-workers. Issues were late or did not appear for the month intended. The second year, 1912, was even less successful due to the Balkan War. In place of individual issues the editors compiled a book with March through June issues included.

The period from 1911 through 1918 was one of two Balkan Wars, World War I and the aftermath. All peaceful activity was swept aside. Even after Serbian unification, Montenegro was unsettled. Literary,

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221 Light of the Microcosm by Njegosh, was not discussed in this dissertation. It is chiefly metaphysical whereas The Mountain Wreath was a philosophical work and an expression of the life and spirit of Montenegro.

222 Pejovich, Razvitak Prosvijete, p. 254.

223 Ibid., p. 255.
educational and cultural endeavors could not resume a normal role. It was not until after 1921 that educational-cultural affairs were again given serious attention. There was no literary paper from 1912-1925, when Dushan Vuksan began printing Lovcenski Odjek.224

Journals, newspapers, magazines, and the various cultural organizations were instrumental in extending the arm of the state to remote areas and promoted literacy and learning. The printing of journals and newspapers was often irregular due to financial problems. Even though irregularly printed, they played a great part in the educational progress of Montenegro.

The Cetinje Museum and the archives which were instituted in Nicholas' era continue to be a valuable resource center for today's scholars. They are also a tourist attraction. Nicholas' contributions to intellectual modernization in Montenegro included his work in the promotion and financial support of the library, archives, and museum.

The contributions of "outsiders" was as significant in this area as in the area of formal education. Pavlovich, Jovanovich, Matavulj, and others discussed in Chapter IX were outstanding contributors to educational progress in Montenegro.

224 Ibid., p. 256. Statistics for subscription to any of the newspapers are not considered accurate by Pejovich. No statistics or financial accounts were given because no two sources agree. All sources state they are approximate figures derived from various data.
CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

The concluding chapter of this dissertation brings together the many factors that were the basis for education and modernization in Montenegro. The political and intellectual modernization of Montenegro will be summarized in its European, Balkan and Montenegrin settings.

Chapter III related that Montenegro became an independent Serbian principality in 1389, after the Battle of Kossovo. This date and the battle are significant to the history of the entire Balkan Peninsula in that the Ottoman victory fragmented the medieval Serbian empire of Dushan the Mighty, replacing it as the Balkan power. Europe took little notice of this event. Christendom underestimated the Turkish danger. The initial Balkan Problem was the result of Turkish occupation of the Balkans and the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. This gave the Ottoman Empire Eastern supremacy and control. Montenegro remained the only free Balkan society from the 1400's to the 1800's.

The major European powers pushed the Ottoman Empire back to the Balkan frontier then stopped, leaving the area to its own devices. The Balkan Problem became the dominant factor in European politics from 1453 to World War I, 1914. Professor Seton-Watson, an authoritative Balkan scholar, stated three facts that summarized the Balkan Problem as:
The first is the long and apparently hopeless struggle of the subject Christians against an alien rule of the most savage and incompetent kind. The second is the perpetual interference of the Great Powers in their own purely selfish interests and the consequent formation of a thick network of intrigue and counter intrigue with one main thread running through it all—the rivalry of Austria and Russia. The third is the rise of national feeling...until in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 the final stage of liberation was reached.225

The Balkan consequences of these facts were tragic. The horror of Ottoman occupation is evident if one contrasts the material and moral condition of the various provinces before and after the conquest. Professor Seton-Watson stated:

Every province they have held has become a desert under their blighting influence and has only blossomed again when the blight has been removed. The rose garden replaces the dung hill, and flourishing modern cities the foul and mouldering hamlets of a century ago. Whether it be Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Greece, Roumania, Bosnia, or Bulgaria, the story is invariably the same. The proverb which declares that grass does not grow where the Ottoman hoofs have trod, merely gives poetical expression to a fact which is indisputable as the law of gravity.226

Pre-Ottoman Balkan conditions were generally as advanced, as flourishing in art, literature and science as in other European areas. The Balkan societies emerged from Ottoman rule with few traces and faint memories of their formal cultural achievements.

