

CROATIAN PEDAGOGY IN THE 19TH CENTURY – THE TRANSFER OF EUROPEAN PEDAGOGICAL IDEAS*

Štefka BATINIĆ**

The transfer of European pedagogical ideas and practices to Croatia during the 19th century, when the Croatian pedagogy was being established, could be observed at three basic levels: at the level of formal pedagogical education of teachers, at the level of scholarly texts on pedagogy and the level of studying and professional development abroad.

Teachers had a pivotal role in the development of the practice and theory of pedagogy, which was important to them for the improvement of their teaching, as well as for their professional identity. For that reason, they were initiating publication of subject-specific journals, writing textbooks on pedagogy and translating European pedagogy classics to Croatian. The publishing activity of the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly had a major influence on the appearance of scholarly texts on pedagogy. Immediately upon its establishment in 1871, it initiated an editorial series *Knjižnica za učitelje* (Library for Teachers), within which 54 volumes were published by 1917, including the translations of the works by major pedagogy authors, such as Comenius (*Didaktika*, 1871, *Informatorijum za školu materinsku*, 1886, *Velika didaktika*, 1900), Spencer (*Nauk ob uzgoju*, 1883), Rousseau (*Emil ili ob uzgoju*, 1887-1889), Pestalozzi (*Miroslav i Bogoljuba*, 1891) and Rabelais (*Misli o uzgoju*, 1894).

The Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly also published a compilation of pedagogical textbooks by Stjepan Basariček – *Uzgojoslovje* (1880), *Povijest pedagogije* (1881), *Obće obukoslovje* (1882) i *Posebno obukoslovje*

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** Štefka Batinić, Ph. D., Croatian School Museum, Zagreb, Croatia; sbatinic@hsm.hr.

(1884). His textbooks were theoretically based on the works of the German pedagogue Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) and were used in teacher education schools, with some revisions and new editions, until the 1920s.

Keywords: Pedagogy; Croatia; Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly; 19th Century; Transfer of Ideas

Introduction

In its beginnings, the pedagogy in Croatia was developed as a practical school discipline. From the very start of organized teacher training, regulated in the Habsburg monarchy within the framework of the enlightenment reform of schooling in the 1770s, pedagogical education was an important component of teacher training for their subsequent work in the schools and classrooms. The first printed textbooks on pedagogy in the Croatian language appeared in 1849, with the formation of the first public school for teachers, known as “Učiteljna učiona zagrebačka” (The teacher education school of Zagreb).

Brezinka's¹ claim that the interest for scholarly pedagogy in Austria was greater among the primary school teachers, whose professional self-image was based on pedagogy, than among the secondary school ones, whose professional self-image was based on academic disciplines they had studied, applies to Croatia as well. Teachers played an important role in the development of the practice and theory of pedagogy, which was important to them for the improvement of their teaching, as well as for their professional identity.

This text provides an overview of the transfer of pedagogical ideas and practices in the teaching community of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia from the beginnings of organized teacher education, with a particular focus on the second half of the 19th century as the period when foundations were laid for the development of the modern Croatian education and pedagogy. Influences from the works by European pedagogues will be traced in the area of formal pedagogical education (textbooks on pedagogy), of scholarly pedagogical literature (translations of the works by European pedagogues) and in instances of Croatian teachers pursuing professional development abroad (studying and traveling for professional development).

¹ Wolfgang Brezinka, “Uspon i kriza znanstvene pedagogije,” *Anali za povijest odgoja* 7 (2007): 12.

Pedagogical education of Croatian teachers before first textbooks on pedagogy in Croatian

The 1774 General School Ordinance established actual requirements in terms of the education and responsibilities of the primary school teachers, who were expected to know the subjects they taught, maintain the school discipline, manage school administration and receive school inspections. Johann Ignaz Felbiger (1724-1788) was the key figure in the creation and implementation of Maria Theresa's reform of the school system, both in primary education and in teacher education.

Felbiger maintained that teachers were the strongest link in the process of internal school reform. Therefore, a network of *normal schools*² was soon established, within which teacher education courses were organised. In the courses, teacher education students learned about the so-called Sagan³ method of teaching, which included a combination of five methods – common teaching, common reading, catechism, alphabetical and literary method. For the purpose of achieving an effective school reform, Felbiger published a methodology manual⁴ (*Methodenbuch*) in 1775, where he collated all of his earlier manuscripts on schooling, relying in particular on the work *Eigenschaften, Wissenschaften und Bezeigen rechtschaffener Schulleute*. *Methodenbuch* became a canonical work for everyone involved in the implementation of the reform on any level. This document, typical of its time, comprised everything

² Normal schools – schools established in regional centres as per the General School Ordinance (1774), which were considered to be reputable schools. Courses in methodology and school administration were organised in those schools for student teachers.

