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BELGRADE HIGHER SCHOOL (1808–1813) AND LEGAL EDUCATION IN SERBIA

The Higher School (Velika škola, La Haute École), founded in Belgrade on September 1, 1808 (old calendar), i.e. September 13, 1808, has already been widely researched, but some significant questions remain unresolved. One of the most important is related to its character and whether it can be considered as the predecessor of today's University of Belgrade, and particularly of the Faculty of Law. New research allows a more detailed assessment of the nature of Serbia's higher education of that time, which can increase our understanding of this issue.

This paper examines higher education in Serbia in the beginning of the 19th century and the legal studies in the Austrian Empire. The professors of the Belgrade Higher School, as well as those who could have major influence on its emergence and profile were mainly Austrian or Hungarian students; it probably favored reception of the Austrian educational model in Serbia. The criteria used for comparisons of the Belgrade Higher School and Austrian royal academies include curricula, the length of schooling, number of lecturers, academic titles and the methods of lecturing. This essay also compares the Belgrade Higher School (1808–1813) with the subsequent Serbian educational institution – the Lyceum in the time when it was founded (1838), finding that the Higher School of 1808 had a more developed legal curriculum than the Lyceum. This article argues that the Belgrade Higher School can be regarded as the predecessor of the University of Belgrade, particularly of its present Faculty of Law and to some extent of the Faculty of Philosophy, and that it was set up similarly to the Austrian royal academies.

Key words: *Legal studies in Serbia. – Belgrade Higher School – Royal Academy. – Lyceum. – Faculty of Law. – University of Belgrade.*

1. INTRODUCTION

This year (2008) is the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Higher School (*Velika škola, La Haute École*) in Belgrade, opened on September 1, 1808 (the old Julian calendar), i.e. September 13 (today's Gregorian calendar).¹ Through its very name, the Higher School left a major impression on the intellectuals of that time. The affection with which the School was held is illustrated by two of its most famous graduates who left written testimonies about its founding and early history, Vuk S. Karadzic (reformer of the Serbian language and creator of the modern Serbian alphabet) and historian Lazar Arsenijevic Batalaka.² There have been numerous attempts to determine the character of the Higher School: was it something like a gymnasium, a school of applied studies, or it had a higher rank, like an academic applied school, or was it the predecessor of the contemporary University of Belgrade?³ What has not been done thus far is to comprehensively analyze the Higher School in the context of academic education in its historical and cultural milieu. This research tends to produce a somewhat more reliable answer to the question raised: should the University of Belgrade and particularly its Faculty of Law link the beginning of their existence to the Belgrade Higher School (1808–1813)?⁴ In the monograph published on the occasion of the 165th anniversary of the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, Sima Avramovic raised the question of higher legal education in Europe and Serbia, claiming that only a comprehensive and detailed comparative examination of the educational institutions of that time, unadulterated by modern concepts, could give a more accurate answer on whether higher legal education in Serbia reaches up to the Belgrade Higher School of 1808.⁵

¹ The difference between the old and new calendar in the 19th century was 12 days.

² V. S. Karadzic, *Material for the Serbian History of Our Time and Lives of the Most Significant Leaders of The Time*, Belgrade 1898, 268–273; L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, *History of the Serbian Uprising, 1st part*, Belgrade 1898, 385–398.

³ A review of opposed opinions on the character of the Higher School from the First Serbian Uprising is found in R. Ljusic "From the Higher School to Lyceum (1808–1838)", *University of Belgrade 1838–1988*, Belgrade 1988, 8–9; Lj. Kandic, J. Danilovic, *History of the faculty of Law (1808–1905)*, 1st Book, Belgrade 1997, 27–28.

⁴ The text of Prvos Slankamenac is an exception, "Foundation and Character of the Belgrade Lyceum", *Modern School (periodical for pedagogical issues)*, 7th year, Belgrade, 3–4/1952, 9–22, in which the author provides a parallel analysis of the curricula on the Belgrade Higher School and the Lyceum, and the syllabi of the Hungarian royal legal academies. It seems that the subsequent authors took over the conclusions of P. Slankamenac without any special investigation of this issue.

⁵ S. Avramovic, "How Long is The History of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade", *Hundred and Sixty Five Years of the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law (1841–2006)*, Belgrade 2006, 12–15.

An in-depth examination of the relation of the Belgrade Higher School and the subsequent Serbian educational institution (the Lyceum), when it was founded in 1838, being finally transformed into the University of Belgrade, will provide insights into the continuity of Serbian higher education. The beginning of the Faculty of Law can also be considered to be 1841 (i.e. the academic year 1841/42), when it was transferred from Kragujevac to Belgrade as a three-year educational institution offering professional teaching of legal subjects. As Avramovic observes:

[T]he Lyceum at the beginning was not clearly a stronger institution than its predecessor, the Higher School. It would be possible even to assert the contrary. It was only in 1840 that the Lyceum offered a three-year program of studies, which allowed a more advanced legal education ... Parenthetically, though this comparison need not be one of significance, the number of teachers at the Higher School and the Lyceum did not differ substantially—there were two lecturers at the Higher School, while the Lyceum had three teachers... Only the third year of the Kragujevac Lyceum was professionally oriented, which was retained at the Lyceum when it moved to Belgrade in 1841. This was almost an identical educational model to the one established by the Higher School much earlier.

This text will also focus on the higher educational system of the Austrian Empire from which its educational model could have been borrowed.

2. LATE 18TH AND EARLY 19TH CENTURY AUSTRIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

There are several reasons why the attention should be directed to higher education in the Austrian Empire. To begin with, many Serbian intellectuals who have played an important role in Serbia's insurgent leadership, when the uprising against the Turkish rule took place in 1804 (including renowned Boza Grujovic – Teodor Filipovic, Mihailo Grujovic, Miljko Radonic, and numerous others), acquired their education in the Austrian-modeled system.⁶ Also, the founder of the Belgrade Higher School, Ivan Jugovic (Jovan Savic), was also educated within the Aus-

⁶ M. Ristic wrote about Miljko Radonjic that after finishing the primary school and the gymnasium he graduated "law or philosophy in Pest". The author continues: "This could mean that his parents were well-to-do, since his brother also received education at higher schools. In a list of 'Hungarian-Serb lawyers' it is mentioned that Teodor Radonjic took the oath for the title of Hungarian lawyer on March 11, 1802. This list also mentions the following Serbs from the then distinguished Serbian families: Teodor Filipovic (called Bozidar Grujovic in Serbia) and Grigorije Savic, the brother of Jovan Savic (called Ivan Jugovic in Serbia), all the three of them in 1802–1803", M. Ristic, "Mihailo-Miljko Radonjic (the first minister of foreign affairs in the restored Serbia)", *Historical Herald*, 1–2, 1954, 239–240.