The second fact stated by Seton-Watson, "the perpetual interference of the Great Powers in their own purely selfish interests, and the rivalry of Austria and Russia for Eastern control," indicates causes for political problems of Balkan societies. The Great Powers did not interfere to aid Balkan Christians in throwing off Ottoman rule, but

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226 Ibid., p. 8.
interfered in order to assure and maintain Ottoman rule. It is
difficult to isolate reasons for European indifference to the plight
of brother Christians. Miller claims one reason was that the Orthodox
Christians, "incurred the hatred of the Catholic West and the penalty
of isolation." A psychological climate was created to justify the
encouragement and support of enslaving the large mass of Balkan humanity.
References to public statements and writings that created and maintained
the negative psychological climate are examined in this dissertation,
with special emphasis in Chapter VI. European justification was partially
derived from Western opinion that the Slavs were uncivilized barbarians,
and that their warlike temperament required control. This argument
was later used to justify Austria's "Drang Nach Osten" policy. It was
claimed that the superior Germanic "kultur" would elevate the cultural
status of uncivilized Balkan societies.

That Balkan societies were Christian societies defending Cross
against Crescent had no impact upon Western Christianity. Seton-Watson
claimed the secular rivalry of Europe and Asia was the central element
in the Eastern Question. The process of Ottoman decline spanned several
centuries due to "the patient's power to resist," and, "the mutual
distrust and animosities of the Christian States of Europe." Christian
rulers supported the Ottoman Empire and allied with it to further their

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227 William Miller, The Balkans, p. 249. Miller introduced Part III
of the Balkans with this quotation from Dela Jonquiere, Histoire de l'
Empire Ottoman.

228 See footnote 12 and Chapter VI for a discussion of the psychological
climate that worked against Balkan societies.
aims against one another. Of this, Seton-Watson stated:

The same short-sighted indifference, the same calculations on their part which permitted the fall of Constantinople left the Turks in undisputed possession of their prey and upon more than one occasion actively supported their designs of aggression.229

Austro-Russian rivalry transformed the Eastern Question into the Russian and Austrian Question. The Hapsburgs are credited with turning the European tide and expelling the Turk from West Europe in the Battle of Vienna, 1683. Austria successfully extended southward absorbing Banat, Belgrade and other large Serbian areas. Austria did not act quickly enough to crush Ottoman power while there were still no serious rivals to her acquisitions. She later returned Belgrade and much of what she acquired to Turkey in the Treaty of Belgrade, 1739.

As the Ottoman Empire weakened, Russia consolidated power while Austria, Prussia, and France were rivals. The rivalry gave breathing time to the Ottoman Empire, extended its life and diverted the Austrian thrust to the East. Austrian and Russian aggression was to support Turkey. The pattern became that of Christian states supporting Turkey to bring the fall of a rival Christian state. Poland was the bait extended to divert Russia from East to West. The unfortunate partition of Poland is a symbol of the era that placed political expedience above consideration for humanity. The process of partition was planned for Ottoman occupied Europe after its successful completion in Poland.230

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230 Danger of European conquest by Turkey was averted by joint efforts of the Hapsburgs and their Polish allies under the celebrated Sobieski. Imperial ingratitude, greed and political expedience sacrificed the Polish ally. Seton-Watson wrote, "The age whose crowning infamy was the Polish Partition was full of similar projects for the partition of Ottoman dominions."
The rise of national feeling gave a third dimension to the Balkan Problem and Eastern Question. The plans of the mighty empires were to fall before the rise of nationalism. Balkan nationalism gave the final blow to the Ottoman Empire. The long latent principle of nationality exploded and the "Balkans for the Balkan People" emerged, changing the course of competition for the Turkish legacy. World War I was the final result of competition for Eastern supremacy, a competition that robbed Balkan societies of five centuries of progress.

