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EDUCATIONAL MISSION OF MILAN Đ. MILIĆEVIĆ (1831–1908) IN THE CONTEXT OF SERBIAN MUSIC EDUCATION

*Never let the sun go down
until you learn more,
until you become a better person
than you were yesterday¹*

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1 The words of Jovan Đak, Milićević's father, written in the preface of Milićević's book *Школе у Срдији од почетка овога века до краја школске 1867. године* [Schools in Ser-

Abstract: The oeuvre of the Serbian educator, writer, pedagogue, translator and ethnographer Milan Đ. Milićević completes the existing picture of music pedagogy in Serbia in the second half of the 19th century. Although Milićević did not directly deal with music pedagogical issues, he was deeply convinced that learning music has a central role in the moral development of the individual and community if it is grounded in mastering church chants and folk songs in the teaching process. This would correspond to the concept of folk music pedagogy, which is in conformity with the general guidelines in Serbian music education in the 19th century.

Keywords: Milan Đ. Milićević, church chants, folk songs, folk music pedagogy.

Introduction

Milan Đ. Milićević (1831–1908), educator, writer, pedagogue, translator and ethnographer, lived during the second half of the 19th century. He was one of the famous, but today insufficiently known figures from the history of Serbian pedagogy. At the time of the national awakening and liberation of the Serbian people from Turkish slavery – major and significant changes in Serbian society – Milićević had numerous responsibilities. Among the many activities he dedicated himself to during his long working career, the following are particularly notable: he was a teacher, a senior official in the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, the editor and publisher of the pedagogical journals *Škola* and *Srpske novine*, a Serbian government adviser and member of the National Assembly, a member and the president of the Kolarac foundation, a member of the Serbian Royal Academy,² and one of the founders of the Serbian Literary Association, and Literary Cooperative.

Primary research sources include Milićević's historical, ethnographic and pedagogical works and diaries. We examined them in order to complete the picture of the position of education, general and music pedagogy at the time when Milićević, as Secretary in the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs (1861–1888) and a school supervisor, particularly advocated the preservation and nurturing of Serbian music heritage – both spiritual (ecclesiastical) and secular (folk). This activity coincided with the period of Serbia's state

bia from the Beginning of this Century Until the End of the School Year 1867], Београд, Државна штампарија, 1868.

² Milićević was one of the first sixteen members of the Serbian Royal Academy, founded in 1886. He served in the Department of Social Sciences at the same time when the composer and conductor Davorin Jenko worked in the Department of Art.

development, in which progress was significant in the sphere of culture, art and education. The national curricula reflected the socio-political climate of the second half of the 19th century.³ Therefore, we shall first shed light on the position of education in Milićević's era, as well as Milićević's moral and aesthetic principles, which became the basis for the foundation of folk music pedagogy. It consisted of learning church music in schools, on the one hand, and on learning secular music by singing Serbian folk songs and dancing round dances, on the other. The ways in which folk pedagogy was implemented also constituted an important part of Milićević's interests. We used his pedagogical methods as a starting point for understanding and interpreting the singing methods in primary schools, written by singing teachers at the beginning of the seventh and the end of the ninth decade of the 19th century.

Schooling and Education in Milićević's Time

Milan Milićević was the secretary and school supervisor in the Ministry of Education for eighteen years (1861–1879). His service coincided with the reign of two princes from the Obrenović dynasty – Mihailo (1860–1868) and Milan (1868–1882).

Prince Mihailo's educational policy encouraged the general progress of people, and built solid foundations for the school system.⁴ The school system was expected to foster cultural, economic and social progress.⁵ Education became the serious responsibility of the state, and there was an increased

³ See: Славко Гавриловић и др. (ур.), *Историја српског народа, V/2: Од Првој устанка до Берлинског конгреса 1804–1878* [*The History of Serbian People, V/2: From the First Uprising to the Berlin Congress 1804–1878*], Београд, Српска књижевна задруга, 1981; Чедомир Попов и др. (ур.), *Историја српског народа, VI/1: Од Берлинског конгреса до уједињења 1878–1918* [*The History of Serbian People, VI/1: From the Berlin Congress to Unification 1878–1918*], Београд, Српска књижевна задруга, 1983.

⁴ Владета Тешић, *Морално васпитање у школама Србије (1830–1878)* [*Moral Education in Serbian Schools (1830–1878)*], Београд, Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства, 1974, 75.

⁵ Андреа Јовановић, Слађана Суботић, “Лист *Школа* и његов допринос развоју просвете и школства Србије 19. века (са посебним освртом на радове Милана Ђ. Милићевића)” [*Magazine Škola and Its Contribution to Education Development in Serbia in the 19th Century (with Special References to Milan Đ. Milićević's Works)*], in: Дејан Вукићевић (ур.), *Сусрети библиографа у спомен на др Георгија Михаиловића* [*Meetings of Bibliographers in Memory of Dr Georgi Mihailović*], Инђија, Народна библиотека “Др Ђорђе Натошевић”, 2019, 166–167.

awareness about its importance: according to the Law on Central Administration from 1861, education was, in terms of importance, right behind justice.⁶ Legal changes were made and the organization and function of all types of schools were reviewed. As of 1867, the following educational institutions existed in Serbia: primary schools, Sunday schools, a school of agriculture, a women's high school, secondary schools, high schools, the theological seminary, a military school, a military academy, a school of engineering⁷ and the Great School – the highest Serbian educational institution of that time.⁸ Moreover, an organized way of learning music began at the state's expense and according to European standards, namely the existing models of the organization of European schools were accepted. The Rules for the three-year Government Music School and the two-year Government Singing School were formed.⁹

During the reign of Prince Milan, primary, secondary and higher education was improved and modernized.¹⁰ Primary education became compulsory for all children, while the education cycle in high schools was extended to eight years. Besides many renowned people, Milan Đ. Milićević, Josif Pančić, Stojan Novaković and Milan Milovuk were members of the Permanent School Commission, which dealt with issues related to teaching and education. At that time, the curricula were prepared for primary school and high school. In 1871, Milan Đ. Milićević and Milorad Šapčanin designed the Course Schedule for male and female primary schools and created teachers' instructions.¹¹ The number of schools, teachers, students and textbooks increased significantly. Due to the lack of necessary qualifications, the practice of one professor teaching several subjects was abolished.¹² Considering that

⁶ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Историја педагогије [The History of Pedagogy]*, Београд, Државна штампарија, 1871.

⁷ School of Construction (authors' note).

⁸ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Школе у Србији... [Schools in Serbia...]*, op. cit., 1.