³ Felbiger was a canon in Sagan in Silesia, and in 1774 he published the book *Die wahre saganische Lehrart in den niedrigen Schulen* [*The true Sagan style of teaching for lower schools*], where he described the basic teaching methods (common teaching, common reading, alphabetical and tabular method and catechism). It is thus possible to find in literary sources the term Sagan method or Felbiger's method, as well as the term literary method. The book is kept in the library of the Croatian School Museum in Zagreb.

⁴ The full title: *Methodenbuch für Lehrer der deutschen Schulen in den deutschen kaiserlich-königlichen Erbländern, darin ausführlich gewiesen wird, wie die in der Schulordnung bestimmte Lehrart nicht allein überhaupt sondern auch insbesondere, bei jedem Gegenstande, der zu lehren befohlen ist, soll beschaffen sein. Nebst der genauen Bestimmung, wie sich die Lehrer der Schulen in allen Theilen ihres Amtes, ingleichen die Direktoren, Aufseher und Oberaufseher zu bezeigen haben, um der Schulordnung das gehörige Genügen zu leisten.* [*Methodology manual for teachers in German schools in Imperial and Royal countries with thorough instructions on the style of teaching regulated by the School Ordinance, not only in general, but also in particular for every subject taught. With precise provisions on how the school teachers should work in all segments of their service, as well as directors, inspectors and head inspectors, in order to fulfil the School Ordinance*].

related to the school reform, both in the organisational and didactical sense.⁵ The first part of the book deals with general rules of teaching (didactics) and ways of teaching particular subjects (teaching methods). The second part deals with the questions of teacher education, while the third is concerned with legislative framework and instructions for the running of schools.

The training of future teachers in didactics and methodology was to be the basis of the internal school reform. Strictly regulated and described way of teaching did not leave room for improvisation or teacher creativity. According to Engelbrecht (1984: 108), Felbiger was, like other school system reformists of his time, a victim of the rationalistic worldview, which maintained that educational processes can be planned in great detail and consequently bring the expected success. Felbinger soon realised that the comprehensive *Methodenbuch* was impractical and confusing for teachers and teaching candidates who often failed to distinguish the basic and key points, so in 1777, he published several shortened versions of the manual. The first version contained the “essence” of the contents required for the teacher exam – *Kern des Methodenbuches, besonders für die Landschulmeister in den kaiserlich-königlichen Staaten*, while the second, an even shorter version, included minimum requirements for the teachers in trivium schools – *Forderungen an Schulmeister und Lehrer der Trivialschulen* (...). The third shortened version of *Methodenbuch* – a short guide for the prescribed way of teaching – was published in Pest in 1796 under the title of *Kurzer Leitfaden zur vorgeschriebenen Lehrart besonders für Lehrer auf dem Lande in dem Königreiche Hungarn und dessen Kronländern*. The Hungarian edition was thus published 15 years after Felbiger’s dismissal from Vienna in 1781.

The influence of Felbiger’s reformist model, in particular his ideas and suggestions regarding the primary education, have encountered fertile ground in many European countries, especially in Slav-inhabited regions of the Habsburg monarchy – for instance in Czech Republic, through the efforts of the Prague University professor Karl Heinrich Seibt, or with South Slavs in the Banat region, through the activities of Teodor Janković Mirjevski (Engelbrecht, 1984). Janković Mirjevski completed Felbiger’s pedagogy course in Vienna in 1776 and was appointed headmaster of all Serbian and Romanian schools in Banat. He was an erudite man and highly appreciated in Viennese circles. He translated *Notwendiges Handbuch für Schulmeister der illyrischen nicht unierten Trivial-schulen in den königlichen Erblanden* = *Ručna knjiga potrebna magistrum illiričeskih neunitskih malih škola* into Church Slavonic and edited it in a bilingual format. It was Felbiger’s manual, a predecessor

⁵ Rudolf Gönner, *Die österreichische Lehrerbildung von der Normalschule bis zur Pädagogischen Akademie* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1967), 38.

to *Methodenbuch*, that every teacher had to have and apply in teaching according to The Constitution of the Illyrian Deputation for the Little Illyrian Schools⁶ (1776). Due to Janković's efforts, the Austrian schooling model had also spread to Russia, where he worked, highly recommended by Vienna, not only on the organisation of the school system, but also on spreading the "fruits of European didactics".⁷