The intensity of the drive for the East increased in the 1860's. A chronological list of events indicates the rapid progress toward World War I. European political history became concentrated in the Balkan Peninsula from the 1870's. Austria, expelled from Italy and Germany in the wars of 1866 and 1870 intensified its Eastern thrust. The Magyar influence dominated Dual Monarchy foreign policy. Andrassy, Joint Foreign Minister of the Dual Monarchy was anti-Slav and pro-German. His plan to create a Magyar state was possible only in alliance with Germany. Andrassy prevented the introduction of Federalism in Austria, vetoed the coronation of Francis Joseph as King of Bohemia and laid the foundations between Austria and Germany which dominated Europe from the 1870's until World War I.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina revolt, supported by Serbia and Montenegro broke out in 1875. The Dual Monarchy immediately considered occupation of Bosnia-Hercegovina as keepers of peace and in order not to lose the adjoining coastal area. July 1, 1876, the two Serbian states, Serbia and Montenegro, declared war on Turkey. European peace was endangered. Disraeli made a speech in favor of the Ottoman Empire. This drew Russia and England to the brink of war. Russia joined with Serbia and Montenegro
in war against Turkey and penetrated to Adrianople, the door to Constantinople. January 20, 1878, an armistice was imposed. The resulting Treaty of San Stefano, March 3, 1878, revolutionized the Near East situation. The important provisions of the treaty that apply to this dissertation were continued imposition of a corridor to separate Montenegro from Serbia and creation of a Great Bulgaria.

Britain opposed the treaty which seemingly gave Russia control of Bulgarian politics. Austria was displeased because the creation of Bulgaria lay in her path to Salonica and because she wanted to enter Bosnia. Austrian mobilization to force a revision of the treaty resulted in the Berlin Congress of June 13 - July 13, 1878. This conference returned the Balkans to a further thirty years of subjugation and attempted to ignore the increasingly important principle of nationality. Montenegrin independence, already a solid historical fact, was recognized by the Sultan. Serbia gained her independence, but the territorial arrangements were not natural and produced friction among the Slavs. The Berlin Congress assigned Bosnia-Hercegovina to the Dual Monarchy. The long bloody battle of Bosnia-Hercegovina for union with the Serbs of Serbia and Montenegro proved useless. Austria-Hungary and Turkey signed a compact to assure that Austrian occupation of Bosnia-Hercegovina would benefit both. The corridor between Montenegro and Serbia was also assigned to the Dual Monarchy, opening her direct line to Salonica and the East.

The European Concert was reaffirmed at Berlin in 1878. The Great Powers asserted their right to partition the decaying Ottoman Empire. The unanimous will of Europe was imposed on the Balkans and
from 1878-1912, this arrangement, nominally supported Turkey in the Balkans while, in reality, the Dual Monarchy was given Balkan power. May 30, 1878, Disraeli made a secret agreement with Russia as a condition for British approval of the Berlin Treaty. June 7, Disraeli gave Austria-Hungary British support for occupation of Bosnia-Hercegovina at the same time signing a compact with Turkey to support her Asian territory against Russia and received Cyprus in exchange. The arrangements again supported Ottoman decline. An armed peace resulted from these manipulations. In 1879 Germany allied with the Dual Monarchy. Alexander II's death ended the three emperor entente and the new Czar, Alexander II, gravitated toward France. Italy joined the Dual Alliance of Germany and the Dual Monarchy in 1883.

The question of how to partition the Balkans was becoming more a reality in this era. Britain's Gladstone inserted a new note by declaring, "The Balkans for the Balkan People." The program was manipulated into a program of "Macedonia for the Macedonians," "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians," and created internal Balkan disunity. Russia's defeat by Japan, 1905, the resulting Russian revolution, and internal unrest weakened Russia, adding a new facet to the Balkan Question. Austria freely manipulated the Balkan national groups against one another until unity seemed impossible. The Young Turk movement of 1908 became an international and Balkan crisis. Those two events, the Young Turk Revolution and the annexation stimulated Balkan nationalism.