trian educational area. Furthermore, according to Stojan Novakovic, the whole constitutional action from January 1811 should be attributed to Ivan Jugovic, who became secretary of the Serbian government. Following the death of famous Serbian reformer and educator – Dositej Obradovic, he became the minister of education at the end of March 1811.⁷ Jugovic was a highly knowledgeable person, speaking German, Latin, Italian, Hungarian, and French. He earned a university degree in “Hungarian jurisprudence” in Pest, was a professor in Karlovci with Metropolitan Stratimirovic, secretary of the Backa Bishop Jovanovic. He was an Austrophile,⁸ whose positive orientation towards the Habsburg Empire could have been a major influence on the educational model of the Higher School.

What was the model of higher university education in the Austrian Empire in the late 18th and early 19th centuries? At the time of Empress Maria Theresa (1740– 1780) educational reforms were implemented in the spirit of the so-called enlightened absolutism. Education became a

⁷ S. Novakovic, *Resurrection of the Serbian State*, Belgrade 2000, 337; L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, *History of the Serbian Uprising, II part*, Belgrade 1899, 870. In an informer’s report dated March 1811, discussing the reform of the Government, it was mentioned that “Mladen manages the Secret Office”, and the note says that under Mladen’s name the operations were ran by Jugovic, A. Ivic, *Documents of the Viennese Archive on the First Serbian Uprising, Book IX – year 1811*, Belgrade 1971, 142 (doc. no. 118 dated 3 March).

⁸ See more in L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, (1898), 388–389, 394; M. Ristic, Jovan Savic-Ivan Jugovic, *Archive Almanac – periodical of the Archivist Society of the People’s Republic of Serbia and State Archives of Serbia*, no. 2–3, Belgrade 1960, 263–264. The views of Ivan Jugovic as to the organization of the state central authority in insurgent Serbia (which were in the spirit of enlightened absolutism of the Austrian Empire, whose nature and theoretical basis were known to I. Jugovic from his studies), which provided a theoretical support for the forces led by Karadjordje, inclined to a strong central authority in conflict with the dukes inclined to strong authority in districts and abandoning to the central authority only those affairs that they agree upon, see “The Speech of Ivan Jugovic in the Government (*Правителъствујуућу Совјет*) on February 24, 1810”, *Material for History of the First Serbian Uprising* (edited by R. Perovic), Belgrade 1954, 200–206.

The data for the biography of Ivan Jugovic have also derived from the archive material, i.e.: A. Ivic, *Documents of the Viennese Archive on the First Serbian Uprising*, Book VII–VIII–year of 1810, vol. 2, Belgrade 1966, 612 (doc. no. 469 dated 16 November), 627 (doc. no. 481 dated 24 November); A. Ivic, *Documents of the Viennese Archive on the First Serbian Uprising*, book IX–year 1811, 224 (doc. no. 180 dated 10 April), 299–300 (doc. 259 dated 10 July), 303 (doc. no. 260 dated 13 July), 305 (doc. no. 262 dated 16 July), 306 (doc. no. 262 dated 16 July), 489–490 (doc. no. 399 undated); A. Ivic, *Documents of the Viennese Archive on the First Serbian Uprising*, book XI–year 1813, Belgrade 1977, 35–38, 43–45, 50–51 (doc. no. 39, 47 and 55 dated 16 and 31 March and 8 April); *Дѣловодный протоколъ одъ 1812. мая 21. до 1813. август 5. Кара-Ђорђа Петровица*, edited by Isidor Stojanovic, Belgrade 1848, 93 (no. 1120 dated 26 February 1813), 97 (no. 1134 dated 28 February 1813.); V. B. Savic, *Karadordje, Documents III (1813–1817)*, Gornji Milanovac 1988, 1329–1330 (doc. no. 958 dated 20 November 1813).

central part of the national and public spheres, which was particularly clear after the abolition of the Jesuit Order. On July 21, 1773 Pope Clement XIV issued the document “Our Lord and Redeemer” (*Dominus ac Redemptor noster*), by which he abolished the powerful Jesuit Order (*Societas Jesu*). It was an extremely important event, because the Jesuit Order dominated advanced education in many European states. Their control of education provided substantial wealth for this very rich ecclesiastical order.⁹ Although it was not the Pope’s objective, this move opened the door to the secularization of European schools. Empress Maria Theresa took the advantage of this opportunity to reorganize the educational system in order to produce an educated and loyal civil service bureaucracy. The school system as a whole, including higher education, was only a part of a broader plan to implement sovereign and secular state structure in place of religious education. The intention was to engender an absolutist state with the objective to have all the state affairs placed within the competence of the ruler and newly-created central administration, thus excluding the former feudal particularistic forces.¹⁰

The indispensable ability of Austria to compete with the other European powers in the economic, military, and political spheres led to numerous social reforms, including those in the field of education.¹¹ During the process of centralization of the Habsburg monarchy, the significance of education of the citizens increased. The central objective of the unification of the Austrian legal system was preserving the Habsburg monarchy through the Theresian enlightened system of higher education. To form competent and loyal civil servants was a basic task assigned to legal educators.

The system of higher education of Joseph II, the heir of Empress Maria Theresa, was practically oriented. The reforms of Joseph II performed in the spirit of enlightened absolutism was principally perceptible in the educational system. In addition to the *Patent of Tolerance* of 1781,¹² which implemented the secularization of the school system and opened

⁹ In early 17th century the Jesuits founded an educational institution in Belgrade too (the author obtained a part of the data on educational institutions in Belgrade in the 17th and 18th centuries by courtesy of Dr Slobodan Grubacic, Professor and Dean of the Philological Faculty of the Belgrade University).

¹⁰ R. Meister, *Entwicklung und Reformen des österreichischen Studienwesens*, Teil I: Abhandlung, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 239. Band, 1. Abhandlung/I, Wien 1963, 23.

¹¹ Perhaps it would not be inappropriate to note that the Bologna Declaration on the so-called European space of the higher education has been mostly caused by the need to make this education capable of competition on equal terms with American system of higher education.

