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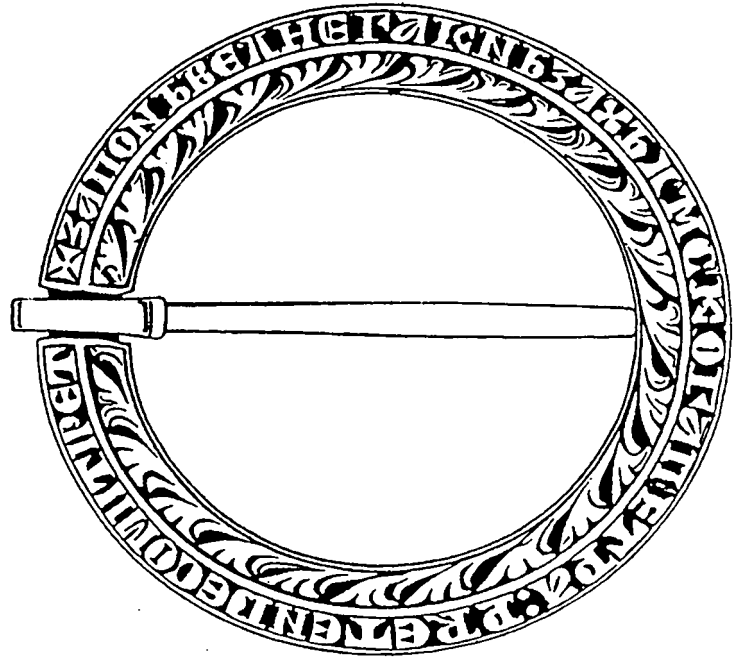
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THREE IMPERIAL MEMORANDA: CULTURAL POLICIES IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE BERLIN PEACE TREATY*

JELENA MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ

In the aftermath of the Berlin Congress of 1878, the newly formed Austro-Hungarian Provincial Government, *Landesregierung*, aimed to assure the world community at large that the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina would provide a better life for the population by introducing needed agrarian and educational reforms. The Emperor Francis Joseph offered assurances that confessional and cultural traditions of the population would be respected. To this effect the Emperor issued on July 13/25 1878 a *Proclamation*, as his troops were crossing the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

“Your laws and institutions will not be arbitrarily overthrown, your customs and usages will be respected. The Emperor-King orders that all sons of the land will enjoy equal rights according to the law, that you will be protected in life, faith and property. Under his mighty scepter many people live together . . . he rules over the followers of many religions . . . and all freely profess their faith.”¹

The *Proclamation* was included on the first page of the regulations and ordinances introduced by the Austro-Hungarian Provincial Government, *Landesregierung*, in Sarajevo. The Proclamation followed the article XXV of the Berlin Treaty and therefore had a full legal *de juris* implication as the main governing principle of the Austro-Hungarian government in the occupied provinces.²

The subsequent official ordinances, regulations, announcements, as well as petitions, appeals and supplications of the citizens preserved in the archival holdings of the *Landesregierung* in Sarajevo, and in the *Haus – and Hof Archives* in Vienna, provided a historical narrative of pertinent epistemological significance. Moreover, these documents pointed to the ongoing responses of the population in counterpoint with

* An earlier version of my paper was presented at the International Conference, *Eastern Christians in the Habsburg Monarchy*, The Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies, University of Alberta, Canada, 11–12 September 2009.

1 *Tri carska memoranduma o srpsko-pravoslavnim prilikama i uređenju vjersko-prosvjetne samouprave u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Novi Sad, Miletićeva štamparija, 1902, pp. 148–150.

2 Dušan Vasiljević, *O Bosni i Hercegovini*, Belgrade, Nova štamparija Davidović, 1909, p. 11.

the new administrative policies. The opinions of respective authorities as well as supplications and appeals of numerous petitioners illustrated, in an oblique way, the reality of everyday living during the Austro-Hungarian occupation lasting some forty years.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, under Ottoman rule confessional communes exercised a considerable autonomy in their internal affairs. The Ottoman *millet* system established the confessional affiliation as the basis of ethnicity. The ruling Orthodox Confessional-Educational Council had a considerable influence in the private and public life of the population at large. The Council was instrumental in supporting the Church as well as confessional schools, appointing teachers and providing their salaries. Moreover, the Council sponsored annual assemblies, convocations, as well as elections of the candidates for the position on the Confessional and Educational Council usually in the duration of three years.

The Serbian Orthodox Church provided a framework larger than life stressing continuity of Christian spirituality in accordance with the traditional ethical and moral values. Every member of the congregation had an opportunity to participate in the decision making of the commune and of the Confessional Council, if so inclined. The members were eligible to serve on the Confessional and Educational Council, and had the voting rights in the election and appointment of clergy. The Orthodox commune in Sarajevo sanctioned these rights in 1734 with the metropolitan's written approval in regard to the election and appointment of the patriarch, metropolitans, bishops and parochial clergy.³

The prominent citizens, mostly wealthy merchants and proprietors, had a well established and significant influence in their respective confessional communes. They attended to various administrative and financial affairs of the commune, the church and of the parochial ministry, as well as to the needs and scholastic requirements of confessional schools. The Orthodox Confessional-Educational Council was governed, as a rule, by a lay-dominated board closely in touch with the current issues, opinions, and educational tasks of the community.