The "fruits of European didactics" were first brought to Croatia by the teacher education students from the Croatian Military Frontier, who became familiar with Felbiger's teaching method as early as 1774 at St Ann's Seminary in Vienna, and then transferred their knowledge to local young men – the future teachers of the Military Frontier.⁸ The primary means of transferring Felbinger's internal school reform, which meant the application of prescribed didactic-methodological requirements, was the said manual (*Methodenbuch*), or its shorter versions (*Kern des Methodenbuches*, *Froderungen an Schulmeister und Lehrer* i *Kurzer Leitfaden zur vorgeschriebenen Lehrart*). These texts were not translated to Croatian and their Viennese and Pest editions are kept in the library of the Croatian School Museum. They were undoubtedly used for the pedagogical education of new teachers in Croatian regions at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, which is confirmed by the three preserved manuscripts kept in the Archives collection of the Croatian School Museum, including: *Methodus* by Josip Herović from 1797 and *Vpelivanje od podvuchanya decze vu školi* by Ivan Jurišević and *Czeli navuchanija nachin iliti Methodus razelujesze na 3 strane* by Vjekoslav Premzl, both from 1835.

The year of Herović's manuscript corresponds to the year of his completing the teacher preparation course in Zagreb. This is a translation of the *Kern des Methodenbuches* manual, but it is not certain whether the seventeen-year-old teacher education student translated it all by himself or perhaps with the assistance of the course leader Tomo Koščak. Cuvaj (vol. II, 1910: 282-283) claims that Herović's manuscript was a translation of the *Kurzer Leitfaden* manual dating from 1796, corroborating it with information that its translation was thought necessary in 1808, which was supported by Koščak himself, who was also using it in the training of new teachers. Although the two manuals are rather similar, a careful comparison indicates that Herović was translating *Kern des Methodenbuches* dating from 1777 or 1782.⁹

⁶ That was the first law for Serbian primary schools.

⁷ Antun Cuvaj, *Grada za povijest školstva kraljevinâ Hrvatske i Slavonije*, vol. I, (Zagreb: Naklada Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlade, 1910), 558.

⁸ Idem, vol. I, (1910), 525.

⁹ More in the article by Sonja Gaćina Škalamera "Methodus: autograf Josipa Herovića iz 1797. Godine," *Anali za povijest odgoja* 14 (2015): 137-153. A transcript of Herović's manuscript was published alongside the article.

The manuscripts by Vjekoslav Premzl and Ivan Jurišević were based on the *Kurzer Leitfaden* manual. They have been compared to the 1796 edition. Cuvaj's claim (vol. II, 1910: 284) that these two manuscripts are almost identical to Herović's is understandable, since the two manuals used as their pretexts were just shortened versions of Felbiger's *Methodenbuch*. All three manuscripts leave out the parts that refer to alphabetical and tabular method.¹⁰ The mentioned manuscripts were probably used by teaching candidates in teacher training courses until the appearance of the first printed textbooks on pedagogy in Croatian language in 1849, when the first public teacher education school was established in Zagreb.

First textbooks on pedagogy in Croatian

Three textbooks in Croatian language were printed in Buda in 1849 for the purpose of pedagogical education of teaching candidates in the newly established teacher education school in Zagreb: *Znanost odhranjivanja, Obćenita znanost podučavanja (Didactica generalis)* and *Posebna znanost podučavanja ili naputak k uspješnom predavanju pojedinih naukah (Didactica specialis)*. These works were anonymous and most probably compilations and translations. Sources suggest that they were translations from Latin¹¹, which probably comes from Stjepan Novotny, who mentions in the foreword to his book *Gojitba i obća učba* (1867) that the "teaching book" used up to date, printed in Buda in 1849, was translated from Latin. However, that information has not been confirmed, while it is known that the third book – *Posebna znanost podučavanja* – is a translation of the "Specielle Methodik" chapter from a methodology manual by Joseph Peitl.¹² Josip Škavić, on the other hand, states that the books were translations from Hungarian.¹³

¹⁰ Felbiger had taken those methods from the Berlin-based pedagogue Johann Friedrich Hähn (1710-1789). They implied a concise, hierarchically broken-down presentation of the subject matter in such a way that only the first letters of spoken words or sentences were written on the blackboard, with the intention of alluding to the full content. This working method was not accepted by the teachers in Croatian regions.

¹¹ Dragutin Franković, ed. *Povijest školstva i pedagogije u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Pedagoško-književni zbor, 1958), 99.

¹² Joseph Peitl's manual *Methodenbuch oder Anleitung zur zweckmäßigen Führung des Lehramtes für Lehrer in Trivial- und Hauptschulen* (Wien, 1820) was used in the first half of the 19th century in teacher preparation courses in Croatia, Slavonia and Croatian Military Frontier and in Italian translation (*Metodica di Giuseppe Peitl*) in teacher education courses in Dalmatia (Štefka Batinić, Sonja Gaćina Škalamera, *Učiteljice i učitelji u Hrvatskoj 1849. – 2009.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski školski muzej, 2009), 20.