The Serbian-Montenegrin alliance after the annexation of 1908 initiated the Balkan League. In 1910 the Macedonian area was subjected to Turkish atrocities against the Bulgars, Greeks, Albanians and Serbs.
The Montenegrin Jubilee, 1910, and the assumption of a royal title by Nicholas I of Montenegro brought King Ferdinand of Bulgaria and Crown Prince Alexander of Serbia to the border where a Turkish army was massacring the Albanians. They then concluded to take action in favor of the Albanian-Macedonian areas. Greece entered the alliance in May 1912. Montenegro declared war October 8, 1912, and quickly mobilized its army. The Montenegrin strategy rested on a surprise attack on the Turkish troops garrisoned in Scutari. The Montenegrin army reached Scutari on October 25th, but could not occupy it until November 21st. The Balkan League victories mounted, and on December 4, 1912, an armistice was concluded. The military commander of Scutari refused to recognize the armistice and Greece declined to accept it. The Balkan League finally concluded the Treaty of London on May 30, 1913. Seton-Watson stated, "History offers few examples of a military campaign conducted by four allies in a spirit of such loyal and harmonious cooperation as the first Balkan War." The first Balkan War signified the bankruptcy of European statesmanship in the Balkans. The Balkan societies finally liberated themselves.

The harmonious cooperation ceased with the signing of the Treaty of London. Bulgaria made claims against Serbia and Greece. The disputed area of Macedonia was claimed by Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria. The aim for a Big Bulgaria, the dynastic ambition of King Ferdinand who planned to proclaim himself Emperor of the East and to enter Constantinople, as well as a series of misunderstandings threw the Balkan allies into war against one another.

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The Balkan cooperation, the Turkish defeat and the promise of a Balkan solution heightened the Austro-Hungarian Slavophobe attitude and determination to push to the East. Creation of a Big Bulgaria would be fatal to Serbia's existence as an independent state. Austria-Hungary encouraged the creation of Big Bulgaria for that reason, and sowed seeds of discontent among the Balkan Slavs. She blocked the Serbian access to the Adriatic knowing that the Eastern outlet blocked by Bulgaria would bring Bulgaria and Serbia to war. The second Balkan War was political, a struggle over possession of disputed territory. The Balkan League allies defeated Bulgaria. The war ended with the Treaty of Bucharest, August 10, 1913. This peace treaty, as other treaties, created more problems and left an uneasiness regarding the Balkans.

Less than one year later, on June 28, 1914, a Serbian nationalist shot Archduke Ferdinand, giving Austria the opportunity to fulfill her aim of crushing Serbia and moving toward the East. World War I resulted from the centuries of unresolved problems, temporary solutions and continuing ambitions for Eastern supremacy.

The Montenegrin Setting

The first section of this conclusion summarized the European setting which, in some cases, directly affected events in Montenegro. Montenegrin importance among the greatest and most powerful states of the era was both symbolic and real. It was the cradle of Balkan freedom which preserved and disseminated the Serbian ideals of Kossovo and promoted Slav unity. Montenegro's struggle to remain free encouraged the same struggle among the subjugated Balkan societies. The writings of Aleksa Shantich, Lord Byron, and William Gladstone indicate the
symbolic importance and the concrete realities of the Montenegrin struggle.

Montenegro was a political thorn in Europe's side because of its refusal to compromise on any issues that curtailed its independence or attempted to bring conciliation with the Ottoman Empire. Europe negotiated and re-negotiated Montenegro's position in many treaties from the 1600's onward, but Montenegro refused to recognize attempts to determine her political fate. The battles to preserve its independence were an irritation to Europe, to the principle of legitimacy, and the attempts of multi-national empires to keep the principle of nationality from disrupting their subject populations.