⁹ Биљана Милановић, *Европске музичке праксе и обликовање нације кроз креирање националне уметничке музике у Србији у првим деценијама 20. века [European Musical Practices and the Shaping of a Nation through the Creation of National Art Music in Serbia in the First Decades of the 20th Century]*, doctoral dissertation, Београд, Филозофски факултет Универзитета у Београду, 2016, 98.

¹⁰ Арсен Ђуровић, "Образовање у време владавине краља Милана" ["Education During the Rule of King Milan"], *Историјски часопис [Historical Review]*, 57, 2008, 301.

¹¹ Андреа Јовановић, Слађана Суботић, op. cit., 167.

¹² Арсен Ђуровић, op. cit. 304, 306, 310.

teachers' and professors' exams were compulsory for the entire teaching staff, Milićević's job required him to travel frequently around Serbia and visit schools, in order to examine and evaluate young teachers.¹³ Milićević advocated the existence and active action of teachers' unions. They were organized in different places in Serbia with the aim of decentralizing the education system and encouraging local communities to participate in decision-making and school management. Teachers' unions also had a great influence on the professional development of teachers.¹⁴

In the 1870s, the first public reading rooms were opened in Serbia and the first pedagogical magazines appeared. At that time, Milićević edited the magazine *School*, and he also wrote the following works in the field of pedagogy: *Школе у Србији од почетка овога века до краја школске 1867. године* [*Schools in Serbia From the Beginning of This Century to the End of the School Year of 1867*] (1868), *Педагојске поуке за учитеље, родитеље и све пријатеље народнога образовања* [*Pedagogical Lessons for Teachers, Parents and All Friends of National Education*] (1870), *Како се учи школа* [*How to Teach in a School*] (1869)¹⁵ and *Историја педагогије* [*The History of Pedagogy*] (1871).¹⁶ These pedagogical works, as well as the texts published in the magazine *Škola*, had a powerful impact on the development of education, depicting at the same time the socio-political situation in contemporary Serbia.¹⁷

Milićević's diary notes bear witness to significant social and cultural events in Belgrade at the beginning of the eighth decade of the 19th century. They testify to nurturing the practice of urban and rural musicianship,¹⁸ as

¹³ This practice is the forerunner of today's professional development of employees in education and teacher certification exams for the teaching licence.

¹⁴ Андреа Јовановић, Слађана Суботић, *op. cit.*, 169.

¹⁵ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Како се учи школа* [*How to Teach a School*], Београд, Државна штампарија, 1869.

¹⁶ Milićević was an editor and publisher of the magazine *Škola* from 1868 to 1876, when publication was suspended due to the beginning of the Serbian-Turkish war. The paper was published three times a month, and most of the texts were written and translated by Milićević himself.

¹⁷ Absolutism of the regime, political turmoil, the multi-faceted activity of Svetozar Marković and the national liberation movement reflected on education and press. Cf. Андреа Јовановић, Слађана Суботић, *op. cit.*, 169.

¹⁸ See: Наташа Марјановић, *Музика у животију Срба у 19. веку* [*Music in the Life of Serbs in the 19th Century*], Нови Сад – Матица српска, Београд – Музиколошки институт САНУ, 76, 127.

well as the activities of singing societies and the musical audience.¹⁹ From Milićević's notes it is also known that he was a close friend of Milan Milovuk. They met most often in the family environment of Milićević's home, where Milovuk frequently played music as a great "passionate musician".²⁰

Milićević was one of the instigators of Serbian pedagogical theories and educational practice. On the one hand, he believed that the revival of the Serbian state was possible only if school reform was carried out.²¹ On the other hand, he was convinced that an efficient public school must be a state institution.²² Milićević wrote about the need of the Serbian people to be educated, and considered teaching as one of the most important services in the state, because its aim was "moral, religious and political education".²³ According to Milićević's understanding, a teacher should be a highly developed moral personality, be humane and considerate of other people, in order to transfer these qualities to his students.²⁴ From Milićević's perspective, the teacher must cherish truth, because it relates to moral strength,²⁵ he has to be fair and even-tempered,²⁶ always striving to "help and influence children to

¹⁹ Milićević himself often attended concerts. He passed on his love for music to his children, who sang in the choir of the Church of the Ascension and privately learned to play the piano with Antonije Cimbrić, a music teacher at the Belgrade High School. Милан Милићевић, *Дневник I (1. јануар 1869 – 22. септембар 1872)* [*Diary I (1st January 1869 – 22nd September 1872)*], прир. Петар В. Крестић, Београд, Радио-телевизија Србије – Завод за уџбенике, 2011, 23.

²⁰ Милан Милићевић, "Легитимичан поглед на учитељску школу у Сомбору" ["A Quick Look at the Teachers' School in Sombor"], *Школа [School]*, 15, 1869, 154.

²¹ Петар В. Крестић, "Милан Ђ. Милићевић о неким образовним и просветним питањима у Србији (1869–1877)" ["Milan Đ. Milićević On Some Educational Questions in Serbia (1869–1877)"], in: Петар В. Крестић (ур.), *Држава и политичке управљања (18–20. век)* [*State and Governing Policies (18–20th Centuries)*], Београд, Историјски институт, 2017, 136.

²² Светозар Дунђерски, "Значај мисли и дела Милана Ђ. Милићевића (1831–1908)" ["Importance of the Thought and Work of Milan Đ. Milićević (1831–1908)"], *Педагошка стварност – часопис за школска и културно-просветна питања* [*Pedagogical Reality – Journal for School and Cultural-Educational Issues*], 59/3, 2013, 540, 545.

²³ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Педагошке поуке за учитеље, родитеље и све пријатеље народнога образовања* [*Pedagogical Lessons for Teachers, Parents and All Friends of National Education*], Београд, Државна штампарија, 1870, 93.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁵ Милан Милићевић, *Историја педагогије* [*The History of Pedagogy*], *op. cit.*, 562.

²⁶ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Педагошке поуке за учитеље...* [*Pedagogical Lessons for Teachers...*], *op. cit.*, 6.

be better, more skillful and happier with his training, lessons and reproof”²⁷

Milan Đ. Milićević was a person with firm and steady morals, and he built his pedagogical viewpoints and folk pedagogy on the basis of moral education and upbringing. He believed that teaching methods had to be in harmony with the child’s physical, mental, moral and religious nature, and that the main aim of teaching should be “the development of the body and mind, working habits, and the cultivation and strengthening of moral emotions in children”²⁸ He was convinced that music had a great effect on the moral upbringing and education of a child, because upbringing “treats the heart” and education “educates the mind”²⁹

Regarding Milićević’s ethical beliefs, the basic role of the school system was to spread the awareness of national unity.³⁰ In order to achieve this, it was necessary for the teacher, on the one hand, to build and maintain the students’ religious feeling and to teach them to sing in church.³¹ On the other hand, the teacher should develop the students’ patriotism, by teaching them to sing patriotic folk songs.³² Therefore, learning church chants and folk songs in education was the basis of Milićević’s concept of folk music pedagogy.