Historically, the educated classes began to emerge in the Balkan regions in the course of the eighteenth century. Young boys were educated within the fold of the church attending confessional schools and most often prepared for the priesthood or teaching. The religious upbringing of the emerging intelligentsia remained embeded in cultural traditions leading to the period of national revival.⁴

At the outset of occupation, the newly constituted Land Government issued an order on December 29, 1878 stating: "All county and district offices and their autonomous administration will be closed for a longer time."⁵ In effect, the Austro-Hungarian administration promptly closed all public offices that were previously established during the Ottoman rule. With one stroke of the feather the time-honored bodies like the People's Regional Assembly (*vilajetska skupština*) were canceled as well as a number of other institutions that enabled the people to participate in

3 V. Škarić, *Srpski pravoslavni narod i crkva u Sarajevu u XVII i XVIII vijeku*, Sarajevo, 1928, p. 107.

4 Milorad Ekmečić, *The Struggle for Nation States and Modern Society*, in *History of Yugoslavia*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book, 1974, p. 306.

5 Vasiljević, *O Bosni i Hercegovini*, p. 13. The order was issued under the No. 645.

the governing process. In the past, these offices did provide helpful services even when operating in a less than perfect manner. These changes and closures disregarded the possibility of improving the already established public offices to ensure continuity of lawful operations, as well as the cooperation of the populace in a variety of social arrangements and governing processes.

In order to regulate further the cultural activities of the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the authorities issued another order on January 31, 1879. The first item of this order stipulated that all public meetings and gatherings were forbidden unless the authorities have previously issued a permit. Political activities of any kind were equally forbidden: "Assembly and meeting of any kind are forbidden until a permit is secured from the political or military authorities. A representative of the government must attend such meetings."⁶

This order, issued under the No. 645, remained to be valid for the duration of the occupation lasting for almost forty years. Any violation of this ordinance was punishable by large monetary fines. Even the meetings of the confessional and educational councils had to be reported to the authorities in advance, although the *Proclamation* ascertained observance of religious, educational and related customary ways. Consequently the recitals of liturgical – and secular choral music performed by singing societies had to be reported in advance. The political authorities requested often enough the submission of the names and ages of participating singers as well as the program of the planned concert. The reading rooms, and their popular cultural programs, *besjede*, were also required to announce their meetings. *Besjede* usually included the presentation of new literary works including a suitable musical program. The board members of these societies and the membership at large protested the imposed bureaucratic interventions. Nevertheless, they remained determined to continue with their established cultural mission. However, the petitions for the founding of new benevolent societies, reading rooms as well as new singing societies were often denied following repeated applications.⁷

The officials of the *Landesregierung* aimed most of all to establish a strict control of the public – and cultural life of the population. They kept an eye on important personalities that were at the helm of confessional and educational councils, cultural organizations, including the popular singing societies, church choirs and reading rooms. The promised respect for confessional and educational autonomy was by and large disregarded. The population soon realized that the agrarian reforms would not be solved disregarding the mandate given to Austria-Hungary by Great Powers and the Berlin Peace Treaty of 1878.⁸ As a result, the general economic growth was gravely impaired.

⁶ Vasiljević, *O Bosni i Hercegovini*, p. 13.

⁷ Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *The Eastern Question and the Voices of Reason: Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Balkan States 1875–1908*, East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002, pp. 86–99. *Tri Carska memorandumuma*, p. 71.

⁸ Milorad Ekmečić, *Istorijski značaj ustanka u Bosni i Hercegovini, Radovi iz istorije Bosne i Hercegovine*, Belgrade, BIGZ, 1997, p. 206.

Compare also, Dimitrije Djordjević, "The Berlin Congress of 1878, and the Origin of World War I", *Serbian Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1998, p. 7.

The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina consisted of Serbs, Muslims and Croats. The census taken by Austria-Hungary in 1879 accounted for 1.898,044 inhabitants. The Serbs (Orthodox) accounted for 43.49% (824,338), the Muslims for 32.25% (612,090) and the Croats (Catholics) for 22.87% (434,190).

Geographically, Bosnia-Herzegovina stood at the crossroads leading from the inland to the ports of the Mediterranean Sea. The shortest route from Serbia to the Mediterranean ports led through Bosnia-Herzegovina. The trading along this route was in the hands of merchants and traders. Moreover, a number of trading posts, townships and cities in Serbia and Croatia have been inhabited by the people from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their diligence and willingness to resettle and accept new challenges was summarized in the saying: „Hercegovina cijeli svijet nasjeli a sebe ne rasjeli.“ (Herzegovina helped populate the whole world but was not to depopulated itself in the process.)⁹

At the outset of the occupation, on October 30, 1878, the Serbian Orthodox Confessional Council in Sarajevo decided to address the *Landesregierung* with specific requests in regard to the upcoming election of the new Metropolitan. The Council pointed to the importance of a free hand in choosing a suitable candidate for this position. They also asked to continue with their planning and building of schools as needed, and to continue collecting school taxes as it was customary before the occupation. Moreover, they suggested that the prospective teachers for Serbian confessional schools be admitted in accordance with the established criteria for all teaching candidates regardless of their ethnicity. They requested that the publication of new textbooks should be in the Serbian language using the Cyrillic alphabet, as it was the practice before the outset of the occupation.