¹² R. Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien*, Zweiter Band (Statutenbuch der Universität), Wien 1854, 589 (doc. no. 186 dated 13 October 1781).

the doors to non-Catholics, the Emperor also carried out the elimination of some universities, so that only the universities of Vienna, Prague and Lvov (Lemberg) were retained.¹³ The other higher schools and universities were transformed into lyceums with limited study programs.

The Graz University (*Karl–Franzens Universität zu Graz*) offers a particularly interesting example of transformation of a university into a lyceum. It was transformed into a lyceum in fall 1782 (and subsequently raised again to the university rank by the Emperor's decree on January 27, 1827).¹⁴ The Graz University's Faculty of Law was founded in 1778. In addition to the two years of philosophical studies as preparation (*Durchgangstudium*) for the other subject areas (majors) of higher education, a four-year program of theological studies was offered at the Lyceum, in contrast to the two-year education provided in law and medicine. The Lyceum had only two law professors. The first one, Professor Tiller, taught the subjects of natural law (*das ganze Naturrecht*), the history of Roman laws (*die Geschichte der römischen Gesetze*) and the Roman laws (*die römischen Gesetze*), which included Justinian's *Institutiones*, *Digesta*, et al. The other faculty member, Professor Winckler, was assigned to teach the essentials of general church law and basic principles of the provincial laws (*die Hauptgrundsätze aus dem allgemeinen Kirchenrechte und aus den Landesgesetzen*).¹⁵

The recommended literature indirectly indicates that among the "provincial laws" they taught state, criminal and feudal law, as well as statistics, stylistics and political science. The short notes about the work duties of these two professors show that Winckler was a salaried lecturer of the Pandectae, Digesta, provincial laws and criminal laws, while Tiller was a salaried lecturer of natural, international, public and civil law as well as the Institutions. Admittedly, some parts of the preserved documents also provide contradicting data. The educational topics, the number of professors and all other important parts of the curriculum remained unchanged until the academic year 1810/1811.¹⁶ This model of lyceums as reduced universities was certainly familiar to the Austrian Serbs who

¹³ For more details see P. Skrejkova (Prague), "Die juristische Ausbildung in den böhmischen Ländern bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg", *Juristenausbildung in Osteuropa bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, 163–164.

¹⁴ The similar destiny was also, for example, of the University of Innsbruck, which was reduced by the Emperor Joseph to the level of a Lyceum on November 29, 1781. Such destiny was also shared by the University in Salzburg in 1810 after attaching Salzburg to Bavaria. See more details at http://www.uni-salzburg.at/portal/page?_pageid=117,58990&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL.

¹⁵ *Geschichte der Karl Franzens-Universität in Graz*, Festgabe zur Feier ihres dreihundertjährigen Bestandes, verfasst von Dr. Franz von Krones, O. Ö. Professor, Graz 1886, 465–470.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 474, 504–505, 588–589.

were the founders of both the Higher School and the Lyceum in 1838 and it could serve as their educational model. This particularly applies to the Lyceum, which is obvious from the name itself.

In brief, the reforms of Empress Maria and Emperor Joseph led to the transformation of the university from a corporate body into a national institution, depriving the universities of their autonomy over internal organization and financing, and reducing many schools to the role of educating civil servants.

In search of the “donor country” for potential transplantation, special attention should be drawn to Hungary “and the countries annexed to it” of the Habsburg Empire, as the educated Serbs generally completed their studies within the reformed educational system. Empress Maria Theresa reorganized the entire school system in the Hungarian countries in 1777 through the regulations *Ratio educationis totiusque rei litterariae per Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem ad nexas* (hereinafter: *Ratio educationis* of 1777), which did not regulate only the gymnasiums and universities, but also the royal academies. The royal academies were medial schools that prepared students for enrollment in the universities, but they were also terminal schools for those entering administrative state employment.

The seat of the University in Hungary was relocated from Trnava (a small town near Pozun—*Pressburg*, present-day Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Republic) to Buda in 1777.¹⁷ “At the same time the legal education was extended from two to three years... The university curriculum was designed to provide general education; while the applied skills of the legal profession could be acquired only through practice.”

The University of Vienna had the highest reputation and it was a model other schools followed. Thus the legal studies were entirely organized in imitation of its model. In addition to the traditional topics of Roman, Canon and Hungarian substantive and procedural law, Political Science and Finance were introduced as new subjects, corresponding to the ideas and needs of the absolutist government. In addition, Empress Maria Theresa also introduced the Natural Law into the curriculum. A new

¹⁷ K. Gönczi (Budapest/Frankfurt a. M.), “Die Juristenausbildung in Ungarn vom aufgeklärten Absolutismus bis zum Ende der Habsburgmonarchie”, *Juristenausbildung in Osteuropa bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, 45. Sava Tekelija, in his memoirs *An Account of Life* (preface and editing by Aleksandar Foriskovic), Belgrade 1966, 61, asserts that the Faculty of Law of the Budapest University, which as the date of its formation takes January 2, 1667 when its foundation charter was issued, was relocated from Trnava to Buda in 1776. In the monograph of the Budapest Faculty of Law on the occasion of 300th anniversary it is not mentioned explicitly, but it can be indirectly inferred that it happened in 1777, after the publication of *Ratio educationis* of 1777, see *История Юридического факультета Будапештского университета имени Лоранда Этвеша (1667–1967 GG.)*, Budapest 1967, 12.

course entitled “Constitutions of the European States” brought a comparative perspective into legal education and this subject was designed according to the model provided by Göttingen University. The science of sources, heraldics and numismatics were also offered by the Faculty of Philosophy also following the Göttingen model. The professors were directly invited and appointed by the Empress to lecture on these subjects.