Chanting in church and teaching church chant in schools

Teaching liturgical singing in the 19th century was a powerful tool for achieving national education goals. It contributed to the understanding of the nation as a community of individuals,³³ particularly pertaining to choral po-

²⁷ Ibid., 3.

²⁸ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Пољед на народно школовање у Србији* [A View on National Education in Serbia], Београд, Државна штампарија, 1873, 34.

²⁹ Светозар Дунђерски, op. cit. 544.

³⁰ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Пољед на народно школовање...* [A View on National Education...], op. cit., 6.

³¹ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Педагошкије поуке за учитеље...* [Pedagogical Lessons for Teachers...], op. cit., 8.

³² Ibid., 20–21.

³³ Cf. Ивана Перковић-Радак, “‘Образовање је насушни хлеб’: црквено вишегласје, образовни процеси и српски национални идентитет између четврте деценије 19. века и 1914. године” [“Education is our Daily Bread’: Church Polyphony, Educational Processes and Serbian National Identity Between 1830 and 1914”], *Музикологија/Musicology*, 7, 2007, 203.

lyphony, the role of which was considered progressive in education.³⁴ However, throughout the entire 19th century, and at the beginning of the 20th century, traditional Serbian church chant, the so-called “Karlovci chant”, was part of the music curriculum in primary schools, high schools, teacher’s schools and theological seminaries.³⁵ The first chant teachers primarily came to the Principality of Serbia from schools in Sremski Karlovci.³⁶

In Milićević’s notes, we find valuable documentary sources, not only of chanting in church, but also of teaching church chant in schools – especially in the Saint Sava Theological Seminary in Belgrade. At the time when Milićević was studying in the Belgrade Seminary (1846–1850), there were teachers from diverse educational backgrounds. Nevertheless, former students of the schools in Sremski Karlovci had exceptional singing abilities. In this regard, Milićević classified teachers in the Theological Seminary into three categories: 1) *Karlovci theologians*, who were well-trained singers; 2) *Kiev seminarians*, who were not skilled singers, nor did they particularly appreciate church chant; and 3) *Russian academics* “who graduated from the Russian Theological Academy³⁷ and who did not interfere in any matter.”³⁸

Milićević’s comments on the evaluation of the quality of chanting practice in Belgrade (including teaching church chant in the Saint Sava Theological Seminary), including outside of Belgrade, indicate that he was familiar with church chanting because of his family’s experience of liturgical life.³⁹ Moreover, as a candidate for admission to the theological school, he expressed his proficiency in chanting. In the entrance exam, Milićević was first asked to read a few verses from the Psalms, which he already knew by heart, and

³⁴ Ibid., 204.

³⁵ Ibid., 205.

³⁶ Даница Петровић, “Патријарх Јосиф Рајачић – просветитељ, заштитник појања и чувар баштине” [“Patriarch Josif Rajačić – Enlightener, Protector of Church Chanting and Guardian of National Heritage”], in: Радомир Поповић и Дејан Микавица (ур.), *Патријарх Јосиф Рајачић и његово доба (1785–1766) [Patriarch Josif Rajačić and His Epoch (1785–1861)]*, Сремски Карловци и Београд, Епархија сремска Српске православне цркве и Архив српске православне цркве, 2017, 241.

³⁷ This refers to professors of Russian origin, most likely educated in Moscow and/or Saint Petersburg.

³⁸ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Из својих усјомена: белешке за просветну историју Београда [From my Memories: Notes for the Educational History of Belgrade]*, Београд, Државна штампарија Краљевине Србије, 1895, 51.

³⁹ Наташа Марјановић, *Музика у живоју Срба... [Music in the Life of Serbs...]*, op. cit.

then to sing the Transfiguration Troparion. The commission was pleased and announced that not only had he passed the examination and was told to come to school “on Saturday after Vespers,” but also that he received a bursary.⁴⁰ Later, as a young teacher, Milićević was offered the chance to try his hand at teaching this subject, and he did it successfully. After completing his education in 1850, Milićević, in fact, was offered a teaching job in the primary school in the village of Lešnica beside the Drina River. In addition to another subject, he was also teaching church chant in both semesters of the second and third grade, following the primary school curriculum. Milićević was very pleased with the progress his students were making.⁴¹

Milićević’s teacher of church chant with the rule in the Belgrade Theological Seminary was Archimandrite Teodosije Mraović (1846–1850), later the Metropolitan of Serbia (1883–1889). Mraović was a student of the Karlovcı Seminary and a great connoisseur of church chanting, which he mastered through his work with his teacher Janićije Popović, one of the followers of the renowned psalt Dimitrije Krestić.⁴² It is known that in 1885, in an effort to improve the mastery of the chanting skill, Teodosije Mraović established the *Chant Sight Reading Fund* [*Fond za učenje crkvenog pojanja iz nota*]. Its purpose was to develop and nurture notated church singing, and to try to publish the *Octoechos* (*Osmoglasnik*) by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, as a chant textbook.⁴³

Complimenting Mraović for his great chanting skills and the beauty of his voice, Milićević wrote that he was an exceptionally good vocalist and that he sang like a nightingale.⁴⁴ Twenty years after his studies, in his diary entry from April 10, 1870, Milićević recalls that in the church, during the Exposition of the Holy Shroud at Good Friday vespers, he heard Archimandrite

⁴⁰ See: Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Из својих усјомена: белешке за њросветну истјорију Београда* [*From my Memories: Notes for the Educational History of Belgrade*], op. cit., 28.

⁴¹ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Из својих усјомена: две године у служби учитељској* [*From my Memories: Two Years in the Teaching Service*], Београд, Државна штампарија, 1896, 15.

⁴² Наташа Марјановић, *Музика у животију Срба...* [*Music in the Life of Serbs...*], op. cit., 176.

⁴³ Зорислава Васиљевић, *Раји за српску музичку њисмености: од Миловука до Мокрањца* [*A Struggle for Serbian Musical Literacy: from Milovuk to Mokranjac*], Београд, Просвета, 2000, 34.

⁴⁴ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Из својих усјомена: белешке за њросветну истјорију Београда* [*From My Memories: Notes for the Educational History of Belgrade*], op. cit., 42.