The authorities did not respond to the Council's legitimate concerns expressed in a formal written request submitted in an appropriate way. Instead, they chose to increase repressive measures mainly targeting the teachers in Serbian confessional schools. Even the school offices were searched and subsequently a number of teachers were dismissed.¹⁰

The Metropolitan Sava Kosanović tried to protect the integrity of the academic community and in particular of the High School in Sarajevo from unnecessary inspections and censorship. The *Landesregierung* obviously did not appreciate his intervention and responded by curtailing Metropolitan's canonical visitations and a number of other religious functions.¹¹

Moreover, the Confessional and Educational Council was obliged to post the agenda of the meetings in advance since an envoy of the *Landesregierung* should attend the meetings duly informed. In addition to the designated envoy, often enough some uninvited lay persons would unexpectedly arrive to the Council meetings and even take part in deliberations.

9 Vasiljević, *O Bosni i Hercegovini*, p. 5.

10 M. Maksimović, *Crkvene borbe i pokreti*, in Pero Slijepčević, *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine*, p. 80. The following teachers were dismissed: Jovan Vidić, Miša Vujaković and the Headmaster Svetozar Popović.

11 Ibid.

The Confessional and Educational Council objected to the obligation to report the Board meetings to the authorities having in mind Emperor's *Proclamation* assuring respect, tolerance, and observance of religious and related customary ways. All these measures undertaken by the *Landesregierung* were perceived as an effort to control and disavow the role the Orthodox Church and of the Confessional-Educational Council. In order to find a solution to the existing situation facing the Orthodox confessional commune, the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople suggested a meeting with the representative of the Austro-Hungarian government.

In March 16/28 1880 the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople and the Austro-Hungarian government signed the *Concordat* in order to clarify the position of the Orthodox church in the occupied provinces. The opening paragraph stated that the newly instituted political government, *Landesregierung* in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was also in charge of the *temporary jurisdiction* (privremeno uređenje – J.M.Dj.) of the Orthodox eparchies in Bosnia, Zvornik and Zahumlje. These Eparchies remained under the aegis of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople.¹²

The *Concordat* confirmed the tenured position of the bishops presently in office. However, the representative of the Austro-Hungarian government managed to introduce an important and far reaching change by stipulating that future vacancies should be filled by the King-Emperor himself.

Furthermore, the *Concordat* established that the newly elected bishops should honor the canons of the Eastern Orthodoxy and the Holy Synod. The Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople would be salaried by the King-Emperor, and receive the amount of 58,000 coins in gold (*Groschen*). Most notably, the new fiscal plan was introduced requesting the Patriarch to turn down any income from eparchies as it was the practice before. The clergy in Bosnia–Herzegovina would be also salaried by the government in accordance with their position in the church hierarchy. Obviously the power of the purse would enable additional control of the Orthodox clergy in Bosnia–Herzegovina and influence future deliberations in regard to the policies of *Landesregierung*. All these measures would bolster the governmental influence in fiscal, confessional as well as educational matters.

The political authorities were counting on the eventual support of the candidates of their choosing, and of the new appointees in the ongoing and future negotiations. These changes, eliminating the participation of the people in the election of the confessional leadership, produced dire consequences for the people at large. The salaried clergy was not entirely free to rely on their own judgment and make their own decisions and choices. They felt the imposed constraints as if their “souls were sold and stolen”.¹³ The dependency on the financial support as well as the intrusion in internal affairs of the Confessional Council produced a chasm between the political authority, their willing or unwilling supporters, and the confessional communes. The appropriation and/or of-

¹² The text of the *Concordat* was appended in, *Tri carska memoranduma*, pp. 148–150.

¹³ *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 50.

ten arbitrary use of confessional fiduciary funds by political authorities became a cause for great concern. These policies of the *Landesregierung* were disapproved not only by native religious and civic leaders, writers and public figures, but also by a number of Austrian politicians, diplomats, journalists and historians.¹⁴

In spite of all imposed changes, various delays and restrictions, the advancement of education proceeded more or less as previously planned before the occupation, thanks to the steadfast support of the Metropolitan Sava Kosanović, and the Confessional and Educational Councils. The Consistory, and the new Theological School (*Bogoslovija*) were founded in Sarajevo in 1882 and 1883 respectively. However, this was not an easy undertaking and soon enough, the Metropolitan Kosanović complained to the Ecumenical Patriarch Joakim IV about the interference of the political authorities in his office, as well as in the internal activities of the Consistory and Theological School. Kosanović protested the closure of the High School in Sarajevo in 1882. This school had established an excellent academic rating. Moreover, Kosanović protested against the rising intrusion of catholic proselytism and propaganda.¹⁵

Prior to the occupation there existed, by and large, a mutual and workable respect among the various confessional communes. The catholic children attended Serbian confessional schools if so desired, and the orthodox youngsters were allowed to enroll in catholic schools. Since the Catholic community in Sarajevo, prior to the occupation consisted only of a dozen of households, they secured the permission to bury their deceased members in the Serbian cemetery. The Franciscan order enjoyed high esteem among the Serbian Orthodox population as a benevolent, dedicated and prudent spiritual counselor. The inter-confessional harmony was changed with the influx of German speaking predominantly Catholic colonists as well as bureaucrats. The disproportional subvention of the Catholic clergy and newly opened Jesuit Seminary gave reasons for concern. The increased proselytism and propaganda of the Catholic Church was perceived as a concerted effort undermining the Orthodox and Muslim confessional autonomies.¹⁶

The Land Government (*Landesregierung*) did not provide funding for a school budget. The respective confessional communes, in addition to paying taxes for communal schools, were also responsible for the expenditures of their own confessional schools and teachers' salaries.