A significant novelty of the Theresian educational reforms was that Natural Law was introduced into the gymnasiums. The Theresian reform promoted the secularization of science and education, on one hand, and provided a step toward the development of a national legal culture, on the other.¹⁸

The *Ratio educationis* of 1777 established Royal Academies of Science (*Regia scientiarum Academia*) that provided three two-year courses—philosophy, law and theology.¹⁹ The two-year philosophy course (*cursus philosophicus*) would be completed first, after which the two-year legal course (*cursus iuridicus*) would be attended. The university reform of Empress Maria Theresa in the early seventies—several years prior to the publication of the *Ratio educationis* of 1777—provided that the Faculty of Philosophy was only a preparation for the other faculties, but not an autonomous educational institution.²⁰ The *Ratio educationis* of 1777 also mandated the royal academies that provided the second degree of the state legal education. The reason for introducing the academies into the system of higher education could have been that the Buda University (in 1784 the seat of the University and its Faculty of Law moved to Pest) was too distant for the students from remote areas to reach. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Empress originally created these educational institutions with the aim of producing a greater number of loyal and competent lawyers for her civil service. According to the provisions of the *Ratio educationis* of 1777 in the Hungarian countries there are five royal academies covering the study of law. They are located in five districts with their seats in *Agram* (Zagreb), *Raab* (Djur)—from 1785 to 1802, *Fünfkirchen*

¹⁸ About reforms in the University in Hungary see K. Gönczi, 46–47. About the Faculty of Law of the Vienna University at the end of 18th and in the early 19th centuries see the voluminous work of Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien*, Erster Band (Geschichtliche Darstellung der Entstehung und Entwicklung der Universität bis zur Neuzeit. Sammt urkundlichen Beilagen), I Theil (Geschichtliche Darstellung), Wien 1854, 519–622. The second volume of the first book – II Theil (Urkundliche Beilagen) and the second book – Zweiter Band (Statutenbuch der Universität) provide documents significant for the history of the Vienna University, but also in general for the history of universities and the overall system of higher education in the Habsburg Monarchy. See Ilse Reiter’s text on education of jurists at the Faculty of Law of the Vienna University, in particular the pages 5–11, on the website of this faculty: http://www.juridicum.at/index.php?option=com_content&task.

¹⁹ This text will not be examining the theological studies.

²⁰ R. Meister, 27.

(Pečuy), *Kaschau* (Košice), *Tyrnau* (Trnava)—in 1784 relocated to *Pressburg* (Pozsony, present-day Bratislava) and *Grosswardein* (Oradea).²¹ The district royal academies were regarded as the “daughters of the University” (in Buda and subsequently Pest), due to their links to the University.²²

According to the provisions of the *Ratio educationis* of 1777, the teaching subjects in the department of philosophy were as follows—in the first year: *Logica* (logic), *Mathesis pura* (pure mathematics), *Historia Pragmatica Hungariae* (pragmatic history of Hungary), *Historia naturalis usum in oeconomia rustica et in artefactis* (natural history used in rural economy and artifacts), *Historia Philosophiae* (history of philosophy), *Mathesis adplicata* (applied mathematics), *Collegium novorum* (collegium of public news).

The following subjects were taught in the second year: *Historia Religionis Ecclesie et Eruditorum Hungariae* (history of church and scholarship of Hungary), *Physica* (physics), *Philosophia practica* (practical philosophy), *Mathesis adplicata ad Oeconomicum rusticam et artefacta* (mathematics applied in rural economy and artifacts), *Historia Imperatorum et ditiorum haereditariarum* (history of the emperors and the hereditary countries), *Metaphysica* (metaphysics) and *Collegium novorum* (on Saturdays in both semesters).

These subjects were organized into four chairs: of philosophy, mathematics, physics and history. The curriculum should accordingly be provided by four professors.

The *Ratio educationis* of 1777 mentions that the historical studies in the legal curriculum were designed to widen the knowledge acquired in the studies of philosophy. The history of European countries was taught as part of the academy’s legal studies during the entire first year. The second year of legal studies covered general history that was taught based on the “synchronistic table” (*tabela synchronistica*), also including surveys of the geography of the contemporary countries. The historical re-

²¹ About the beginnings of the study of law at the Zagreb Faculty of Law and generally in Croatia see V. Bayer, “Founding of the Faculty of Law in Zagreb (1776) and its final organization (1777)”, *Collection of the Faculty of Law in Zagreb*, 19, 2/1969, 221–288 (with annexes); D. Cepulo (Zagreb), “Legal education in Croatia from medieval times to 1918: institutions, courses of study and transfers”, *Juristenausbildung in Osteuropa bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt am Main 2007, 81–151.

²² If we put aside the differences that will be subsequently discussed, the difference between attending the classes in the academies and the university were not too noticeable even to the contemporaries. Stephan Tichy in his work *Philosophische Bemerkungen über das Studienwesen in Ungarn, Pest-Ofen-Kaschau 1792*, 78–80 under the subtitle “Unterschied der ordentlichen Vorlesungen auf Akademien, und auf der Universität” infers that the difference lies in the fact that a university has several faculties and offers more academic subjects in addition to regular lectures.

view class was required to cover the history of religion, culture and trade. In addition to this, the professor of history taught his students a “collegium of public news”, i.e. introduced them the current events in Europe and the world, all on the basis of the data from the university journal and other approved periodicals. It seems that this idea was taken over by the Belgrade Higher School, since after history and geography in the first two years, the second and the third year introduce the subject of geographical and “statistical” history of Hungary, Russia, England, France, Poland, Austria and Turkey.²³ The only major difference is the choice of countries: The *Ratio educationis* of 1777 stipulates teaching the history of Roman popes, France, Spain, England, Denmark, Sweden, Naples and Russia since the time of Peter I.²⁴

The *Ratio educationis* provided the following chairs for compulsory subjects of the legal studies at the academy:

- 1) Public Law and Related Issues (*Ius publicum et quae eodem pertinent*), covering four subjects:
 - a) Natural Law (*ius naturalae*),
 - b) General Public Law (*ius publicum universale*),
 - c) International Law (*ius gentium*), and
 - d) State and Church Public Law of Hungary (*ius publicum Hungariae tam politicum quam ecclesiasticum*).
- 2) Homeland (national) Law with Accepted Customary Law (*Ius patrium una cum usibus et receptis consuetudinibus*),
- 3) Political, Commercial and Financial Sciences (*Politica, commercium et rei aerariae scientiae*),
- 4) History of European Countries, General History and Collegium of Public News (*Historia provinciarum europearum, Historia universalis et Collegium novorum publicorum*).²⁵

All the subjects of the first year in an unusually entitled course “Public Law and Pertinent Issues” were taught according to the textbook “Natural Law”.²⁶ This subject was taken over in the Serbian Lyceum under the title of Natural Law.

²³ The concept of “statistics” covered basic elements of the state system, i.e. the constitutional and legal system. See footnote 34 for more details.

²⁴ *Ratio educationis totiusque rei litterariae per Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem ad nexas*, Vindobonae 1777, 306–317 (paragraphs 177–178; also see the table in the enclosure) (hereinafter: *Ratio educationis* of 1777).

²⁵ *Ratio educationis* of 1777, 331–340 (paragraphs 185–189; also see the table in the enclosure).