From the time of Prince Bishop Peter II, Njegosh, in the 1830's, Montenegro inserted itself into Bosnia-Hercegovina by encouraging and aiding uprisings. Njegosh's intent was to help incite a total Slav uprising and union. This idea was not practical for the time, but moved toward reality with the campaigns of Danilo II and was partially achieved during the rule of Nicholas I. Montenegro was an important member of the Balkan League that resulted from the explosion of Balkan nationalism. Serbian unity was the most feared Balkan force, and all efforts were made to separate Montenegro from Serbia and to maintain Bosnia-Hercegovina in Ottoman or Austrian hands. The imposition of a corridor between Montenegro and Serbia, the continual attempts to landlock Montenegro and Serbia and to sow seeds of disunity among the Serbs are a matter of record. Chapters V and VI of this dissertation give evidence for these claims.
The Serbian states initiated the Balkan League, and formal Serbian unification in 1918, was the first step in creation of Yugoslavia. Though Montenegro was the smallest Balkan state with the least population, its historical role in Balkan politics was important.

Montenegro's independent history spanned five centuries, from 1389-1918. There was no progress toward enlightenment until the time of Njegosh. The first Balkan society to have a printing press, the press at Obod in 1493, reverted to an illiterate and primitive status as a result of the historical circumstances from 1389 to the 1830's. Montenegrin life was a cruel, bloody struggle for survival. Montenegrins glorified their lives and their struggle because they valued freedom above all else. The folk songs, poems and literature testify to their exultation of an existence which was theirs by choice. Chapters III and IV give representative samples of both Serbian folk literature and outside literature that glorify Montenegro.

It cannot be said that Montenegrins of that era were uneducated. They were well educated in surviving with their circumstances, in their ability to place moral and spiritual considerations above material goals, and in their willingness to sacrifice everything for freedom and the Cross. They had a well defined educational system that was known and understood by every citizen and which was dependent upon the participation of every citizen. Enculturation was the process through which the young were nurtured and taught and which supported Montenegrin life. This was an informally developed milieu education which derived its goals from the religious-national symbolism ascribed to the Battle of Kossovo. It was an indigenous creation that governed every citizen's life from cradle to grave. A unique ethic was formed, an ethic which set the
Chapter III surveys the historical bases from which Montenegro and its life-style were created. When the great medieval Serbian Empire of Dushan the Mighty fell, Montenegro became separated from other Serbian states which were occupied by the Ottoman Empire. This separation soon became isolation when Turkey's European empire was firmly established. Montenegro was ruled by the Balsha family and then the Crnojevich family which ruled for three generations from 1421-1516. In 1516, Bishop Babylas succeeded the last Crnojevich. In 1696, the Petrovich-Njegosh ruler, Danilo I, was given the title, Prince-Bishop, and the Petrovich-Njegosh dynasty ruled from 1696-1918.

Rule by Prince-Bishops strengthened the loosely governed state that had no written laws. The Prince-Bishops became the most important agents of enculturation as models and as teachers. It was fitting that a state fighting for "Crown and Cross" had rulers that represented both. Because there were no laws in Montenegro, the religious role gave the ruler more authority and commanded respect from the citizens. The Prince-Bishops perpetuated the ethic of the people and were frequently the most outstanding examples of Montenegrin standards of manhood, courage and heroism. The Prince-Bishops represented the church which was the repository of the religious-national goals of Montenegro. The church, family, clan and tribe were the agencies of Montenegrin enculturation. The aim of enculturation was to train the young to aspire to the eternal values, goals, and behavior derived from Kossovo. Chapters III and IV give details of the elements within enculturation, how it functioned and its results. Briefly, the process assured that every male citizen knew
his role in life and learned to be a manly hero. Females were educated to support and provide the conditions necessary to develop heroes and to achieve the eternal values.