14 J. M. Bernreiter, *Bosnische Eindrücke*, Wien, 1908. Bernreiter thought that the *Landesregierung* should enable the native population to participate in public affairs and governing processes in order to eliminate the chasm between the occupiers and that of the native population. He pointed out to the unsolved agrarian question causing harm to the economy in general. Most importantly, he observed to the scarcity of schools in Bosnia–Herzegovina: only 14.33% of all children were able to attend schools, according to the data furnished by the *Landesregierung*, pp. 164–165.

Compare also, Leopold Mandl, *Bosnische Eindrücke*, Wien, 1908. Mandl discussed the role of Serbia in the nascent movement for religious and educational autonomy in his book, *Osterreich-Ungarn und Serbien*, Vienna, 1911, pp. 24, 29, 35.

15 Maksimović, *Crkvene borbe i pokreti*, in Pero Slijepčević, *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine*, p. 81.

16 Dušan Vasiljević, *O Bosni i Hercegovini*, Belgrade, Nova štamparija Davidović, 1909, p. 13.

The Orthodox Serbs had to maintain through their own efforts 112 parochial schools. In addition, they were required to pay school taxes for communal schools as well as for the schools in the districts where the German immigrants presented a majority.¹⁷

Soon enough, the *Landesregierung* embarked on educational reforms. In June of 1879, a new ordinance was posted announcing the introduction of the *Landessprache – Zemaljski jezik*, that is *Land language*, into the school curriculum. In addition to the *Land language*, the authorities introduced the instruction of German language for a minimum of eight years.

The awkward renaming of the spoken language in use throughout Bosnia–Herzegovina created an adverse reaction among the population. The introduction of *Zemaljski jezik* was interpreted as an effort to annihilate the confessional and ethnic identities. The parents were reluctant to accept schools willing to introduce an arbitrary change and questionable substitution for their respective maternal Serbian or Croatian languages. The authorities soon realized that the teachers were equally reluctant to teach *Zemaljski jezik (Landessprache)*. Educated teachers could not in good faith teach a language that was not recognized by the native population and professional educators. Even when facing the alternative of losing a teaching position, the teachers did not wish to submit to such demands.

Due to the shortage of teachers, the *Landesregierung* issued a circular on June 6, 1879, No. 8876/pol. stating that in order to remedy the situation “suitable lower ranking military officers (*Unteroffiziere*) may be recruited to start teaching the elementary level classes in the *Land language*”.¹⁸

Therefore, the political authorities recruited the low-ranking military officers (*Unteroffiziere*) or the auxiliary military personnel whose maternal language was Serbian or Croatian. These young men were advanced to the position of a “teaching candidate” (*Lehramtskandidaten*). In addition, they hired some “intelligent lay persons” who would teach the so called *Zemaljski jezik (Landessprache)* in compliance with suggested guidelines.

The level of literacy among the low ranking officers, hired as teaching personnel, must have been very modest, very likely reaching only the level of an elementary education. These newly appointed teaching candidates very likely had a greater proficiency in the German language since their secondary education was conducted in German military middle schools and eventually, for the selected few, in military academies. The knowledge of their maternal language was limited to usage in everyday life and very likely did not include any extensive reading of literary and/or professional studies. The inexperience and clumsiness of newly employed soldiers teaching elementary school children must have impressed any observer as unusual and odd.

Interestingly enough in a book dealing with the occupation of Bosnia–Herzegovina, published in 1994 by Austrian historians Heuberger and

17 Ibid.

18 Grdjić, „Prosvetna borba“, p. 114

Ilming, described this new situation in Bosnian schools as ridiculous: “Die rauhbeinigen Militärs beim Umgang mit den Kindern zu erleben muss auf den Beobachter leicht skurrill gewirkt haben.”¹⁹

Šćepan Grdjić discussed as well the introduction of the *Land language* and the lack of teachers willing to teach it. He mentioned also that the teachers were recruited from the young soldiers of lower military ranks *podčasnici*.²⁰

The introduction of the *Land language* was even more questionable due to the well known fact that the Herzegovinian dialect was widely spoken and appreciated for its semantic richness, purity and eloquence. The leading Slavic scholars recognized these qualities and proposed that the Herzegovinian dialect should serve as the common literary language of both the Serbian and Croatian population.

In the spring of 1850 eight distinguished Serbian and Croatian scholars signed the historic *Književni dogovor* (Literary Agreement) in Vienna. They agreed on the final adoption of the Herzegovinian dialect as the common literary language. The highly respected Serbian scholar, Vuk Stefanović-Karadžić, was charged with writing “The Principal Rules of the Southern Dialect”.²¹

The participants of the *Literary Agreement* gave the following reasons for their decision: the Herzegovinian dialect was spoken by the majority of the people and it was closer to other Slavic languages than any other dialect. Most importantly, the vast bulk of the folk epic and lyric poetry was transmitted orally as well as recorded in the Herzegovinian dialect. The medieval writers in Dubrovnik wrote in it. Moreover, the Herzegovinian dialect has been accepted by the majority of the Serbian and Croatian writers.¹

The name change to *Landesspache-Zemaljski jezik* (Land language) introduced in 1879, and later renamed as *Bosnian Language*, was perceived as designed to obliterate the respective ethnic and national consciousness and denominations be it Serbian or Croatian.

Some five years later, in September of 1884, the *Landesregierung* managed to proffer a number of guidelines to the prospective writers of the first grammar of the Bosnian language. Special attention was given to “the selection of expressions that were not originally Bosnian, but became familiar in Bosnia and could not be substituted by other words since the possible replacements would not be recognized by people in Bosnia”.