²⁶ See V. Bayer, 256–258 for details about the subjects of the chair *Ius publicum et quae eodem pertinent* and the textbooks used for teaching in the Hungarian royal academies.

The education of lawyers in the royal legal academies was more practice-oriented than the legal studies at the university. It was “through the royal academies,” says the Hungarian author *K. Gönczi*, that “the legal science and education of jurists in Hungary achieved significant progress... The professors of the academies were recruited for the faculty from the Royal University... The reforms of Maria Theresa essentially contributed to shifting the focus of legal education to the academic grounds.”²⁷ The organization of legal studies in the royal academies and their significance for the development of Hungarian legal culture is illustrated by the Royal Academy of Law in Djur, which was restored there in 1802, to become by 1848 “one of the most prominent centers for legal education” that provided the majority of the professors of the Pest University.²⁸

In 1781, Emperor Joseph II confirmed the *Ratio educationis* of 1777. The teaching subjects were reorganized to better educate the future civil servants. Political and cameral sciences were given central positions in legal education, and a new course was introduced under the strange title of curial style (*stylus curialis*), whose first lecturer at the Belgrade Lyceum was the latter famous Serbian writer and lawyer Jovan Sterija Popovic. This subject dealt with the judicial and administrative procedures.

The second *Ratio educationis publicae totiusque rei litterariae per Regnum Hungariae et Provincias eidem adnexas* was enacted in 1806 (hereinafter: *Ratio educationis* of 1806), which appeared in some of its elements to be a step backwards in comparison with its predecessor from 1777. This was an expression of the age of enlightenment.

The subjects provided by the philosophy department were as follows. In the first year: *Philosophia Theoretica* (theoretical philosophy), *Historia Pragmatica Hungariae* (pragmatic history of Hungary) and *Mathesis Pura* (pure mathematics), while the second year included *Historia Universalis* (general history), *Physica* (physics), *Mathesis adplicata* (applied mathematics), *Philosophia Theoretica et Practica* (theoretical and practical philosophy), and *Historia naturalis, et Oeconomia rustica* (natural history and rural economy). According to the provision of the *Ratio educationis* of 1806 subjects within the philosophy course were offered in a simplified form compared to the *Ratio educationis* of 1777. Essentially, they were reduced to philosophy, mathematics, physics and history (which were the chairs according to the provisions of the *Ratio educationis* of 1777).

²⁷ K. Gönczi, 51.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 61.

The *Ratio educationis* of 1806 brought changes resulting in the progress of the studies of law.²⁹ Firstly, it extended the duration of the legal studies at the royal academies to three years. It omitted general history and history of classes, but it introduced new subjects: Statistics, Mining Law, and the Law of Commerce and bills of exchange. The focus of teaching law at the royal academies was increasingly shifting towards the jurisprudence (and not only to legal practice). The curriculum now included the Roman law in addition to the Natural Law.

According to the *Ratio educationis* of 1806, the legal studies curriculum was structured so that the first semester of the first year included *Ius naturae* and *Ius Ecclesiasticum publicum et privatum*, while the second semester included *Ius Publicum, Universale, et Gentium; et horum in nexu Ius quoque publicum Hungariae and Ius Ecclesiasticum, ut supra*.

The first semester of the second year encompassed *Politia, et Scientiae Camerales* and *Institutiones Iuris Civilis Romani*. The second semester took in *Ius Cambiale, Mercatorium, Ius Feudale in compendio, et Ius Criminale*.

The first semester of the third year covered *Statistica Hungariae, et Ditionum hereditariarum Caesareo-Regiarum, nec non aliorum Europae Regnorum* and *Ius privatum Hungariae, seu Patrium*, while the second semester included *Ius Montanum, seu Metallicum* and *Continuatio Iuris Patrii, et Stylus Curialis*.³⁰

The *Ratio educationis* of 1806 stipulated that the department of philosophy of the Royal Academy should change its name into Lyceum, while the legal department should be simply called the Academy. These two departments form an entirety, so that they were called “twins”.³¹

3. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT

The comparative analysis of the Belgrade Higher School (1808–1813) and the higher legal education provided in the Habsburg Empire of that time (i.e. the royal academies of law in the Hungarian countries of the Habsburg Empire, and the lyceums in other regions of this Empire)

²⁹ About the plans for the reorganization of the studies of law at the Lyceum and the University from 1806, see: C. U. D. Eggers (Hrsg.), *Nachrichten von der beabsichtigten Verbesserung des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in den österreichischen Staaten mit authentischen Belegen*, Tübingen 1808, 383–385. See also the chapter “Gedanken über die Einrichtung des juristischen Studiums” on pages 310–328 of the same work.

³⁰ *Ratio educationis publicae totiusque rei litterariae per Regnum Hungariae et Provincias eidem adnexas*, Budae, 1806, Tab. IX (See also pages 94–95 and 120–121).

³¹ *Ratio educationis* of 1806, 82.

focused on several topics: teaching subjects, duration of the studies, number of the faculty, academic titles and the lecturing method.

3.1. Subjects

The first year students at the Higher School had to learn sketching (measuring, geometry), general history, general geography, calculation, German language. The second year included general history, general geography, calculation, German language (next level), statistics of Serbia, “stylistics” and “geographical-statistical” history of Hungary, Russia, England, France, Poland, Austria and Turkey. The third year included a higher level of German, “stylistics” and “geographical-statistical” history of the aforementioned states, international law (“people’s law”, probably the translation of the German term *Völkerrecht*), state law, criminal law and the “method of judicial proceedings in criminal cases”. In addition to the German language, all the three years included moral education (ethics), church singing and martial arts (drills with a gun and fencing, present at the Russian universities as well).³²

The philosophical studies taken over from the royal academies were provided by the Higher School in a simplified form, as generalized basic courses. History, geography, calculation and geometry (mathematics) covered the whole first and half of the second year of the Higher School, as well as the curriculum at the royal academies in Hungary. The central role of the German language in all the three years of education at the Higher School clearly illustrates Austrian influence.