Enculturation offered an unwritten system of regulating Montenegrin life. Citizens were bound to family, clan and tribe. Their obedience to the state and ruler was regulated by free will. The Prince-Bishop had full command in Montenegro only when leading an army. Independent tribe and clan actions could not be regulated by Prince-Bishops until the 1830's when the ruler began to consolidate power. Montenegro's isolation and unchanging historical circumstances perpetuated this static way of life from 1389 until Peter II, Petrovich Njegosh began to reform the traditional institutions in the face of changing European conditions.

Njegosh knew that a modern national state could not survive with enculturation as its only system of education. He also knew that a system of formal education, a school system, could not function until consolidation of power was achieved. Njegosh had the dual aim of bringing Montenegro into political and intellectual equity with Europe so that it could survive in the changing European power structure.

Chapters IV and V are accounts of Njegosh's role as a transitional modernizing ruler and as an educator. Chapter IV, important to understanding enculturation in Montenegro, is also a brief biography of Njegosh. Njegosh was a product of Montenegrin enculturation but was also a man of genius and vision. He was determined that Montenegro would remain free and wanted formal European recognition of Montenegro's independent status. He realized that Austria would be a more formidable foe than Turkey and prepared his country to enter European polity on a basis equal to other free and independent societies. Njegosh consolidated power, strengthened
the ruling role, organized a Senate, a military police and executive agencies. A judicial system, rule by law, and taxation were introduced. It was difficult to centralize power in a state with such strong local traditions, Njegosh wisely redirected the functions and loyalties of local institutions, without destroying the institutions. He established civil order to such a degree that he was able to leave Montenegro for long periods without fear of civil disruption.

Njegosh was loved by his people. He remains the most honored and loved Montenegrin historical figure. His rule was not without violence and bloodshed, Njegosh's most successful weapons were his personal preaching and teaching among the citizens. He went among the people to explain the necessity for change and to encourage their peaceful support of changes he initiated. Njegosh was an educator whose teaching transformed an anarchic population to a population able to live in a civil and orderly manner.

Njegosh opened only two primary schools in Montenegro. Lack of money and an early death prevented him from creating more formal educational institutions. There was little progress toward mass literacy in this era. Njegosh continued to send students abroad for schooling and carefully nurtured the Cetinje Monastery School which offered basic education and prepared men for the clergy.

Njegosh brought a printing press to Cetinje, the first since Crnojevich's press at Obod in 1493. He published church books, a primer, a short history of Montenegro, his writings and a collection of folk literature in a volume entitled, Serbian Mirror. The publications are discussed in Chapter V which also relates Njegosh's work with Vuk Stefanovich Karadzich, the originator of the phonetic Serbian alphabet.
The Mountain Wreath, Njegosh's historical drama is his lasting contribution to education and culture. This work is quoted throughout this dissertation because it is the single most important source for understanding the elements within Montenegrin enculturation. This drama is also a source for history, for religion, and is a masterpiece of beautiful and meaningful verse. Philosophers consider it a masterpiece of philosophy. The work is both complex and simple, depending upon what one seeks and one's level of understanding. Njegosh used the common language, the history and life of the people to create a philosophy that was both practical and cosmic in scope. It is not necessary to probe the depths of philosophical meaning to understand The Mountain Wreath. Scholars continue to explore the many facets of Njegosh's writing. The Montenegrin of Njegosh's era, illiterate and unschooled, and similar later generations had no problems understanding The Mountain Wreath. It was an expression of their daily lives.

Njegosh died of tuberculosis in 1851. He was eighteen when he became the Montenegrin ruler, and thirty-eight when he died. He selected Danilo Petrovich to succeed him. Chapter V examines the controversial succession and rule of Danilo II, who was a stubborn, determined and fiery tempered man. There is no definitive evidence to indicate why Njegosh selected Danilo to succeed him. It is possible Njegosh knew it was time to separate the religious from the secular ruling role and that he knew Danilo would do so. It is also possible that Njegosh realized that efforts to bring Montenegro into political equity with Europe required a ruler who would forcefully and immediately introduce major reforms beyond those already initiated. Danilo II succeeded Njegosh in
an atmosphere of violence and bloodshed that remained throughout his rule.