The eventual rejection of the so called *Land language* was spearheaded by the criticism of both Serbian and Croatian writers. The writer, Jo-

19 Valeria Heuberger, Hans Ilming, *Bosnien–Herzegovina 1878–1918, Alte Ansichten vom gelungenen Zusammenleben*, Vienna, Christian Brandstaeter Verlag, 1994, p. 35. Moreover, they explained openly Austrian manifest colonial policies: “Für Osterreich galten die beiden Provinzen als strategisches unverzichtbares Hinterland zu Dalmatien sowie als Ausgangspunkt für ein weiteres Vordringen auf dem Balkan.” p. 22.

20 Šćepan Grdjić, in Pero Slijepčević, *Napor Bosne i Hercegovine*, p. 114 Grdjić quoted the circular of June 6, 1879, No 8876/pol.

21 Jovan Skerlić, *Istorija srpske književnosti*, Belgrade, Prosveta, p. 265.

van Jovanović Zmaj, wrote an open letter responding to an invitation for collaboration in the newly founded journal titled, *Nada* (Hope). The new journal was sponsored by the *Landesregierung* and the new Museum in Sarajevo. Jovanović flatly refused to collaborate with the Editor of the new journal:

“I wrote quite a lot for Serbian papers, I worked as well for Croatian papers. But you did not mention in the invitation or the announcement which language would be used Serbian or Croatian. It must be that *Nada* like the Land government itself will choose to publish articles written in the so called *Land language*. I can not support the invention of such an unsuitable name for our beautiful language instead of its real, ancient and beautiful name.”²²

The venerable prince Lujo Vojnović from Dubrovnik wrote in support of Jovanović’s refusal for collaboration on December 1, 1894: “Allow me Counselor (Hörmann, J.M.Dj.) to use this opportunity and voice my concern. The letter of Zmaj Jovanović had excited and agitated all the writers be it Serbian or Croatian. I could not bring it in concordance with your earlier statement issued at the meeting in Sarajevo. You stressed that the writers may use freely the name Serbian or Croatian, while the editorial office would remain impartial in accordance with the current system in Bosnia.”²³

The first issue of *Nada* appeared on the news stands on January 1, 1895. The journal was lavishly produced with numerous illustrations and drawings. The front page had a number of symbolic figures. On the top of the first page the image of an old bard – *guslar* was depicted. *Guslar* was regarded as the keeper of historic memory by safeguarding the knowledge of important events enumerated in epic ballads. According to the heading, the journal was dedicated, “. . . to learning, entertainment and fine arts explorations.” The Land Museum was listed as the editorial office of the journal and Constantine Hörmann was the Editor in Chief. The Editorial clearly showed the change in regard to the former insistence on the usage of the so called *Land language*:

“These journals take care of the spiritual life of people, they collect the golden nuggets of wisdom from the people as well as from elsewhere. Our people are united as an entity by their language regardless of the name and alphabet they use. They have developed a fine literary writing reflecting their well known talents and spiritual values. Earlier there were similar journals but they did not last long. These considerations created the idea to start a journal in Sarajevo that would serve as a mirror reflecting the spiritual culture of the South Slav peoples.”²⁴

Obviously, the Editor aspired to attract both Serbian and Croatian writers encouraging collaboration in the “spiritual realm”. Most importantly, the communality of the spoken language among the South Slavs was acknowledged.

22 Todor Kruševac, *Bosansko Hercegovачki listovi u XIX veku*, Sarajevo, 1978, p. 348. The letter appeared in *Obzor*, No 264, on 17 November 1894.

23 Kruševac, *Bosansko Hercegovачki listovi u XIX veku*, p. 348.

24 *Nada*, No 1, 1895, Sarajevo, Zemaljski muzej, p. 1.

In the course of the 1890s, the demands and for a measure of autonomy in confessional and educational matters grew in strength. The disregard of the grievances of the Christian and Muslim population addressing the policies of the *Landesregierung* did not result in a passive submission of the populace.

Instead, the concerted efforts for confessional autonomy became the first organized movement supported by the native population in all walks of life. A unique testimony of these efforts was presented in the *Three Imperial Memoranda* elucidating the situation in the Serbian Orthodox Confessional Commune as it evolved after the onset of the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878.²⁵

The first *Memorandum* was presented to the Emperor's Chancellery in Vienna on November 25, 1896.²⁶ The opening statement of the *Memorandum* identified the signatories as representatives of fourteen Confessional-Educational Councils in Sarajevo, Mostar, Tuzla, Zvornik, Brčko, Gračanica, Stolac, Doboj, Bosanska Gradiška, Prijedor, Bosnian Novi, Bosnian Dubica, Sanski Most and Bijeljina.

They expressed their deepest respect for the Emperor while submitting the *Memorandum* with expressions of great and sincere humility. The signatories declared that they waited for eighteen years before addressing the highest office.²⁷

"We waited long enough for the situation to improve and asked protection from officials of the Land government, but to no avail, since Land government sided against our Confessional and Educational Communes. These pernicious policies permeated some opinions and regulations administered by the Land government. We respectfully addressed the Land Government to rectify harmful orders and wrong doings, but yet our supplication would be refused or ignored leaving us with no answer."²⁸

The essence of the grievances addressed the loss of autonomous rights in conducting internal affairs of the Serbian Orthodox Confessional and Educational Communes. The representatives documented the interference of the *Landesregierung* in confessional schools, and in the control of the funds impeding the established modes of discharging their duties. Previously, over the years, they recalled submitting numerous supplications to the *Landesregierung* in Sarajevo with no avail.