For a long time the prevailing opinion was that only the third year of the Higher School had a legal character. Analyzing the content of the teaching subjects, Professor Ljubica Kandic refutes this contention:

Some of the subjects taught in the first two years as general compulsory subjects that were significant for the general education of the students of the Higher School, included a lot of state legal subject matters. In this case it primarily refers to the ‘Geographical-Statistical History’... and General Civil Geography (*‘Всеобщие гражданско землеописаније’*)... For that reason we could not accept the existent opinion that the legal subjects were studied only in the third year.³³

This viewpoint is confirmed by the list of legal subjects at the Belgrade Higher School. In the second year these are the “statistics” of Serbia, “stylistics” and “geographical-statistical” history of Hungary, Russia, England, France, Poland, Austria and Turkey³⁴, in the third year “stylistics-

³² V. Stojancevic *et al.*, *History of the Serbian People (from the First Uprising to the Berlin Congress 1804–1878)*, book V, volume I, Belgrade 1994, 76; R. Ljusic, 7.

³³ Lj. Kandic, J. Danilovic, 28.

³⁴ The content of the subject of statistics of that period is very remote from the today’s colloquial meaning of the word. The professor of law in royal academies in Za-

tics” and “geographical-statistical” history of the listed states, international law, state law, criminal law and the “method of judicial proceedings in criminal cases”. The total duration of the legal studies would, in accordance with this calculation, amount to one and a half years, out of three years altogether. Ljubica Kandic concluded that the content of the legal subjects is complex, and that their creators had given them an appropriate theoretical basis.³⁵

A direct comparison of the subjects of the Higher School and the legal studies in the Hungarian royal academies shows the following parallels:

- a) Statistics of Serbia³⁶—*Statistica Hungariae, et Ditionum hereditariarum Caesareo-Regiarum (Ratio educationis* of 1806);
- b) Stylistics (in the second and the third years)—*Stylus Curialis (Ratio educationis* of 1806);
- c) Geographical and Statistical History of Hungary, Russia, England, France, Poland, Austria and Turkey—in the second and the third years (*Historia provinciarum europearum, Historia universalis et Collegium novorum publicorum (Ratio educationis* of 1777);³⁷
- d) International Law (in essence, international public law)—*ius gentium et ius publicum universale (Ratio educationis* of 1777 and *Ratio educationis* of 1806);

greb and Djur, and then in the University of Buda and Pest (where he becomes the rector 1786), Adalbert Adam Baric, in the book *Statistica Europae* from 1792 wrote: “<1.1> Statistica communiter dicitur notio praesentis constitutionis alicuius regni.; <2> Per constitutionem intelligimus complexum iuris publici et obligationum inter subditos et imperantem...; <2.1> Hinc nos dicimus statisticam esse cognitionem status uniuscuiusque regni; per statum vero intelliguntur omnes qualitates et objecta; sic in omni civitate debet esse territorium, debent adesse cives illud incolentes; iam nomine qualitatum intelligimus memorabiles qualitates, quae scilicet ad finem totius civitatis concurrunt, sive dein bonae sint qualitates sive malae.; <3.1> Complexus ergo harum circumstantiarum erit statistica...; <5.1> Triplex ergo statisticae est studium, nempe 1-o Historia regnorum; 2-o enarratio status praesentis regnorum; 3-o complexus propriorum quae docent quid felicitati civium prosit sive obsit” (A. A. Barić, *Statistica Europae 1792, Vol. 1*. Edited by Zeljko Pavic and Stjepko Vranjican, translated from Latin by Neven Jovanovic, Maja Rupnik, Margareta Gasparovic), Zagreb 2001, 4–7. V. and S. Kurtovic, “A. Baric: Statistics of Europe, II part”, *Statistica Europae 1792, Vol. 2*, Zagreb 2002, IX–XXIII.).

³⁵ Lj. Kandic, J. Danilovic, 16–27, 28.

³⁶ L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, (1899), 870–871, says that “in the statistics of Serbia... the professors in the second year of the Higher School read like this” about state organization of Serbia from January 1811. This is a significant evidence on the content of the subject of “Statistics of Serbia”, because L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka was in early 1811 in the second year where the Statistics of Serbia was taught!

³⁷ A. Gavrilovic, *Belgrade Higher School 1808 – 1813 (Excerpt from the History of Liberation of Serbia)*, Belgrade, 1902, 32–42, wrote about the history and current events (just like in the Collegium of Public News) in the script from the subject of geographical-statistical history of some particular states.

- e) Public Law—*ius publicum* (*Ratio educationis* of 1777 and *Ratio educationis* of 1806);
- f) Criminal Law and “method of judicial proceedings in criminal cases”—*Ius Criminale* (*Ratio educationis* of 1806).

To these clearly legal topics one should also add the preserved manuscript of the lectures on General Civil Geography, Paper no. 2 (“*Всеобщие гражданско земљеописаније—географија, Бумага 2*”), as the second part of the general geography, mostly dealing with state law.³⁸ The impression about the legal character of the Higher School is additionally enhanced, as well as the similarity of the Higher School to royal academies of law in the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Empire. The founders and professors of the Belgrade Higher School³⁹ apparently combined the educational principles of the *Ratio educationis* of 1777 and the *Ratio educationis* of 1806.

It is also important to compare the legal subjects set down at the Higher School (1808–1813) with the Lyceum curriculum in 1838 when it was founded in Kragujevac, as the University of Belgrade Faculty of Law considered for a long time 1841 as the year of its foundation (i.e. the academic year 1841/1842), when the Lyceum moved from Kragujevac to Belgrade. The issue is particularly controversial due to the authors who took into account the curricula of the Lyceum (either in Kragujevac or in Belgrade), which were never implemented.⁴⁰ This produces an exaggerated list of legal subjects and the educational contents at the Lyceum at its founding, which makes the Lyceum appear superior to the teaching provided at the Higher School.

The Lyceum in Kragujevac in 1840 had a course in natural law (taught by Jovan Sterija Popovic who also held on his initiative a course entitled “curial style”), as well as “statistics” (taught by Ignjat Stanimirovic). He taught the same subjects in Belgrade during the academic years 1841/42 and 1842/43, until his departure on October 26, 1842 to become the head of the Education Department, and his place was taken by Sergi-

³⁸ See the published manuscript in R. Perovic, (1954), 250–260. In the “Notes on texts” regarding this text the author wrote this on page 335: “This is actually political geography with strong elements from the field of state law.”

³⁹ One should have in mind Ivan Jugovic as well as Miljko Radonic and Lazar Voinovic for the second and third years, which mostly contained the legal subjects.