¹³ Josip Škavić, "Stjepan Basariček, osnivač naše pedagoške knjige," in *Pedesetogodišnjica Hrvatskoga pedagoško-književnog zbora*, (Zagreb: Hrvatski pedagoško-književni zbor, 1923), 78.

Obuka malenih ili Katechetika (1850), a manual by Stjepan Ilijašević intended for the pedagogical and methodological education of catechism teachers, also deals with the general issues in education. Apart from extensive catechist bibliography to which Ilijašević refers or which he recommends, he instructs the teachers of children to look for educational insights in the works of Weiller¹⁴, Hergenröther¹⁵, Niemayer, Schwarz¹⁶ and Milde.

The first authored pedagogical textbook in Croatian, Stjepan Novotny's *Gojitba i obća učba*, intended for the students of teacher education schools, was written in the spirit of Christian upbringing and teaching. In the foreword, the author notes that the sources he had "at hand" included Schmidt¹⁷, Niemayer, Sailer, Stapf, Münch, Škoda and Ilijašević and, in particular, Hermann's¹⁸ work *Erziehungs und Unterrichtslehre*, and he also notes that he added some considerations coming from his own experience, so some of the paragraphs were his own.¹⁹ For the chapters on psychology, Novotny used a comprehensive work on psychology written by a Kantian follower Wilhelm Esser (1798-1854), a philosophy professor in Münster.

Ilijašević and Novotny relied for theory mostly on pedagogues-theologians, among whom the most famous were the German protestant theologian August Hermann Niemeyer (1754-1828) and Austrian catholic bishop Vincenz Eduard Milde (1777-1853), the first professor of pedagogy at the University of Vienna and the most significant Austrian pedagogue at the beginning of the 19th century. In his two-volume textbook on pedagogy (*Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Erziehungskunde*, 1811-1813), which was required reading in all departments of pedagogy at Austrian universities, one can find ideas of interconfessionality and tolerance. It was translated into Italian, and a Latin translation was planned for Hungarian students. Milde influenced a number of contemporaries, including Josef Peitl and Joseph Ambros Stapf. He is

¹⁴ Kajetan Weiller, *Versuch einer Jugendkunde* (München: Joseph Lindauer, 1800).

¹⁵ Johann Baptist Hergenröther, *Erziehungslehre im Geiste des Christenthums* (Schulzbach, 1930).

¹⁶ Karl Schwarz (1828-1891), a bishop and a catechism teacher at the German Institute for Teacher Education and the Faculty of Theology in Prague

¹⁷ Karl Schmidt (1819-1864), a German pedagogue, advocated a thesis that pedagogy is applied anthropology.

¹⁸ This refers to Franz Hermann and his textbook *Allgemeine Unterrichts- und Erziehungslehre, nach dem bestehenden Methodenbuch bearbeitet*, published in Prague in 1861, based on Joseph Peitl's manual *Methodenbuch* (Gönnner, *Die österreichische Lehrerbildung*, 93).

¹⁹ Stjepan Novotny, *Gojitba i obća učba : učevna knjiga za kralj. Učiteljišta u našoj domovini* (Beč: C. kr. Naklada školskih knjiga, 1867), 3-4.

considered to be one of the most significant Austrian pedagogues, who was ahead of his time and who laid the foundations for Austrian pedagogy.²⁰

Novotny's textbook was used for the pedagogical education of new teachers until the publication of textbooks by Basariček. Stjepan Basariček was the first secular pedagogy teacher when he arrived in the teacher education school in Zagreb in 1875. Before him, pedagogy was taught by priests – Pavao Joža, Eduardo Suhin, Stjepan Novotny, Šimun Balenović and Gjuro Simončić. Already in the following year, 1876, the publisher Knjižara Lavoslava Hartmana published Basariček's *Teorija pedagogije ili nauk ob uzgoju*. Like his predecessors, Basariček in the foreword gives only partial information on his sources. Of the authors Ilijašević and Novotny had listed, he only mentions Milde and Schmidt, but he also includes, among others, Dittes²¹ and Diesterweg²², the two pedagogues who were to have a significant influence on Croatian teachers in the last three decades of the 19th century even though none of their works would ever be published in Croatian. Basariček admits that he has not brought anything new, but has collected and adapted to our needs the best ideas from the rich pedagogical literature.²³ His textbook *Teorija pedagogije* can be seen as a certain compromise solution and an introduction into the process of the secularization of pedagogy.

The first Croatian textbooks on psychology, *Kratko izkustveno dušoslovje* by Stjepan Basariček and *Nacrt psihologije* by Josip Glaser, were also published in 1877. The psychology of Basariček was based on Herbart's rationalist system and the function of conceptions that were used to explain everything in the psychological life of man. Glaser became familiar with the pedagogical ideas of a Berlin professor Friedrich Beneke while attending Dittes' College of Education in Vienna, so his textbook was based on Beneke's empirical psychology.