Mraović singing the sticheron “Tebe odjejuščagosja” impressively, as he had perhaps never done before.⁴⁵

Reviewing the history of church chant education at the Belgrade Seminary, Milićević highlighted the psaltic and pedagogical qualities of Gavriilo Popović, the first professor of church chant with a rule at the newly established Teacher’s School (1836). Milićević also focused on the teaching methods of Evgenije Simeonović, who taught in the same school from 1841.⁴⁶ Milićević made a note of Popović, who was educated at the Theological Seminary in Sremski Karlovci, and his beautiful singing of church hymns, along with the effort to teach others to sing them nicely as well.⁴⁷ He was also convinced that older Belgraders, who were Popović’s students in choirs, still remember his singing in church. Milićević assumed that some priests, who were also Popović’s students, sing *irmoi* like they used to be sung “at the time when the ancient singing of Fruška Gora was flourishing in Belgrade”.⁴⁸ Milićević wrote about Evgenije Simeonović, a former student of the Karlovci Gymnasium and the Vršac Theological Seminary, and a student of philosophy in Budapest. He stated that Simeonović was an excellent singer and that he strived to teach his students to chant correctly.⁴⁹ Here is how Milićević described Simeonović’s teaching method, characterized by an almost fanatical persistence in sharing knowledge: “Sometimes he would spend two hours drilling 120 students, instructing them how to sing just three words: “The Divine Mercy” [“И велију милост”]. He did not give up until the students learned how to moderate the tone-of-voices in order to express the harmony, beauty and correctness of a song.”⁵⁰

The compliments Milićević paid Dimitrije Popović, the Karlovac theologian, priest in Sombor and catechist of the Serbian Teacher’s School in Sombor, testifies that Milićević was very familiar with the chanting practice among Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy. Milićević asserted that Popović

⁴⁵ Милан Милићевић, *Дневник II (23. септембар 1872 – 6. април 1877)* [*Diary II (23rd September, 1872 – 6th April, 1877)*], приредио Петар В. Крстић, Београд, Архив Србије, 2015, 198.

⁴⁶ Сава Вуковић, *Српски јерарси од 9. до 20. века* [*Serbian Hierarchs from the 9th to the 20th Century*], Београд – Евро, Подгорица – Унирекс, Крагујевац – Каленић, 1996, 186.

⁴⁷ Милан Милићевић, *Кнежевина Србија* [*The Principality of Serbia*], Београд, Државна штампарија, 1876, 35.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 38.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

knew the ancient singing of Fruška Gora perfectly and that he sang beautifully and gladly in church.⁵¹ Milićević strongly recommended that Popović, who was the author of the first chant textbooks⁵² and compiler of an extensive collection of church hymns,⁵³ leave the Sombor parish and start teaching in the Belgrade Theological Seminary. Milićević strongly believed that Popović would improve teaching church chant in this institution.⁵⁴

During the reigns of Miloš Obrenović (1815–1839; 1858–1860), Mihailo Obrenović (1839–1842; 1860–1868), and Prince Alexander Karađorđević (1842–1858), church chant was taught in the first four grades of primary schools in the Principality of Serbia.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the primary school curriculum from 1844 implies that church singing should be taught from the second semester of the first grade to the end of the fourth grade. It also determined that the shared responsibility of teachers and students was to attend church regularly and to sing during church services.⁵⁶ The Law of 1857, regulating that schools had to be next to churches and within church communities, led to teachers becoming dissatisfied. They believed that students had been learning to chant only for the purpose of the church.⁵⁷ In 1840, teaching church chant was included in the Belgrade Theological Seminary curriculum for all four grades.⁵⁸ The law from 1853 prescribed that church chant became compulsory for all gymnasium students. They learned to chant on holidays and Sundays before the liturgy, but only more talented singers took additional afternoon classes.⁵⁹

⁵¹ Милан Милићевић, *Поменик знаменитих људи у српској нарави*, [Heritage Dictionary of Notable People from Serbia], Београд, Чупићева задужбина, 1888, 362.

⁵² *Велика катавасија* [Great Katavasia], 1867, 1880, 1898; *Мала катавасија* [Small Katavasia], 1868, 1879. Станиша Војиновић, “Заборављени Вуков сарадник Димитрије Поповић” [“Vuk’s Forgotten Collaborator Dimitrije Popović”], *Братство* [Brotherhood], 22, 2018, 60.

⁵³ *Велики зборник* [Grand Collection] (1878). Ibid.

⁵⁴ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Поменик знаменитих људи...* [Heritage Dictionary of Notable People from Serbia], op. cit.

⁵⁵ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Школе у Србији...* [Schools in Serbia...], op. cit., 24.

⁵⁶ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Историја педагогије* [The History of Pedagogy], op. cit., 534.

⁵⁷ Марина Гавриловић, *Музичко образовање као сегмент културног развоја града Ниша 1827–1940* [Music Education as a Segment of the Cultural Development of Niš from 1827 to 1940], doctoral dissertation, Нови Сад, Академија уметности, 2012, 50.

⁵⁸ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Школе у Србији...* [Schools in Serbia...], op. cit., 84–85.

⁵⁹ Марина Гавриловић, op. cit. 55.

Since the second reign of Prince Mihailo, when Milićević was the Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, the status of church chant as a subject in the secondary education system had changed significantly. After 1863, when teaching music and violin was officially part of the secondary-school curriculum,⁶⁰ mastering the art of church chanting was no longer the only form of musical education in gymnasiums, gymnasijum-based real schools, and in the Higher Women's School, founded in Belgrade in 1864.⁶¹ However, church chant and teaching violin mostly were elective subjects, intended "only for those who have talent"⁶² and "who wanted to learn them willingly."⁶³ The circular sent to all directors of gymnasiums and real schools, written by Milićević on behalf of the Minister of Education and Church Affairs in 1869, indicates that the educational authorities were very aware of the importance of learning church chant:

It is well known that church singing, when it is beautiful and when it is taught properly, can arouse religious emotions and ennoble human hearts, and thus attract people to church. It is recommended that principals motivate church singing teachers to be dedicated [...] and students to attend school regularly, to listen and to learn.⁶⁴

However, the curriculum from 1874 proposed the temporary dropping of church chant in the aforementioned schools.⁶⁵

Church chant was a subject only in teacher's schools, where it was compulsory for all students who were expected to have a certain level of musicality, a good ear and a good voice.⁶⁶ However, in 1881, secular singing was made a compulsory subject in teachers' schools for all grades, two hours a week.⁶⁷ As for primary schools, the so-called "Novaković Law" of 1882 re-

⁶⁰ Ibid., 56.

⁶¹ Милан Милићевић, *Историја педагогије* [*The History of Pedagogy*], op. cit., 543.

⁶² Ibid., 545.

⁶³ Милан Милићевић, *Школе у Србији...* [*Schools in Serbia...*], op. cit., 80.

⁶⁴ Сф. Димитрије Матић, "Распис Г. Министра просвете и црквених дела свима директорима гимназија, полугимназија и гимназијских реалчица" ["Circular by the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs to all directors of gymnasiums, semi-gymnasiums, and gymnasium-based real schools"], *Школа* [*School*], 2/27, 1869, 627.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Марина Гавриловић, op. cit., 63.