In few introductory lines of the *Memorandum*, the historical role of the Confessional and Educational Council was elucidated. During the Ottoman rule and prior to the occupation of 1878, the Orthodox commune in Bosnia–Herzegovina enjoyed a complete autonomy in regard to their internal affairs. The Serbian language and Cyrillic alphabet were used in the schools as well as in the Church. The Confessional and Educati-

25 Vladimir Ćorović, *Odnosi između Srbije i Austro-Ugarske u XX veku*, Belgrade, Državna štamparija Jugoslavije, 1936, p. 5.

26 *Tri carska memoranduma o srpsko-pravoslavnim prilikama i uređenju vjersko-prosvjetne samouprave u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Novi Sad, Miletićeva štamparija, 1902.

27 *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 3. The *Memorandum* ended with equal expressions of humility "... trusting in the Majesty's paternal benevolence towards his children."

28 *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 7.

onal Council convoked freely without any restrictions or supervision of the political authority, and without any prior permits.²⁹

Likewise, the traditional religious and secular holydays were celebrated by the confessional commune without interferences by the political authorities. The icons of Serbian saints and pictorial presentation of historic events were displayed freely in the Church and Confessional schools.

Previously, the teachers were hired by the Confessional Council without any delay or interference of the authorities. The confessional schools conducted the education of the pupils in the religious spirit and customary ways as established by their forbearers. The teachers taught Serbian language, using the Cyrillic alphabet. The new elementary and/or middle schools were erected when needed, and no permissions from the political authority were required.

The charitable donations and real estate deeded to the Confessional and Educational Commune were used as willed by the donors. The distribution of the endowed fiduciary funds for the upkeep of schools and churches was equally sanctioned and administered with due care by the Confessional Council.

All these customary ways of beneficial and benevolent support of religious and educational traditions were seemingly ignored and even slighted by the *Landesregierung*. There was no effort to work together with the representatives of the communes and school authorities in furthering needed educational goals as mandated by the Berlin Congress of 1878, in particular article XXV of the Treaty.³⁰ Moreover the Imperial *Proclamation* of July, 1878 was cited highlighting offered guarantees: "The Emperor and King orders that all sons of these lands shall enjoy equal rights according to the law, and that the lives, religion and property will be protected."³¹

The *Memorandum* stated that according to the *Convention* of April 9/21 1879 between the Austro-Hungarian Government and the Sublime Porte: "... the native people would have a precedence when seeking employment and applying for a vacant position. Furthermore, the freedom of practicing the chosen religion was granted to all people who live or work in Bosnia–Herzegovina."³² The people in Bosnia–Herzegovina have rightfully expected that in accordance with the *Proclamation* of 1878, and the *Convention* of 1879, the established confessional-educational autonomy enjoyed in the past (*od vajakada*) will be respected and even enhanced by an enlightened government.

The concluding statement ascertained that these specified rights constituted the essence of the Confessional and Educational autonomy prior

29 *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 3.

30 *Tri carska memoranduma*, pp. 4–5.

31 Vladimir Ćorović, *Odnosi između Srbije i Austro-Ugarske u XX veku*, Belgrade, Državna štamparija Jugoslavije, 1936, p. 5.

32 *Tri carska memoranduma*, pp. 5–6. The text of the *Convention* was appended to the book, *Tri carska memoranduma*, pp. 151–155.

to the occupation. These rights and traditions continue to safeguard the religious teachings as a stronghold of the Serbian identity.³³

Regretfully, upon return to Bosnia–Herzegovina, the signatories suffered unexpected maltreatments and harassment from the political authority. Some of them received steep fines without explanation of their alleged wrongdoing. Travelling for many became difficult since passports were taken away, as well as permits for operating a number of businesses. For this reason, people’s representatives from the Serbian Orthodox Confessional and Educational communes decided to submit the *Second Memorandum* on March 19/31 1897 in Vienna.

In the introductory statement the signatories recalled their previous supplication as presented in the *First Memorandum* submitted to the Emperor on 25 November/7 December of 1896. They expressed their unwavering devotion and filial fidelity asking for paternal protection. The signatories repeated their plea for the reinstatement of the autonomy of the Serbian Orthodox Church and school. The representatives also asked for the usage of the Serbian Language and Serbian name, thus underlying their disagreement with the so called *Land* or *Bosnian* language.³⁴

The signatories of the *First Memorandum* trusted that their endeavors would be acknowledged and wrong doings rectified. Instead, to their great disappointment, they encountered many unforeseen difficulties.³⁵ Among the misfortunes that afflicted the signatories, the fate of Pero Drljača was highlighted. Drljača was the President of the Serbian Orthodox Confessional and Educational Commune in Bosnian Novi, one of the signatories of the *Memorandum*. Drljača, an honorable and respected man, was unjustifiably imprisoned in Banjaluka, although he was in bad health.

Many other signatories of the *Memorandum* did not fare better, being under scrutiny of the authorities, and harassed in a number of ways. In some instances the working permits have been taken away, licenses for operating businesses were suspended or even businesses closed. Passports have been cancelled, fines introduced with no valid reason and even honorary titles rescinded.³⁶ In spite of all the hardship that was befallen on the signatories and communes who supported the First Memorandum, additional solidarity was offered by the confessional communes in Liječno, Bugojno, Glamoč, Varčar-Vakuf and Donji Vakuf that suffered almost identical maltreatment.