In the early 1880s, Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly, an active association of teachers that supported modernisation in Croatian schooling and

²⁰ Helmut Englebrecht, *Geschichte des österreichisches Bildungswesens*, Band 3: *Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag Gesellschaft, 1984), 215-217; Wolfgang Brezinka, *Pädagogik in Österreich*, Band 1 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie, 2000), 233-248.

²¹ Friedrich Dittes (1829-1896), a German pedagogue who established himself as the headmaster of the College of Education (Lehrerpädagogium) in Vienna, a form of higher pedagogy school for teachers, and as a reformer of Austrian education system and an advocate of its separation from the Church.

²² Adolph Diesterweg (1790-1866), a German pedagogue, organizer of primary schooling and teaching, author of numerous pedagogical documents published in collected works and textbooks for primary schools.

²³ Stjepan Basariček, *Teorija pedagogije ili nauk ob uzgoju* (Zagreb: Nakladom knjižare Lavoslava Hartmana, 1876), 4.

pedagogy, published a pedagogy textbook by Stjepan Basariček in four volumes as part of the *Knjižnica za učitelje* editorial series – *Uzgojoslovje* (1880), *Povijest pedagogije* (1881), *Obće obukoslovje* (1882) and *Posebno obukoslovje* (1884). Those first editions were not prescribed for school usage, but they soon fulfilled the author's expectations and were followed by reprinted and revised editions that were used in teacher education schools until 1920s.

Basariček's textbooks were based on Herbart's system of pedagogy. Very soon, they fulfilled their purpose, fully replacing theology-oriented textbooks from teacher education schools for the benefit of Herbartianism, which became a dominant approach in theory, and indirectly also dominated the pedagogical practice.²⁴ It should be noted that pedagogical education of secondary school teachers was also mostly based on Herbart's pedagogy, by means of university lectures on pedagogy taught by Franjo Marković²⁵ and Đuro Arnold²⁶ to the students studying to become secondary school teachers. As a doctoral student in Vienna (1870-1871) and a pupil of the Herbartian Robert Zimmermann, Marković brought Herbart's ideas to Croatia.²⁷

Explaining the domination of Basariček's, or Herbart's, pedagogy in Croatia, Josip Škavić²⁸ points out the systematic quality, intelligibility and clarity of Herbart's pedagogy on the one hand, and Basariček's ability to clearly articulate it on the other. Other textbooks on pedagogy from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century never became a successful alternative to Basariček. This includes the works by Martin Štiglic – *Pedagogika ili uzgojoslovje* (1889) and *Povijest pedagogike* (1893), Julij Golik – *Nauk o uzgoju s osobitim obzirom na psihologiju* (1895) and Jure Turić – *Metodika obrazovne obuke u pučkim osnovnim školama* (1902), *Povijest uzgoja i nauke o uzgoju* (1904) and *Nauka o gojencu i odgoji* (1906).

²⁴ Igor Radeka, "Pedagogija i ideologija u Hrvatskoj," in *Desničini susreti 2010.: zbornik radova*, ed. Drago Roksandić, and Ivana Cvijović Javorina (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Centar za komparativnohistorijske i interkulturalne studije; Plejada, 2011), 117.

²⁵ Franjo Marković (1845-1914) gave the first lectures in pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb in 1876. An unfinished manuscript held at the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ARHIV JUGOSL. AKAD. XV 37/8-1) contains three larger units: *Uvod u pedagogiku*, *Sustav općenite pedagogike* i *Gimnazijska pedagogika*. The latter is further discussed in Ante Bežen's article "Gimnazijska pedagogika Franje Markovića – prvi tekst hrvatske akademske metodike," *Napredak* 149, no. 3 (2008): 339-369.

²⁶ Đuro Arnold (1853-1941), a philosopher, pedagogue and poet, the first doctor of philosophy inaugurated at the University of Zagreb and the first principal of the Pedagogical Seminar (The Chair of Pedagogy) established at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb in 1896.

²⁷ Ivan Čehok, "Filozofsko utemeljenje pedagogije: sporovi oko herbartizma," in *Fin de siècle : Zagreb – Beč*, ed. Damir Barbarić (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 64.

²⁸ Josip Škavić. "Stjepan Basariček," *Učitelj*, 16 (50), nos. 3 and 4 (1935): 227.

Croatian translations of the European pedagogy classics in the 19th century

Subject-specific journals had an important role in the transfer of pedagogical concepts. *Napredak*, the oldest and the most famous Croatian pedagogical journal, was established in 1859. Since 1873 it has been published by the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly, which has been ensuring its stability and continuity, appointing its editors and profiling the journal in accordance with the modernization processes in the Croatian school system and pedagogy since the mid-1870s. Other pedagogical journals²⁹ from the second half of the 19th century never had such professional and organisational support, so their influence on the teaching community was accordingly smaller.