⁴⁰ Thus R. Ljusic, 16 has in mind the curriculum according to the School Act dated 23 September 1844, which was to be applied from the academic year 1844/45. V. Grujic, *Lyceum and Higher School*, Document of SANU (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), CXXVIII, Belgrade 1987, 36–37, has in mind the “System” from August 1840, but admits: “However, at the founding of the Legal Department of the Lyceum, the realization of the study of law had a modest framework, both in the first year and later”. P. Slankamenac, 19–20, also compares the curriculum, which obviously remained on paper, with the legal subjects set forth by the *Ratio educationis* of 1806.

je Nikolic. “Statistics” was taught by Ignjat Stanimirovic and “policing” by Jovan Rajic, leaving in February 1842, when his place was taken by Georgije Petrovic.⁴¹ Therefore, the legal subjects were only taught during the third year of studies. There were only three (if the “curial style” is also counted, four subjects), compared to six legal subjects in the second and the third year of the Higher School. This clearly confirms that the legal studies at the Lyceum in its early years actually lagged behind the legal studies in the Higher School. It was only from the academic year 1843/44 that three new subjects were introduced into the Lyceum and the legal studies were extended to two years. Only then did the curriculum come close to the regulations of the *Ratio educationis* of 1806, almost fully meeting the 1806 standard after the adoption of the Law on Schools of September 23, 1844.⁴²

The comparative analysis of the subjects taught in these two oldest Serbian educational institutions reveals that higher education, and particularly the legal studies, have their origin already in the Belgrade Higher School. However, there are some more points that could be mentioned.

3.2. Duration

The difference in duration is clearly noticeable: three years of teaching in the Higher School as compared to four years in Hungarian royal academies; a year and a half of legal studies in the Belgrade Higher School, as compared to two years of legal studies in the Hungarian royal academies and Lyceums in other parts of the Habsburg monarchy. However, this difference is much smaller than it appears at first glance.

How long did the teaching last? What were the daily and weekly schedules of teaching? According to the evidence of Lazar Arsenijevic Batalaka, the students of the Higher School had the following schedule:

The professors did not have any fixed number of hours per week for teaching a particular academic field. They came in the morning and in the afternoon to their classes, and they spent as many hours for lectures and for explanation as was necessary. Every day the professors regularly spent three hours in their classes each morning and two hours in the afternoon, totaling five or more hours per day.⁴³

⁴¹ This is shown by the documents in Lj. Kandic, J. Danilovic, 393–394 (enclosure no. 4), 397 (enclosure no. 6), as well as 53–54. V. and *Lyceum 1838–1863, Collection of Documents*, Archive Material on Belgrade University, Book I (edited by Rados Ljusic), Belgrade 1988, 180 (doc. no. 126 dated 1. [13] July 1842) – hereinafter: R. Ljusic, (1988 a).

⁴² The School Act from September 23, 1844, which was to be applied from the academic 1844/1845, see Lj. Kandic, J. Danilovic, 55.

⁴³ L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, (1898), 396.

The students in the Hungarian royal academies attended lectures lasting four hours on a daily basis, while the students of the Higher School attended lectures lasting at least five hours per day.⁴⁴

Furthermore, at the royal Hungarian academies the teaching was held five days per week. They did not work on Thursdays, Sundays and holidays, while the teaching in the Higher School lasted for six working days, except on Sundays and during holidays.⁴⁵ This reveals that the three-year program at the Higher School came very close in its hours of education to the four years of study provided by the Hungarian royal academies. A year and a half of legal education at the Higher School corresponded to two years of legal studies in these academies. The total number of hours of instruction, as well as the “student workload” (in terms of today’s Bologna terminology), is corroborated by an interesting parallel with the Vienna University in the second half of the 18th century. According to the regulations of 1753, students enrolled at the Faculty of Law studied for five years, if they attended two hours of lectures each day. They could finish their studies in four years if they attended three hours of lectures per day.⁴⁶

In addition to this, Lazar Arsenijevic Batalaka declares: “Jugovic’s intention and subsequently (according to Jugovic) Radonjic’s intention as well, was to introduce another class in addition to these two.”⁴⁷ It is quite probable that there was a plan to add additional courses in order to make legal education equivalent to that provided by the royal Hungarian academies of law, a contention which is supported by the subsequent course of the higher education in Serbia.⁴⁸

The only scholar who left original writings about the early Serbian legal education, L. Arsenijevic Batalaka, observed that the classes started on September 1, 1808 (according to the old calendar), and the first students finished their schooling and were sent to serve civil service, seven among them, in August 1812.⁴⁹ This calculation could mean that the Higher School lasted for four years, although it is taken as a commonplace that it was a three-year school. So far, the most acceptable explanation has been given by R. Perovic, who maintains that the Higher School was

⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the material containing the data on the daily and weekly schedules of the lyceums in the Habsburg Monarchy remained unavailable for the author of this text.

⁴⁵ This is indirectly stated in L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, (1898), 397: “In addition to the strictly working days, Vojinovic was teaching due to his own affection...: *moral science* on Sundays and other holidays, after the Church service.”

⁴⁶ R. Kink, (1854 a), 467.

⁴⁷ L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, (1898), 390.

⁴⁸ R. Ljusic, (1988 a), 10.

⁴⁹ L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, (1898), 398.

open in the academic year 1808/1809, but was closed in 1809/1810 due to military reasons, and resumed its work in the academic years 1810 through 1813.⁵⁰

3.3. Number of professors

The small number of faculty at the Higher School was a result of the pedagogical approach of that time, not only in Serbia. From September 1811, when the third year was probably introduced, each year of studies had its own teacher—therefore three teachers was all that were necessary. The lack of professors also prevailed in royal academies. It is confirmed by the conditions in the Zagreb Royal Academy of Law at that time:

This was almost customary at the beginning of the 19th century and up to the 1830s. In 1810/1811 Imbro Domin was the only professor at the Faculty of Law, while in 1825 two professors held lectures in all disciplines.⁵¹

The law school at Graz, which has already been discussed, had also only two professors at its founding, as well as when it became a lyceum (between the academic years 1782/1783 to 1810/1811).

3.4. Academic titles

Neither the Belgrade Higher School, the royal academies of law, nor the lyceums in the Habsburg Empire, granted academic degrees of bachelor (*baccalaureat*), master or doctorate, as their basic mission was to train the students for serving in the civil service. In the Habsburg Empire, granting of academic degrees was solely within the competence of the universities, which is a significant advantage over the royal academies and lyceums. At the royal academies the students were granted certificates testifying to their attendance in classes dealing with particular studies and their passage of the examinations in these subjects. The situation in the Higher School appears similar, as revealed in the words of L. Arsenijevic Batalaka: “In August, following the end of examinations in 1812, seven students left this school upon the completion of several described disciplines, to go to civil service.”⁵²

3.5. Teaching method

The professors who taught at the Belgrade Higher School were students of royal academies of law or the Faculty of Law of the Pest Univer-

⁵⁰ See the text of R. Perovic “Teaching of State Law” (“*Наставленија права државнога*”) by Lazar Voinovic”, *Supplements for the History of the First Serbian Uprising*, Belgrade 1980, 111–123.