⁶⁷ Александар Растовић, "Стојан Новаковић као министар просвете" ["Stojan Novaković as the Education Minister"], in: Михаило Војводић и Александар Костић (ур.), *Стојан Новаковић – њоводом сто седамдесет њи њ година од рођења* [*Stojan*

quired six-year compulsory education, and included teaching singing among ten compulsory subjects two hours a week. Besides church chant, secular singing first appeared in the primary school curriculum in 1884.⁶⁸

Secular Musicianship – Folk Songs and Dances at Schools

The idea of an ethical value of folk songs was particularly emphasized in the eighties of the 19th century. Its historical significance, as well as its centuries-old role in the preservation of Serbian folk life and folk customs, is romantically idealized. Milićević noticed that the more a place, town or city was intertwined with people's lives, the more often it was mentioned in their songs. That is why, Milićević believed, there were more songs that sing, for example, about Belgrade or Šabac.⁶⁹ A small number of songs about Aleksinac and the Vranje districts, and the Morava river valley, is most likely due to the unfavorable historical circumstances. Namely, as Milićević pointed out, the folk song "carries the signs of the people's fate, it bears the marks of circumstances under which people's lives unfold".⁷⁰

In this turbulent time of the formation of Serbian national identity, Milićević underlined the crucial role of a folk school and music education on a national basis – by which he meant singing Serbian folk songs and dancing Serbian folk dances. He believed that, in addition to church singing – which represented the responsibility of the school to the church – folk singing had to be included in the primary school curriculum.⁷¹ Milićević pointed out that Serbs were "known worldwide for their folk songs", but that our folk school "is not yet capable of giving its unmotivated child a moment of lightness and renewal",⁷² and that the Serbian folk song was not yet used in education. Thus, in April 1875, after a concert held in the hall of the Women's High School, Milićević criticized the conductor Milan Milovuk for not having any Serbian

Novaković – *Regarding One Hundred and Seventy Five Years Since Birth*], Београд, САНУ, 2018, 99.

⁶⁸ The suggested songs to be taught were: "Uskliknimo s ljubavlju" and "Ja sam Srbin srpski sin" (in second grade), "Ustaj, ustaj, Srbije" and "Bože pravde" (in third grade), "Uz'o deda svog unuka" (in fourth grade). Марина Гавриловић, op. cit. 207.

⁶⁹ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Кнежевина Србија [The Principality of Serbia]*, op. cit., 514.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 318, 816.

⁷¹ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, "Педагогијске поуке" ["Pedagogical Lessons"], трећи део, *Школа [School]*, 26, 1870, 404.

⁷² Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Појед на народно школовање у Србији [A View on National Education in Serbia]*, op. cit., 30.

pieces on the program. In Milićević's words, Milovuk "defended himself with all but the right reason", saying that "there is nothing Serbian".⁷³

In addition, to emphasize the importance of Serbian folk songs, Milićević highlighted the importance of the Serbian national instrument the *gusle* in primary school education – in terms of their influence on children's musical expression and socialization, as well as in upbringing – in terms of fostering Serbian spiritual unity, preserving geographical unity, and remembering historical events and heroes from the past. Milićević pointed out that teachers in Belgrade would fulfill their patriotic and teaching duty if they introduced the songs of Sima Milutinović Sarajlija – "Juriš na Beograd", "Stališ Turak' u tvrđinji" and "Uzeće Beograda konačno" to their students. These songs were based on the victory of the Serbian army, which seized the city of Belgrade from the Turks on November 30, 1806, and "there is as much history as there is poetry".⁷⁴ Milićević advised teachers to sing these songs accompanied by the *gusle*; to remind students what was pleasant and what was not when practicing this type of music; to explain the ways in which other nations sing and what instruments they use as accompaniment;⁷⁵ to ask the student "who knows how to fiddle" to sing a song "along with playing the *gusle*", or to do it themselves.⁷⁶ Although Milićević noted that Serbian epic ballads in almost all Serbian districts were sung mainly with a *gusle* accompaniment, the fact is that this instrument was rarely heard at gatherings and meetings of Serbs. In this respect, Milićević noted that there was a dwindling number of singers who, besides having fun, would "portray history to people, the ideals of Serbian heroes, the chapters of family life from various parts of Serbia and thus, incidentally, give [...] interesting geography lessons."⁷⁷

From reading Milićević's diary notes, we learn that he recommended cross-curricular links between the Serbian language, history, geography, physical and musical culture by using the instrument, the *gusle*, in primary education. He also found the cross-curricular connection between musical and physical culture (sound and movement), especially by involving folk dances in primary school. He believed that folk dances and circle songs should be used for gymnastic performance, because then „the work would be

⁷³ Милан Милићевић, *Дневник II [Diary II]*, op. cit., 266.

⁷⁴ Милан Милићевић, *Кнежевина Србија [The Principality of Serbia]*, op. cit., 14.

⁷⁵ Милан Милићевић, *Историја педагогије [The History of Pedagogy]*, op. cit., 23.

⁷⁶ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Појед на народно школовање у Србији [A View on National Education in Serbia]*, op. cit., 30.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

more enjoyable and [...] the monotony of the command would not take away the child's happiness."⁷⁸

Ethnomusicologists consider Milićević the predecessor of Serbian ethnochoreology and the ethnographer who gave the first information about traditional dances.⁷⁹ Milićević compiled a list and systematized titles of folk circle dances by regions, or districts, and published them in his books *Кнежевина Србија* [*The Principality of Serbia*] (1876) and *Краљевина Србија: нови крајеви* [*The Kingdom of Serbia: New Regions*] (1884).⁸⁰ His facts about the number and title of dances that were typical for each individual district, as well as about the instruments that were used to accompany dance, are valuable.⁸¹ The dance genre "Kolo u tri" was notated for the first time by Milićević in the area of central Serbia, under the names Kukunješte⁸² and Moravac.⁸³ Milićević only gave a description of how to dance the Osmica from the Užice and Ćuprija districts: "Step to the right, step to the left, then eight steps in place".⁸⁴ This description corresponds to the description of "Kolo u tri" of later ethnochoreologists which is a symmetrical eight-bar structure of the basic step pattern.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Ibid., 31.

⁷⁹ Оливера Младеновић, "Милан Ђ. Милићевић као претходник српске етнокорологије" ["Milan Đ. Milićević as the predecessor of Serbian ethnochoreology"], рад прочитан на научном скупу *Животи и рад Милана Ђ. Милићевића*, Београд, Српска академија наука и уметности, 1982; Биљана Миленковић-Вуковић, "Библиографија др Оливере Младеновић (1914–1988) – поводом стогодишњице рођења" ["Dr Olivera Mladenović's Bibliography (1914–1988) – On the Occasion of the Centenary of Her Birth"], *Гласник Етнoгpафског института САНУ* [*Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography SASA*], 62/2, 2014, 283; Selena Rakočević, "Tracing the Discipline: Eighty Years of Ethnochoreology in Serbia", *New Sound International Journal of Music*, 41, 1/2013, 68–86.