The highly respected and well organized Confessional commune in Mostar was disbanded without a written dismissal but only orally and with no given explanation. The guardianship of the church treasury and the warily watched monetary fund was handed over to officer (*povjerenik inovjerac*) Klinburg, against the rules of the holy Orthodox Church since

33 *Tri carska memoranduma*, pp. 19–20. The *First Memorandum* was signed by people’s representatives on 23 November/ 5 December 1896, in Vienna.

34 *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 23.

35 *Tri carska memoranduma*, pp. 23–25.

36 *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 25–26.

Klinburg was not a member of the confessional commune.³⁷ The Confessional Commune in Sarajevo was also improperly disbanded claiming that their mandate has expired. In reality, a vote of confidence was secured to the president GligoriJe Jeftanović in the presence of the Metropolitan. The plans for the upcoming election were in progress. The signatories therefore pleaded that an impartial commission should be formed to examine the grievances enumerated by the people's representatives of the confessional and educational communes in Bosnia-Herzegovina.³⁸ In spite of all these concerted efforts, the proposal for an impartial commission was not realized. The situation in the Confessional-educational communes has not improved and stayed the same as before.

The Confessional Council and the peoples' representatives decided to submit the *Third Memorandum*. The introductory section stated that it was three years ago that the First Memorandum was handed to his Majesty, in November of 1896, followed by the Second Memorandum a year later. Moreover, the signatories feared that system of governance and the very existence of the Serbian Orthodox Commune in Bosnia-Herzegovina had been seriously threatened. Regretfully, the signatories of the *First* – as well as of the *Second Memorandum* suffered unexpected maltreatments and harassment from the political authority. Some of them were imprisoned or received steep fines without explanation of their alleged wrongdoing.

Most importantly the new redistricting of parishes changed parochial income without any input from the confessional assemblies as it was customary during the Ottoman rule. All these measures deprived some confessional communes of financial means to support their teachers and clergy and operate confessional schools.³⁹

This situation led to the closure of the school in Lijevno where 146 school children were left without education. Both Sarajevo and Mostar were facing a similar danger of losing their confessional schools. Moreover, the confessional schools in Nevesinje, Gacko, Bileća, Trebinje and Travnik, among others, remained under the rigorous tutelage of the political authority. Their overall situation was not ameliorated and remained unchanged as it was before the submission of the First Memorandum.⁴⁰ Even the well respected confessional communes in Sarajevo, Mostar and Lijevno were experiencing an unjust form of retaliation. Therefore, the *Second Memorandum* suggested the formation of an impartial commission to mediate and establish the truthfulness of enumerated grievances.

In March 19/30 1897, during the audience with the Emperor Francis Joseph the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Confessional Commune had the rare opportunity to present personally their concerns. They elucidated the difficulties facing the populace with the loss of con-

37 *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 27.

38 *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 28–34.

39 *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 49.

40 *Tri carska memoranduma*, pp. 60–61.

fessional and educational autonomy. They expressed due concern since the previously suggested remedial plans were not implemented.

In December of 1897, the representatives of Serbian confessional communes decided to approach the Austro-Hungarian Finance Minister Benjamin von Kállay, as the chief administrator in charge of Bosnia–Herzegovina, and inform him about their meeting with the Emperor and ongoing endeavors of behalf of the Orthodox confessional communes.⁴¹ Kállay offered his assurances that he will try to ameliorate the situation in regard to the Serbian population. He suggested that it would be helpful to elucidate the goals and aspirations of the Confessional-Educational system in an *Outline (Nacrt)*. Kállay proposed a collaborative effort guided by confessional and educational leaders. The vice president of the Austro-Hungarian parliament, Dr. Kramar and the Section Chief Horowitz attended this meeting as well.⁴²

Following Kállay's advice, the people's representatives contacted the Metropolitan in Sarajevo extending an invitation for collaboration to the Bosnian–Herzegovinian Metropolitan in Mostar. The representatives turned also to the members of confessional councils, civic leaders and parochial clergy for input and collaboration. These commendable efforts resulted in a comprehensive document titled, *Outline of the Constitution of the Orthodox Confessional and Educational Autonomy* of the Serbian people in Bosnia–Herzegovina. The *Outline* was duly presented to his Excellency Kállay on July 7, 1898⁴³ At this point, Kállay did not choose to offer any comments. Strangely enough, an audience with Kállay could not be procured.

The representatives considered it important to consult with the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople. In accordance with the wishes of the people, they travelled to Constantinople and presented personally the *Outline of the Constitution* on July 6, 1899. The representatives had also opportunities to contact the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic agents in Constantinople and explain the necessity of the reinstatement of confessional-educational autonomy in Bosnia–Herzegovina.⁴⁴

All along, the *Landesregierung* aimed to eschew blame for their own wrong doing and to accuse the confessional and educational communes for not being straightforward. In fact, the authorities managed to compromise some of the clergy and their national allegiance by various forms of financial incentives, salaries, and clerical tenure.

The signatories gave assurances that the multifaceted difficulties in Confessional communes resulted from the lack of cooperation between the political government and the Orthodox community as a whole. Lately the officials of the *Landesregierung* were attempting to present the disarray in confessional communes as internal misunderstanding between the laity and the clergy.

41 *Tri carska memoranduma*, p. 41.