This overview focuses on the translations of monographic editions of the works by European classics of pedagogy, some of which are still the first and only Croatian translations. Most were published within the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly's editorial series *Knjižnica za učitelje*, whose first editor was Ljudevit Modec, followed by Stjepan Basariček. As a professor of pedagogy at the teacher education school in Zagreb, the author of textbooks on pedagogy, the editor of *Napredak* (1896-1918), *Pedagogijska enciklopedija* (1895-1916) and *Knjižnica za učitelje*, Basariček was the key figure of Croatian pedagogy between the 19th and the 20th century.

Soon after its establishment in 1871, the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly, as the most important publisher of pedagogy-related texts, started a new editorial series named *Pedagogijska biblioteka* (changed to *Knjižnica za učitelje* after 1879). The very first book in the series *Pedagogijska biblioteka*, as well as in the publishing history of the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly, was the translation of *Didaktika* by the key pedagogy author John Amos Comenius (1592-1670)³⁰. The translation was based on the Czech edition from 1849, and the name of the translator was not mentioned. The Assembly published another title by Comenius in 1886 – *Informatorium za školu materinsku*, based on the Czech edition from 1858 and translated by Vjenceslav Zabož Mařík. The third and so far the last Croatian translation, as well as the last edition of Comenius in Croatian – *Velika didaktika* – was published in 1900, also by the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly, and translated by Julije Golik.

²⁹ For instance: *Školski prijatelj* (1868-1876), *Hrvatski učitelj* (1877-1896), *Zora* (1884-1889), and *Škola* (1890-1914)

³⁰ On the reception of the works by John Amos Comenius in Croatia, see more in the article by Štefka Batinić "Reflection of the Work of J. A. Comenius in Croatia," *Historia scholastica* 6, no. 1 (2020): 155-167.

Mijat Stojanović, a teacher, revised for the Croatian edition two booklets by the German philanthropist pedagogue Christian Gotthilf Salzmann (1744-1811) – *Zablude uzgoja*, 1873. (title of the original: *Krebsbüchlein, oder Anweisung zu einer vernünftigen Erziehung der Kinder*, 1819) and a pedagogic short story *Milan Dragojević*, 1882 (title of the original: *Conrad Kiefer oder Anweisung zu einer vernünftigen Erziehung der Kinder*, 1796.).

Nauk ob uzgoju by Herbert Spencer, translated by the teacher Ivan Širola, was published in 1883 as the 13th title in the series *Knjižnica za učitelje*. Spencer's book was supposed to weaken the dominant influence of the German pedagogy, as noted by the publisher in the introduction: "Mi visoko cienimo pedagošku znanost, kako ju Niemci goje; nu mi bismo želili, da se ta znanost kod nas ne kopira samo, nego da se popunjuje i engleskimi praktičkimi nazori [We highly appreciate the way the Germans are developing the pedagogical discipline; however, we wish that discipline is not only copied by us, but supplemented by the English practical views from the English language]".³¹

Emil ili ob uzgoju by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) – the first and so far the only Croatian translation of the most famous pedagogical work from the period of Enlightenment – was published in three volumes between 1887 and 1889. It was translated by Ivan Širola. A comprehensive *guide* was included at the end of the third volume, with the purpose of helping the readers, primarily teachers, to "correctly" interpret Rousseau's thoughts and ideas because "there are people who do not fully trust the reason and pedagogical knowledge of our teachers, but think that Rousseau's Emil could lead them astray". The publishing of Emil caused a surge of criticism from the clerical circles, leading to disagreements in the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly and the stepping down of its president Ivan Filipović and the vice president Skender Fabković.³²

Konstantin Milan Harambašić, a teacher, journalist and author, edited the short story *Linhard und Gerdtrud* by a Swiss pedagogue Jahann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) "for our people". It was published in 1891 under the title of *Miroslav i Bogoljuba* and was the 23rd book in the *Knjižnica za učitelje* series.

Croatian edition of *Misli o uzgoju* by François Rabelais (1484 or 1494-1553) "with the author's biography, evaluation and notes" and with excerpts from the novel *Gargantua i Pantagruel* was also edited by Ivan Širola. The book was

³¹ Herbert Spencer, *Nauk ob uzgoju – umnom, ćudorednom i tjelesnom* (Zagreb: Hrvatski pedagoški sbor, 1883), VII.