Danilo II's rule was one of continual internal agitation against his abandonment of important customs and traditions and the consequent changes in norms which alienated the population. Black indicates that alienation results from the inability to adjust to change, stating, "No large numbers of individuals have been able this far to adjust satisfactorily to the modern environment, and forms of social organization conducive to healthy personal adjustments have yet to be developed." The same alienation and unrest reappeared in the last decades of Nicholas' rule, weakening his government to the point where it was easily toppled by its critics. Montenegrins were unable and unwilling to adjust to Danilo's policies, especially those that demanded their neutrality in the Crimean War between Russia and Turkey. They revolted, falling back to traditional patterns of local autonomy. Danilo regained temporary control during the 1858 War of Grahovo, called the Montenegrin Marathon. He proved himself an able and courageous military leader but his enemies were not appeased.

Danilo II's contributions to education were most significant in the forcible extinction of undesirable customs and habits and in his creation of a Western-oriented atmosphere in Cetinje, especially at the palace. Danilo, Princess Darinka, foreign diplomats and visitors to Cetinje were models for a new standard of behavior. Court-stationed soldiers learned to read and write. Some learned to speak other languages. Chapter V gives details of the changes made by Danilo II,

232 Black, Dynamics of Modernization, p. 32.
and describes the atmosphere of Cetinje at that time. The outlawing of undesirable customs and habits was legalized in the Code Danilo, also treated in Chapter V.

Danilo opened nine primary schools. He ordered the Senate to open one in every clan area but there was no money for this purpose. Danilo imported teachers and made the Cetinje school a boarding school, with scholarships for students from outlying provinces. He hoped to send at least one educated man into every Montenegrin province. Danilo continued the pattern of sending promising students abroad for schooling. Danilo was assassinated by a fellow Montenegrin on August 1, 1859. He died leaving no heirs.

Nicholas I, Petrovich Njegosh ruled Montenegro for fifty-eight years, from 1860 to November 26, 1918. The last two years of his rule were spent in exile. Chapters VI through IX of this dissertation are devoted to a study of Nicholas as a political modernizer, as a military leader and as an educator. A brief overview of his major contributions and some indications for further study will complete the concluding portion of this dissertation.

Nicholas I was an important Balkan political figure who participated in every major Balkan uprising and war. He was a leading exponent of Balkan nationalism and instrumental in the formation of the Balkan League. Nicholas encouraged and aided the Bosnia-Hercegovina uprisings of 1875, participated in the war against Turkey, 1876-1878, and fired the shot that began the Balkan War of 1912, that finally evicted Turkey from Europe. Neither Montenegro nor Nicholas were able to survive World War I. Montenegro was defeated and occupied by Austria, the first
foreign occupier in Montenegrin history. Nicholas left Montenegro in 1916 to wait for allied victory rather than surrender or be captured. The controversy over his departure and reasons for his deposition are given in Chapter VI of this dissertation.

During his rule, Nicholas formed an orderly centralized state, building from foundations laid by Njegosh and Danilo II. He created a bureaucracy which extended state control to all Montenegrin provinces. Montenegrin territory was doubled by conquest, adding fertile areas to the formerly barren state. Nicholas developed a system of communication and transportation and attracted foreign investment in mining and industry. Though the state was always in financial need, a small surplus capital permitted further modest expansion of trade and industry.

Nicholas I created the Montenegrin state school system. He was a cultural and educational leader who personally guided the development of a school system, encouraged and financed teacher training and ordered the building of schools throughout Montenegro. He used schools and education to extend his rule into newly acquired territories. Nicholas brought leading educators and literary figures to Montenegro. With their invaluable aid, Montenegrin cultural and educational institutions were stabilized.