⁸⁰ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Краљевина Србија: нови крајеви* [*The Kingdom of Serbia: New Regions*], Београд, Државна штампарија, 1884.

⁸¹ Folk musical instruments – "svirke", were: surla (zurla) – longer pipe, wide at the bottom; goč or drum – the instrument used by Đorgovci ("Serbianised Gypsies", Milićević's note); duduk – the long pipe; šušeljka – the small pipe; bagpipes, kaval, frula; šargijata – typical for the Podrinje District. Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Кнежевина Србија* [*The Kingdom of Serbia*], op. cit. 330, 572, 858.

⁸² In different districts the same dance had different names – Kokonješte, Kukunjica or Kokonica. Ibid., 303, 514, 930.

⁸³ Ibid., 557.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Здравко Ранисављевић, *Коло: традиционални њлес у Србији – контекстуални и формални аспекти* [*Kolo: Traditional Dance in Serbia – the Contextual and Formal As-*

Faithful to his idea of national music education, Milićević was categorically against the incorporation of new Western European songs and dances in Serbian schools. He wrote that the fast polka and the “awful waltz”,⁸⁶ *tramblan*, *šotiš-polka*, *polka-mazurka* and some other dances “with which Western civilization makes us happy nowadays” were already heard at that time.⁸⁷ During his visit to the primary school in Crvenica, Milićević noted that “Berber freak songs were already very popular in some places in Austria-Hungary, but they can also be heard on the streets of Belgrade on Sunday evenings”.⁸⁸ He was very critical of the old town songs, and wrote that they are “like some kind of contagious disease”.⁸⁹ Milićević believed that Serbian schools “on the other hand”⁹⁰ should play a decisive role in suppressing these and introducing Serbian folk songs. He indicated that *svirala* (but did not specify which type, authors’ note) had a harmful effect on humans, because its music “spoils the sense of beauty”. He also suggests that dividing music into instrumental and vocal was damaging, because “voices, separated from the content, have something that makes people become spoiled and softened.”⁹¹

However, despite Milićević’s strong commitment to music education on a national basis, there was a need to balance national and pro-European musical features, that is, to harmonize the national idiom with the elements of musical language typical of the heritage of Western European music. On the one hand, patriotic verses were the most common content of songs in songbooks for primary school, and they corresponded to patriotic musical accents firmly established over time such as: the marching tempo, even meter, forte dynamics and, above all, punctuated rhythm.⁹² On the other hand, Western European musical specificities – upbeat, augmented fourth, lower leading tone and agogic accents (*rittenuto* and *corona*) – appeared more often in songbooks for older grades. They were the favorite musical trend of the time and equally used in Serbian romantic lieder and folk song arrangements.

pects], doctoral dissertation, Београд, Факултет музичке уметности Универзитета уметности у Београду, 2022, 18, 257.

⁸⁶ Милан Милићевић, *Кнежевина Србија [The Principality of Serbia]*, op. cit., 865.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 821.

⁸⁸ Милан Милићевић, “Летимичан поглед...” [“A Quick Look...”], op. cit., 373.

⁸⁹ Милан Милићевић, *Кнежевина Србија [The Principality of Serbia]*, op. cit., 821.

⁹⁰ On the territory of today’s Vojvodina (authors’ note).

⁹¹ Милан Милићевић, *Историја педагогије [The History of Pedagogy]*, op. cit., 23.

⁹² Милена Петровић, *Улога акценџа у српској соло њесми [The Role of Accent in the Serbian Lied]*, Београд, Службени гласник, 2014, 16.

Teaching Methods

In his pedagogical writings, Milićević also dealt with the teaching methods. Thus, he mentions that the following teaching methods were used in primary schools: the *analytical or synthetic method* – of native language teaching and teaching the natural sciences, history, literature, religion and foreign languages; the *genetic method* – which combines both previous methods, and the *descriptive method* – based on apparently known models to represent unknown models in geography and history.⁹³

Milan Đ. Milićević advocated an obvious method⁹⁴ and that each method was good if it was used by skillful teachers: “Even an incomplete method, when used by a clever teacher, must give progress [...] it is not the method that makes the teacher progress, but the teacher that makes the progress of a method.”⁹⁵ Milićević advised teachers to beware of “all widely publicized methods”, because a good method “should be simple, concise and understandable, clear, specific and natural, i.e. that its rules and regulations were more palatable. The method should proceed from known to unknown, from simple to complex.”⁹⁶ According to Milićević, the general values of each method were: „*simplicity* – that it is easy to understand, *definiteness* – that its elements leave no doubts, and *accuracy* – that its rules are easy to adopt.”⁹⁷

At the beginning of the seventies of the 19th century, students in primary schools learned to sing troparions by ear, but they previously did not receive any explanations about the textual contents.⁹⁸ Although at that time church melodies were written on a five-line staff, oral tradition was the dominant way of mastering the art of chanting, due to the fact that musical literacy was the privilege of a small number of people.⁹⁹ Milićević believed that this way

⁹³ Милан Милићевић, “Основна школа” [“Primary School”], *Школа [School]*, 7, 1874, 184–185.

⁹⁴ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Појед на народно школовање у Србији [A View on National Education in Serbia]*, Београд, Државна штампарија, 1873, 34.

⁹⁵ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Педагогијске поуке за учитеље...* [*Pedagogical Lessons for Teachers*], op. cit., 51.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, “Педагогијске поуке” [“Pedagogical Lessons”], други део/second part, *Школа [School]*, 19, 1870, 290.

⁹⁸ Марина Гавриловић, op. cit., 51.