³² More in: Janko Jurinjak, "Polemika oko Rousseauova 'Emila'," *Pedagoški rad* 8, nos. 7-8 (1953): 313-329.

published in 1894, and Širola noted in the foreword that after translating the works of Montaigne, Locke and Rousseau, it was logical to prepare a Croatian edition of the author who had been their progenitor. Among the translations from the French in the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly's series *Knjižnica za učitelje* we should also mention *Intelektualni i moralni razvitak djeteta* by Gabriel Jules Compayré (1814-1913) translated by Jelica Belović-Bernadzikowska and *Pedagoška hrestomacija* translated by Rista Ognjenović.

We can only speculate on the reasons for not publishing more of the German pedagogical classics in *Knjižnica za učitelje*, for instance Herbart or Fröbel. Through Basariček's textbooks, Herbart's pedagogy became a theoretical foundation of the pedagogical practice in Croatian schooling. Likewise, Froebel's pedagogy became the basis for the educational practice in nursery schools, through the methodology manual *Rukovođ za zabavište* (1895) by Antonija Kassowitz Cvijić. Besides, most of Croatian teachers were able to read German authors in their original editions, which was not the case with French or English texts. Lastly, we should also not ignore attempts to weaken the dominant position of the German pedagogy. It is hard to say what the reason was for not publishing already translated works of the Austrian liberal pedagogue from Vienna, Friedrich Dittes (1829-1896), who was the leader of the Viennese College of Education and highly thought of among the teachers in Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly. The legacy of Mijat Stojanović, kept in the Croatian School Museum in Zagreb, contains preserved manuscripts *Praktično umoslovje* (84 pages) and *Jezgra nauke* (325 pages), which Stojanović prepared on the basis of Dittes' works in 1872.

There are two more important translations that have not been published by the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly – *Misli ob uzgoju djece* by Michel de Montaigne (Bakar, 1883) and *Nekoje misli ob uzgoju* by John Locke (Senj, 1890). Both were edited and probably printed at personal expense by the teacher Ivan Širola (1855-1931), who held most merits for the availability of French and English pedagogy classics in Croatian.

Croatian teachers traveling for professional development and studying abroad in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century

The establishing of associations and organisations of Croatian teachers in the second half of the 19th century was based on the model of teacher associations in Austrian and German countries. The Teachers' Cooperative – the first association of teachers – was established in Zagreb in 1865 with the purpose of supporting orphaned teachers and teachers' families in the manner of similar

German organisations (Pestalozzi-Verein) that had been founded in the memory of Heinrich Pestalozzi at the initiative of the pedagogue Adolf Diesterweg. In 1870, one year before the founding of the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly, Ivan Filipović took part in the General assembly of German teachers in Vienna and in that same year he published *Bečke pedagojske slike*, a book in which he reported in detail about the activities of the assembly, the exhibition of teaching aids held on that occasion and the equipment of schools in Vienna, suggesting what should be done for the improvement of Croatian primary education.³³

Following the same model, the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly organized the first general assembly of Croatian teachers and an exhibition of teaching aids in 1871. The assembly was attended by around 1,000 teachers from all Croatian regions, with the Viennese pedagogue Friedrich Dittes among the guests, who used the occasion to invite Marija Jambrišak³⁴, a teacher, to study at the College of Education in Vienna, where some Croatian teachers had already been pursuing their professional development. At that time, Jambrišak was the only female teacher to attend that higher education institution in Vienna and the first female teacher in Austria-Hungary who acquired higher qualifications in pedagogy there. In 1873, Dittes wrote:

Those five teachers from the Military Frontier, who had already completed the course at the College of Education, have since been working in their own country, some as school inspectors, and some as teachers at the School of teacher education in Petrinja. (...) Also, there is one other teacher from Zagreb studying at the College of Education, who is supported by the Territorial Government of Croatia. There is no doubt that sending a certain number of teaching class members from the southern border regions of Austria to study at the College of Education will greatly contribute to the spreading of culture and peace among the nations.³⁵

The College of Education in Vienna was attended, among others, by Josip Glaser, Ivan Martinović, Andrija Knežević and Vjekoslav Dominković. Apart from Dittes' College of Education in Vienna, the Institute for education of teachers in Prague, Budeč, established and led by a notable Czech pedagogue, physician and philosopher Karel Slavoj Amerling (1807-1884), was

³³ Ivan Filipović, *Bečke pedagojske slike* (Zagreb: Tiskom Lav. Hartmana i družbe, 1870).

³⁴ Marija Jambrišak (1847-1937), at the time a young teacher in Krapina, gave a noted speech at the assembly. After graduating from the College of Education in Vienna in 1874, she returned to Zagreb, where she worked as a teacher at the Higher school for girls from 1875, and at the College for women from 1892.