As many Petrovich's before him, Nicholas was a gifted author. He wrote hundreds of poems and an outstanding drama, *The Balkan Princess*, which is based on the theme of Balkan nationalism and unity. His writings were both in the old folk tradition and some introduced romantic themes new to internal Montenegrin literature. He was an active participant in the very lively literary circles that developed
in Montenegro. Nicholas encouraged young authors, helped and subsidized them, and published their works.

Nicholas encouraged literacy by giving prizes to teachers that taught adults to read. Alternative types of schools were formed for the purpose of extending educational opportunities to adults. The schools were for literacy, crafts, specialized training for skilled jobs and turned out great numbers of people able to fulfill newly created duties in the continually expanding state.

From nine primary schools built by his predecessors, Nicholas, by 1910, built 157 primary schools, several middle schools, a real-gymnasium, several classical gymnasiums, teachers' schools, a Female Institute, and a Theological Teacher's School of excellent quality. The years from 1870-1910 were fruitful and productive years of cultural progress that bridged five centuries of darkness. This period of Montenegrin educational history offers scholars many opportunities to study the work of leading educators and authors who were innovators and creators of an educational system that was excellent for its time and place. The school codes, school laws, teaching methods and community involvement in education indicate the intensity of educational activity in Montenegro.

There has been little work in investigating and translating Balkan literature. Montenegro's contributions to great literature are unknown to all but a few specialists, and Serbian scholars. Montenegro was an inspiration from which outside authors derived themes and wrote outstanding poems and stories. Details of the writings of internal and outside authors are found in Chapters VII and IX of this dissertation.
The writings of the Petrovich-Njegosh rulers are good sources for a study of Balkan political history from a Balkan viewpoint. The letters and proclamations of Peter I, Peter II, and Nicholas I, are invaluable sources for the study of Balkan politics, Balkan nationalism, and the changes in European Balkan policy.

Montenegro was a free society which assigned the greatest importance to human dignity. Though brutal and cruel in war, Montenegrins believed that inflicting torture, suffering, servility, or slavery upon another human being was unmanly, cowardly, and unworthy of the human status accorded man by God. Montenegrins were unwilling to enslave or be enslaved. Chapter III gives the origin for Montenegrin standards of conduct and the principle laid by the first Crnojevich ruler, that all men were equal. The claims that Montenegrins were uncivilized, barbaric, and bloodthirsty should be contrasted with the practices of societies that tortured, mutilated and enslaved their fellow man. Njegosh made this contrast in passages about life in the highly cultured Venetian state as viewed by a Montenegrin. Lines 1400 through 1690 of The Mountain Wreath quoted in Chapter IV of this dissertation are a commentary upon civilized practices that Montenegrins considered disgraceful and demeaning to the human status.233

This dissertation emphasizes the need for clarifying misconceptions about Balkan societies that were the creation of authors who had no basis for their statements other than their lack of understanding and inability to place in context what they saw. In Chapter VI, a second source of mis-information is discussed. This type of mis-

233 Njegosh, The Mountain Wreath, pp. 150-158.
information was used by those who wished to exploit the already tragic Balkan situation for political motives. This author hopes that readers have gained some knowledge about the folly of drawing conclusions about societies without a full knowledge of their historical circumstances, their cultural contributions and political development. A problem continues to be language. It is almost necessary to know the language of the area studied in order to avoid reliance upon a translator, or upon unreliable sources that cannot be verified by at least comparing them to the writings of native authors.

The present struggles of hitherto subjugated and little-known societies to modernize have been accompanied by great violence and bloodshed. They are following much the same pattern as Montenegro, but today's destructive potential and international uncertainty make the struggle more dangerous to human survival. Black's, The Dynamics of Modernization, urges that we understand how societies are affected by modernization, what must be changed, and what must be preserved, in order to avoid the potential for destruction. There is a great need for area studies of emerging societies in order to provide a background for understanding their present conditions.

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