⁹⁹ Марина Марковић, *Песме Србљака у једногласним зајисима српских мелографа [Hymns of Srbljak in Monophonic Anthologies of Serbian Chant]*, Београд, Сигнатуре, 2006, 23. About church singing teaching methods see: Предраг Ђоковић, *Српско*

of learning “cannot make progress in chanting”.¹⁰⁰ It is well known that teaching sight singing was introduced at the Belgrade Theological Seminary in 1877, although teaching singing by ear remained the basic method of mastering church chant until the time when Mokranjac, at the St. Sava School of Theology, taught students to sight sing.¹⁰¹ Milićević observed that from December 30, 1865, music started being taught by reading sheet music in Serbian high schools.¹⁰²

Before the appearance of the first teaching guidelines in the 19th century, even good singers did not know singing methods, nor were they able to explain to students how to sing.¹⁰³ The same was the case with teaching secular songs: even in the last decade of the 19th century, there was no plan, system or evolution of the curriculum in singing lessons, nor was the singing taught with understanding. The aim of teaching singing, therefore, was to teach a repertoire list of songs for each grade.¹⁰⁴ Milićević believed that teachers were the most responsible for a poor knowledge of singing methods and a lack of respect for the subject, because they were not sufficiently trained. He was convinced that they had to acquire singing skills at a training school in order to learn how to pass them on to the students.¹⁰⁵ He wrote that teachers did not know how to achieve a teaching goal faster, and that their musical taste was not developed.¹⁰⁶ He pointed out that it would be necessary to have an expert in church singing in the Teacher’s School, who would also, at least, be

црквено појање – теоријске основе и практична примена [Serbian Church Chant – Theoretical and Practical Issues], master’s thesis, Нови Сад, Академија уметности, 2010.

¹⁰⁰ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Дневник I [Diary I]*, op. cit., 25.

¹⁰¹ Предраг Миодраг, “О једногласним записима црквеног појања Корнелија Станковића за време патријарха Јосифа Рајачића” [“On Recordings on Monophonic Church Chanting by Kornelije Stanković During the Ministry of Patriarch Josif Rajačić”], in: Радомир Поповић и Дејан Микавица (ур.), *Патријарх Јосиф Рајачић и његово доба (1785–1861) [Patriarch Josif Rajačić and His Epoch (1785–1861)]*, op. cit., 255.

¹⁰² Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Школе у Србији... [Schools in Serbia...]*, op. cit., 80.

¹⁰³ Марина Гавриловић, op. cit., 142.

¹⁰⁴ Александар Јорговић, *Песарица за православне вероисповедне српске народне школе. Према наставној основи изданој од всл. школској савети [Songbook for Orthodox Serbian National Schools]*. Сремски Карловци: Српска манастирска штампарија, 1897.

¹⁰⁵ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, “Педагогијске поуке” [“Pedagogical Lessons”], четврти део/fourth part, *Школа [School]*, 33, 1870, 510.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

a virtuoso pianist and violinist.¹⁰⁷ However, the situation in schools was unsatisfactory: there were few schools where singing was compulsory, and an even smaller number of schools where singing had an appropriate place in the curriculum.

For Milićević, singing served “an aesthetic interest”,¹⁰⁸ since in his pedagogical work he tended to develop a sense of beauty.¹⁰⁹ He was convinced that beautiful singing had a great influence on a child’s soul and heart, especially on a child who had just started school.¹¹⁰ He emphasized the importance of learning “beautiful songs and sweet melodies”, which help children tame their feelings and soften their personalities.¹¹¹ He advocated training priests how to chant and reported on the poor quality of chanting. Therefore, it is not surprising that children would not listen to this kind of music and that there was a religious and moral decline among the Serbian people. In this regard, Milićević pointed out that if children learned to sing church hymns properly, they would take a step forward in understanding and respecting the art of singing. They would be “a step closer to the church of their ancestors, to the church of the sad and unhappy past, and the happy and bright future days of national life”.¹¹²

The first methods of teaching singing in elementary schools appeared in the early seventies of the 19th century, and were described by an anonymous singing teacher (with the initials A. A.) in Milićević’s magazine *Škola/School*.¹¹³ He focused on the basic features of singing methods: *regularity*, *equality* and *sequence*. *Regularity* meant that the teacher sung the precise tunes of each melody to the children, and took care to ensure that all the

¹⁰⁷ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, “Педагогијске поуке” [“Pedagogical Lessons”], четврти део/fourth part, op. cit. In 1970, it was considered necessary that, in addition to mastering the art of singing, a teacher should be able to play at least two instruments.

¹⁰⁸ Милан Милићевић, “Основна школа” [“Primary School”], op. cit., 154.

¹⁰⁹ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Педагогијске поуке за учитеље...* [Pedagogical Lessons for Teachers], op. cit., 86.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 483.

¹¹¹ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Појед на народно школовање у Србији* [A View on National Education in Serbia], op. cit., 28.

¹¹² Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Педагогијске поуке за учитеље...* [Pedagogical Lessons for Teachers], op. cit. 86.

¹¹³ Considering that the sequel text of the anonymous author entitled “Singing in the National School” [“Певање у народној школи”] was published in the magazine edited by Milićević, we believe that he was well-acquainted with the methods of this teacher.

children in a group repeat the melody exactly as they heard it.¹¹⁴ *Equality* meant that a particular melody was sung always in the same way, so that the children would know which so-called trile to remember.¹¹⁵ It was especially important that the teacher was well prepared for singing, that the first singing was good and correct, that the teacher did not make mistakes while singing, and that every single time the singing was the same. *Sequence* meant that simple songs were chosen first and then complex songs (“entangled”). The melody was not sung as a whole to children since they were not able to memorize long phrases. Hence, it was important to divide them into smaller sections and turn each of them into a lesson, in order to awaken the beauty of singing in the children.¹¹⁶

Milićević stressed three teaching methods: *personal training* – individual work with one student, *group training* (dividing students into groups) and *landing training* – when one of the best students was engaged to replace the teacher in lessons.¹¹⁷ The aforementioned anonymous teacher described that group training was mostly used in music education practice.¹¹⁸ He stated that the teacher would first sing the scale by himself, properly and clearly, by using conducting gestures. He would then introduce the scale degrees to students and write them on the board.¹¹⁹ When the children’s attention waned, the teacher would sing certain tones and point them out with a hand or a ruler. The next step would be to *divide a class into groups*, when the older children or those who could sing properly would sing with the teacher. Finally, the students would sing the scale by themselves, two or three times in

¹¹⁴ A. A. “Певање у народној школи” [“Singing in the National School”], први део/ first part, *Школа* [School], 34, 1870, 527.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 528. So-called trile are an auxiliary teaching tool that visually represents the pitch contour. Namely, these are signs used to indicate the melodic movement and tone duration, for the purpose of reminding the singer of the musical phrase details, which he normally knows well as he knows a certain melody by heart. Therefore, so-called trile could not be used by a singer who had not mastered church chants. Cf. Petar Bingulac, “Crkvena muzika u Jugoslaviji – Srbija” [“Church Music in Yugoslavia – Serbia“], in: Krešimir Kovačević (Ed.), *Muzička enciklopedija* [Music Encyclopedia], I, Zagreb, Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1971, 371; Предраг Ђоковић, op. cit., 116.

¹¹⁶ A. A. “Певање у народној школи” [“Singing in the National School”], op. cit., 528.

¹¹⁷ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Педагогичке поуке за учитеље...* [Pedagogical Lessons for Teachers...], op. cit., 290.