³⁵ Friedrich Dittes, *Das Lehrer-Pädagogium der Stadt Wien* (Wien: Verlag von A. Pichler's Witwe & Sohn, 1873), 53-54.

also important for the transfer of pedagogical ideas to Croatia by means of teacher training. Budeč was attended by Czech teachers who had established themselves in Croatia and were among the founders of the Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly: Sebald Cihlar, Vjenceslav Zabož Mařík, Franjo Stjepanek and Antun Truhelka. The Croatian teachers who acquired their pedagogical education in Prague included Ljudevit Modec and Skender Fabković, who had met his future wife there, a Czech teacher Marija Frechova. Marija Fabković was the only woman among the founders of the Assembly. She was a qualified teacher in the higher primary education who left for France, and then Switzerland, after retiring, to study French and work on translations.

Jure Turić, the first Croatian teacher with a doctoral degree, was further educated in Jena between 1888 and 1891, where he attended the High School of Agriculture, the Faculty of Philosophy and the Institute for children with behavioural issues. At the Faculty of Philosophy in Jena, where he attended lectures by the distinguished Herbartian Rein, among others, he obtained his doctoral degree with the thesis *Odluka u procesu volje* (published in German: *Entschluss in dem Willensprozesse*, 1892). Upon returning from Jena, he worked in teacher education schools in Sarajevo and Petrinja and at the College for women in Zagreb.³⁶

Franjo Higy Mandić, a most distinguished Croatian representative of the movement for education in nature, studied in Zürich from 1909, where he received his Ph.D. in 1913 with the thesis *Beitrag zur Kenntnis der geistigen Entwicklung des Schulkindes* (A supplement to understanding the mental development of schoolchildren). In 1907, Mandić visited the United States of America, together with the teacher Ivan Sedmak, in order to learn about the American school system. They published their experiences the following year in a booklet *Školstvo Saveznih Država Sjeverne Amerike godine 1907*.

By traveling abroad for professional development, teachers had an opportunity to gain insights into certain pedagogical practices. As a rule, they were sent on such travels by the Royal Territorial Government, who would give them a particular purpose. In this manner, Croatian teachers were sent to Sweden in the early 1890s in order to learn about the Swedish handicraft (*slöjd*) and the system of Swedish gymnastics. On the basis of that experience, Ivan Brixly wrote *Rukovođ za obuku u slöjdu* (1895), and Franjo Bučar, upon returning from Sweden, organized a gymnastics course between 1894 and 1896, where primary school teachers were trained to run physical education classes. This was only one segment of the reformist attempts in Croatian

³⁶ Štefka Batinić, "Povijesni razvoj i recepcija reformne pedagogije u Hrvatskoj" (Ph. D., University of Zagreb, 2014), 149.

school system by the then headmaster of the Department of Worship and Teaching, Izidor Kršnjavi.

Teachers also travelled for professional development on their own initiative like, for instance, Ivan Tomašić (1868-1956) at the beginning of the 20th century, who travelled around European countries on several occasions (Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, and Switzerland) in order to become familiarized with the ideas and practices of the reformist pedagogy and implement them into his own pedagogical work.³⁷

Conclusion

A thorough overview of the transfer of European pedagogical ideas to Croatia in the 19th century would, in fact, in great part be a history of Croatian pedagogy, or at least a history of its foundation as a practical, educational, as well as an academic discipline. In this paper, I have tried to highlight the basic models of such a transfer, indicate the key sources of the pedagogical ideas and their reception in Croatia. Undoubtedly, Croatian pedagogy was strongly influenced by the pedagogy from the German-speaking regions. On the one hand, this was a consequence of the historical context and the fact that regions of Croatia had been part of the Habsburg monarchy, or Austria-Hungary, and on the other, it shows that German pedagogy of the 19th century had a leading role in establishing pedagogy as an academic, scholarly discipline.

There were no textbooks on pedagogy in the first half of the 19th century, nor other pedagogical works, in the Croatian language. Teacher training consisted of a modest pedagogical education for practical work in schools, as extricated from German teaching manuals. It is thus not surprising that the first textbooks on pedagogy in Croatian were translations and compilations of the existing German textbooks.

Croatian Pedagogical-Literary Assembly, as the most important publisher of pedagogic literature in the 19th century, published the first translations of pedagogy classics from French and English languages. Whether that was a result of intentional publishing policy or a merit of an extremely hardworking translator Ivan Širola, who was translating from French and English, it is hard to say. The editorial series *Knjižnica za učitelje* contains a relatively small number of translations from German, and it is still not clear why there have been no translations of Johann Friedrich Herbart's work to this day, even

³⁷ See more in: Štefka Batinić, "Ivan Tomašić – europska iskustva u pučkoj školi zagrebačkoga predgrađa," *Anali za povijest odgoja* 21 (45) (2023): 7-18.

though he had significantly influenced the direction of the development of Croatian pedagogy.

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