42 *Treći carski memorandum*, pp. 40–42.

43 *Treći carski memorandum*, p. 43.

44 *Treći carski memorandum*, pp. 43–46.

Nevertheless, the signatories of the *Third Memorandum* stipulated that there was no discrepancy between the innermost aspirations of the people and that of the higher clergy. The real difficulty was between the *Landesregierung* and the entire Orthodox confessional and educational system mainly due to the deprivation of legitimate autonomous rights. The signatories of the *Third Memorandum* urged a non partial approach in regard to teachers salaries in order to establish balanced inter confessional relations. More so, since there was an implicit preference for catholic schools coupled with a large and disproportional financial subvention. The signatories feared that the very existence of the Serbian Orthodox Commune in Bosnia–Herzegovina was seriously threatened.⁴⁵

In conclusion, the signatories of the *Third memorandum* asked for protection against any form of vengeance or punishment for their participation in producing this document. They asked for assurances that no oppressive measures would be taken to endanger their personal well being and their property upon their return to Bosnia–Herzegovina. The memories of maltreatment of signatories of the *First* and *Second Memorandum* have not been forgotten.

Finally, the patient and tenacious demand for a measure of autonomy in the internal affairs of the Confessional-Educational Council was acknowledged and in 1904 a new Confessional-Educational ordinance was passed. The ordinance improved the position of parochial clergy and helped to a considerable extent the educational goals leading eventually to an improved scholastic curriculum.⁴⁶

Over all, the beginning of the new century brought the foundation of several benevolent societies supporting education into the cultural life of Bosnia–Herzegovina. These societies were sponsored by the local intellectual and professional elite with the aim to bolster the higher education of promising students. The Provincial Government endeavored also to provide stipends for outstanding students for higher education in Austria counting on their future valuable and loyal services.

Although aware of the implicit motivation that fueled the generosity of the governmental purse, young students received a good education in Austria. The formative years spent while studying in Vienna or Graz must have instilled appreciation for the cultural legacies of an old and glorious Empire. The splendid repertory of the *Burgtheater*, the incomparable concerts of the Vienna Philharmonics, and the artistic refinement of the Viennese Opera presented an imposing richness of cultural traditions. Not to be forgotten were the sights and sounds of the popular culture such as the liveliness of the operettas, waltzes and polkas by Johann Strauss and a number of equally talented composers.⁴⁷

During the Austro-Hungarian occupation and the subsequent annexation numerous travelling theaters, classical and popular music ensembles

45 Vasiljević, *O Bosni i Hercegovini*, p. 34.

46 Vasiljević, *O Bosni i Hercegovini*, p. 36.

47 Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *The Eastern Question and the Voices of Reason: Pan Slav Aspirations in Russia and in the Balkans, Austria-Hungary, Russia and the Balkan States 1875–1908*. East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, New York, 2002, pp. 205–207.

toured the cities and townships of Bosnia–Herzegovina. These guest appearances were appreciated by the general public, and in turn provided needed revenues for the artists. These often ad-hoc arranged performances, although not always of the desired artistic quality, were instrumental in building a cultural fund bestowed to all who were willing to accept it with no apparent strings attached.

This shared cultural repository coupled with greater consideration for the occupied population and respect for civil rights could have helped to establish a cultural union within the multiethnic Empire. The hopes of the venerable Czech historian František Palacký, who saw the future of the Slavs within Austrian Monarchy, could have been fulfilled. Palacký argued repeatedly that all nationalities assembled under the Austrian crown should be granted complete equality of rights under the law. If a union of nations was to be firm and lasting, no nation must have cause to fear repressive measures. Palacký ascertained that Austria should ensure the fundamental rule of justice concerning the long standing ethnic, religious and linguistic boundaries.

Palacký's foresighted pronouncement was not considered by those in power.⁴⁸ The Austro-Hungarian regime continued to rely most of all on power (*Macht*) as it was recognized albeit to late by the ruling class. This ill-fated legacy foreshadowed to a great extent the events of World War I.

48 Salomon Wank, "The Habsburg Empire" in *After Empire*, Eds. Karen Barkey and Mark von Hagen, Boulder, Westview Press 1997, p. 48. Tomislav Kragajić: *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882–1903)*, Sarajevo, 1987.

ТРИ ЦАРСКА МЕМОРАНДУМА: ПРОСВЕТНА И ВЕРСКА ПОЛИТИКА У БОСНИ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНИ ПОСЛЕ БЕРЛИНСКОГ МИРОВОНОГ УГОВОРА

По завршетку заседања Берлинског конгреса 1878. године уследила је аустроугарска окупација Босне и Херцеговине са задатком да спроведе аграрне и просветне реформе како би се побољшао живот становништва. Сходно прокламацији Франца Јозефа становништву су биле обећане како правне тако и религиозне заштите. Православне црквене општине су се трудиле да обезбеде добру наставу ученицима уз обезбеђење квалификованих учитеља. Увођење школских реформа јуна 1879. донело је обавезу увођења такозваног Земаљског језика што је проузроковало велико негодовање како наставника тако и родитеља. Даље тешкоће су следиле потписивањем Конкордата 1880. што је водило измењеном положају православног свештенства. Све ово је довело до тежњи за постизањем жељене аутономије у црквеношколским општинама и писању Првог меморандума 1880. године. Како до потребних промена није дошло уследила су потом још два меморандума која су сведочила о високој свести о важности школства и решености представника црквених општина да остваре свој жељени циљ на добробит многих.