¹¹⁸ A. A. “Певање у народној школи” [“Singing in the National School”], први део/ first part, op. cit., 528.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

a row, without the teacher's help. The teacher would constantly keep the tempo and show the scale degrees on the board.¹²⁰ He would then call on the oldest children in one bench to sing the scale as many times as it took to learn to sing it together as one.¹²¹ Next, he would call on the pupils sitting in the other benches, until the whole class learned to sing the scale. Afterwards, the teacher would sing the descending scale together with the pupils. Lastly, he would ask the children to recognize the tones he would show on the board with his hand or a ruler.

This would be followed by introducing tempo in singing a scale: first, the teacher would sing it slowly and conduct with a ruler; second, he would sing it quickly. Then, the children would sing the scale slowly, several times, and later they would sing it quickly, upward and downward.¹²² At that point, the teacher would sing a scale with dynamics: he would perform the ascending scale quickly, using *crescendo*, and the descending scale using *decrescendo*.¹²³

The anonymous teacher further writes that before learning any melody, sacred or secular, children would sing the scale while standing. Then, they would read the text from the songbook or the blackboard. It is significant that the teacher would write the text on the board before the lesson started, so as not to waste time on copying the text during the lesson. First-graders would receive the text earlier and were supposed to learn it by heart. First they would pronounce the text and then sing it three to four times. At this moment the *landing training method* would be used. According to Milićević's words, it was one of the three main teaching methods.¹²⁴ Namely, the teacher would choose the child who knew the song, to sing it several times together with him, and then to sing alone – two or three verses. In the next breath, the students in the same bench would join him, and they would sing together until they learned it well. After a while, the students in the other benches would join in singing, etc. While the children sang, the teacher would keep the beat, because the beat had the power to encourage the children to sing joyfully and enthusiastically.¹²⁵ The new topic, i.e. the new song section

¹²⁰ Ibid., 527.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² A. A. "Певање у народној школи ["Singing in the National School"], други део/second part, *Школа [School]*, 35, 1870, 541.

¹²³ Ibid., 542.

¹²⁴ Милан Ђ. Милићевић, *Педагојијске поуке за учитеље...* [*Pedagogical Lessons for Teachers*], op. cit., 290.

¹²⁵ A. A. "Певање у народној школи" ["Singing in the National School"], други део/second part, op. cit., 541.

would be learned in the next class – the following day – using the same method. It was very useful for the teacher to ask the children about the similarities and differences between the class on that day and the lesson of the previous day.¹²⁶ In this way, the children learned music according to the well-known association principle and discover the similarities between known and unknown musical contents.

In Milićević's time, songbooks mostly contained verses, but not sheet music. Without sheet music, the space for improvisation was opened. In order to facilitate learning songs by ear, the children often changed the melodies according to their performance skills. In particular, they modified difficult parts, contrary to the teacher's wish.¹²⁷ On the one hand, the teachers had the freedom to set different melodies to the same text, and on the other, to add different texts to the same melodies, which were learned in the first and then in the second grade. This second principle – adding a new text to a well-known melody – is typical for the creation of a Serbian folk song, but it is inappropriate in primary music lessons, because children memorize melodies by recalling the words of songs and vice versa. However, the teachers of that time did not recognize the potential problems of this practice and considered it progressive in a certain sense. They claimed that continuous development did not mean that everything would remain the same over time.¹²⁸

Conclusion

The oeuvre of the versatile writer, Milan Đ. Milićević, helped us to complete the current image of Serbian music pedagogy in the second half of the 19th century. Namely, in his historical, pedagogical and ethnographic works, Milićević dealt with the position of Serbian education, giving a significant overview not only of global trends in education and upbringing, but also of development strategies and teaching methods in music pedagogy. However, this chronicler of social events did not do so directly, but indirectly – considering current educational laws and curricula, publishing the minutes of teachers' unions, and texts by other authors on singing methods, but also

¹²⁶ Ibid., 543.

¹²⁷ Александар Јорговић, *Песмарица за православне вероисповедне српске народне школе* [Songbook for Orthodox Serbian National Schools], op. cit.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

notating observations about musical events, cooperation and socializing with famous musicians, especially with Milan Milovuk.

Milicević was not a professionally trained musician. However, brought up in a traditional Serbian family, he was a great lover, admirer and connoisseur of church music. Milićević's writings bear witness to his firm conviction that teaching music has a crucial role in the moral development of the individual and the community only if it is based on singing church and folk songs. This corresponds to the concept of folk music pedagogy, which was in accordance with the general guidelines in music education in Serbia in the 19th century.

Milan Đ. Milićević was one of the first educators of the modern Serbian state, with far-reaching and significant influence in the field of school organization. He supported the decentralization of education by organizing teachers' unions in local communities, which represented the beginning of local teachers' associations. He also advocated the improvement of teachers' professional training, and organized and personally conducted the compulsory teacher and professor examinations for the entire teaching staff. All of the above was a precursor of the modern concept of continuous professional development for teachers.

Milićević's leadership spirit and advanced comprehension are reflected in recognizing the need for integrated teaching, based on connecting knowledge from different fields. In other words, Milićević encouraged the cross-curricular connection of the Serbian language, history, geography and music, by using the gusle in teaching. He also propagated the integration of musical and physical education through movement, i.e. by including elements of dance folklore in physical education.

Milićević's general pedagogical methods are also applicable in music teaching, since they are characterized by simplicity, clarity, perseverance and accuracy. Likewise, the teaching methods that Milan Đ. Milićević encouraged in teaching – individual work, group work, but also the inclusion of gifted students in the process of sharing knowledge – were already recognized in the Serbian music education practice of that time, and they are still relevant today.

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Summary

Milan Đ. Milićević, the Serbian educator, writer, pedagogue and ethnographer, lived during the second half of the 19th century. He was one of the famous, but today insufficiently known figures from the history of Serbian pedagogy. In this article we reviewed the oeuvre of this versatile writer in order to complete the scene of Serbian music pedagogy (and musical life in general) at the aforementioned time. In his historical, pedagogical and ethnographic works, as well as in his diary notes, Milićević dealt with the position of Serbian education, giving a significant overview not only of global trends in education and upbringing, but also of development strategies and teaching methods in music pedagogy of the second part of 19th century. However, this chronicler of social events did not do so directly, but indirectly – considering the contemporary educational laws and curricula, publishing the minutes of teachers’ unions, texts on singing methods and other education literature, but also writing diary

entries about being acquainted with famous musicians of that time. Brought up in a traditional Serbian family and well aware of the importance of teaching music for the moral development of the individual and the community, Milićević strongly recommended the concept of folk music pedagogy, based on singing church and folk songs. This concept was in accordance with the general guidelines in music education in Serbia in the 19th century.