⁵¹ D. Čepulo, 113.

⁵² L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, (1898), 398.

sity, where “[t]he level of lectures in law can be explained by the absolutist higher school policy, in which the memorizing of dictation and of the information presented in the textbooks rather than the analysis and development of thought, was the prevailing didactic method”.⁵³ Professors also applied this teaching method in the Belgrade Higher School, which is directly confirmed by L. Arsenijevic Batalaka, who noted that: “Jugovic ... read and explained to his students... the history of the world which he translated from German... However, upon reading, he dictated himself or through one of his students, and they had to write down what they heard.” In another place, he refers to the way Miljko Radonic taught German: “They used to learn in the German language, by heart, from conversations taken from the dictionary, while Radonic composed for them various congratulatory messages in the German language that the students had also to copy and learn by heart.”⁵⁴

However, there is a source pointing out that there were also other forms of teaching. A court document from the time of the First Serbian Uprising describes the entire judicial procedure from the main court hearing to the passage of the sentence. The publisher of this source with a good reason assumed that this account was an example designed to illustrate the judicial procedure in criminal cases (“method of judicial proceedings in criminal cases”), as depicted by Professor Lazar Voinovic. Therefore, it seems that the Belgrade Higher School applied the practical teaching model of the Austrian criminal procedure through exercises (*exercitationes*), probably borrowed by L. Voinovic, who was familiar with it as a graduate of an Austrian Empire law school.⁵⁵ It may be just an additional example of educational legal transplants, to paraphrase the terminology of Alan Watson.⁵⁶

4. CONCLUSION

The model of education, and particularly the legal education, applied in the Belgrade Higher School (1808–1813) was a modification of

⁵³ K. Gönczi, 59.

⁵⁴ L. Arsenijevic-Batalaka, (1898), 388–389.

⁵⁵ For the text of this “fictive” court document and the note on the text see R. Perovic, (1954), 274–306, 337–339. The same author returned again to this document and asserted that the professor of the Belgrade Higher School (1808–1813) Lazar Voinovic, who also taught criminal proceedings, was “undoubtedly the author of this text as well”, R. Perovic, (1980), 98, fn. 3. When compared with the documents of the Austrian courts, this document indicates the judicial procedures according to the Austrian model, v. for example the text of S. Gavrilovic “Trial of T. A. Tican and His Death (1807–1810)”, *Personalities and Events in Times of the First Serbian Uprising*, Novi Sad 1996, 121–132.

⁵⁶ A. Watson, *Legal Transplants: An Approach to Comparative Law*, The University of Georgia Press, Athens – London 1993.

the pedagogical system employed by the royal academies of law in the Hungarian lands of the Austrian Empire, as stipulated in the *Ratio educationis* of 1777 and the *Ratio educationis* of 1806. A similar model was also applied in the other parts of the Austrian Empire (except for Hungary “and the countries belonging to it”), having lyceums with a limited curriculum, initially composed of two years of philosophical studies, followed by two years of legal studies (as well as theological and sometimes medical education). This system of education in lyceums was introduced by Joseph II, who was even more zealous in implementing the policy of enlightened absolutism established by his mother, Empress Maria Theresa. This curriculum was designed to produce competent and loyal civil servants. The intentions of Serbian patriots I. Jugovic, M. Radonic, L. Voinovic, the founders and first professors of the Higher School, were identical: the new born state of Serbia needed a high-quality institution of legal education (“*велико учебно заведеније*”) that would produce skilled civil servants. Was it just a coincidence that the Code of Karageorge, the leader of the First Serbian Uprising, was being written at that very moment?⁵⁷ In any case, in the very same time Ivan Jugovic was invited to establish the Belgrade Higher School and educate the students how to carry out state policies.⁵⁸

The most powerful evidence that the Belgrade Higher School was viewed by its contemporaries as being as good as the royal academies in the Hungarian countries of the Habsburg Empire are the words of a prominent professor of the Higher School, Lazar Voinovic, in the manuscript of his lecture on General Civil Geography. He claims that all these disciplines were within the curriculum of two types of educational institutions: institutions providing higher education (universities and academies) and those providing primary education (primary schools). Humanities and sciences were taught at the universities and academies. However, the distinction between these two types of institutions is that the lectures on the same subject matters were more comprehensive at the universities. Furthermore, the universities had the capacity to grant academic titles,

⁵⁷ For more details see Z. Mirkovic, *Karadjordje's Code*, University of Belgrade Faculty of Law, Belgrade 2008.

⁵⁸ In early March 1811, the Government (*Правителъствујуици совјет*), according to the claims of the Austrian informer's report, decided to recruit young educated men (supposedly Serbs) from the Habsburg Empire, who would spend some time in the Government and after they would go to work at the provincial districts. According to I. Jugovic that would be good for the Austrian cause, because they would have their people on important positions, v. A. Ivic, *Documents of the Vienna Archives on the First Serbian Uprising, Book IX– year 1811*, 139 (doc. no. 116 dated 2 March). The Austrian officials rejected this idea, because, as the deputy head of the police said, as to religion Serbs are closer to Russia than to Austria, and secondly, the ambition could turn these young men to lead hostile policy in relation to Austria, A. Ivic, *Documents of the Vienna Archives on the First Serbian Uprising, Book IX–year 1811*, 165, 167 (doc. no. 140 dated March 15).

whereas this was not the case with the academies.⁵⁹ Vuk Karadzic and Lazar Arsenijevic Batalaka, contemporaries of the Belgrade Higher School, clearly describe it as one of the educational institutions (“*учебним заведенијам*”) that are really top notch, which is made clear by its very name—Higher School (“*Velika škola*”).

For all these reasons, the Faculty of Law and partially the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade can reasonably be viewed as the heirs of the Belgrade Higher School. It was created according to the model of higher education established by the Habsburg Empire. It appears clear that the legal education provided by the Higher School of 1808 considerably exceeded in practice the legal studies available at the subsequent Serbian educational institution—Lyceum, during its early years.

⁵⁹ R. Perović, (1954), 255.