## THE ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION IN MOLDAVIA BETWEEN 1800 AND 1852

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The history of educational system has always been passionate, because it reveals aspects from the daily life of the old communities, disclosing realities which cannot be reproduced from other historical sources. Thus, in Moldovia, in the 19th century, one can notice the more and more articulated development of the public education, which completes the private education, but attended only by children from healthy families.

The public education system has, in practice, an organic development, starting from the needs of the community. In the beginning, only a few public schools exist, attended by very few children. These are schools which do not have an uniform organization and where church people teach from liturgical books. But, starting with the middle of the century, the phenomenon started to developing, the education becoming one of the major preoccupations of the policy in Moldavia. On the one hand, we can notice the existence of an overlapping, between the development of the school network, which continues to grow in a natural way because of the diversification of the society needs and the laws given by the state.

Practically, due to the ever increasing number of schools, a need for uniform reglementations appears, in oder to get solutions to some issues such as hiring and paying the teachers, sustaining the exams, administering the schools, finding new buildings for them, etc. Moreover, in the 19th century, in Moldovia, a significant number of intellectuals, educated at the most prestigious schools in Europe lived, which got actively involved in the development of the educational system. Thus, specialized institutions, created first on a temporary basis, which debate what models to follow, the Prussian and French systems, being prefered. Traditionally, the moldavian space is one of cultural interferences.

However, in the specialised bibliography, there are no studies which deal with the appearance and the development of the specific institutions, which decided on the organization of the educational sytem. Even the masterpiece of V.A. Urechia *Istoria școalelor*<sup>1</sup> (*History of Schools*), makes only a presentation, in the cronistic style. Regarding the period subject to our study, the paper points out the existence of schools, of names of teachers or principals, of some phenomena specific to schools; a framing in the context of political events is attempted while the basic institutions governing the organization of the school network are not of interest. They are invoked simply by reference to documents or policies emanating from them, but without making a connection between the development of the education network and the need for their establishment or without considering the importance and immediate and long-term impact of their work to support the school, to equalize

Urechia, V.A.: Istoria scoalelor de la 1800-1864 cu o scurta introducere cuprindend note din istoria culturei nationale anterioare secolului al XIX-lea si cu numeroase facsimile de documente, semnaturi, autografe etc. volumele I-III. Bucuresti 1892.

education throughout Moldavia, and also with the twin principality, Wallachia, and bring it in line with the latest educational models applied in the West.

Therefore, this study aims to analyze the emergence, development and the role of the administrative structures of the education system in Moldavia in the first part and from the half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the return to primary documents hosted by the archival fund *Ministerul cultelor și ale învățăturilor publice* (Ministry of Cults and Public Teachings of Moldavia), hosted by the National Archives in Iasi (Moldavia's capital at the time) and to the specialized legislation of the time (*Instrucțiunile* (Guidlines) of 1844 and *Așezământul școalelor* (Establishment of schools) of 1851² was very helpful. We had the amazing surprise to find a number of new or previsouly addressed research threads which offer further possibilities now (the precursors of ruler Al. I. Cuza who supported education, school network branching, from the emergence of urban public schools to the increase of the rural ones, to the diversification of specializations (arts and crafts schools, military, trade schools, seminaries, didactic schools).

Also, the development of the network was performed vertically by introducing secondary education cycles and subsequently by introducing the higher one, normalized at first and only theoretical. Moreoever, we came across information about the development of public schools, the increase of the number of private boarding schools, of girls' schools, of minority schools, schools from Bessarabia, after its return to the Moldavia in 1856, the emergence of more unitary organizational rules, which have led up to the seventh decade of the already cited century, to a fully integrated system where private schools, those of minorities and theological ones were subject to official rules. Although their specificity and autonomy was observed, they had to follow the official curricula, in boarding schools they had to teach Romanian, they had to organize exams like in the other units. There is also abundant information about textbooks, teaching materials and curricula of the time, information about famous teachers, about teachers in general; one can perform statistics on students in terms of their number, frequency, gender distribution, scholars abroad, about medical curricula, doctors and doctors from schools and boarding schools etc.

Unfortunately, the documents that shed light on the work of the Epitropy of Schools, the first institution that was concerned with the organization of education, are insufficient to reconstitute its activity. Richer information can be found about the activity of the reunited Department of the Church Estates with the Epitropy of Public Teachings. Thus, in 1849, by means of royal decree no.46, of September 3, 1849, the foundations of the merging between the two institutions were established. The decision was taken after an analysis and had been prepared from a technical point of view, with great minuteness, by pursuing practical solutions that could lead to the possibility of its application. As shown in the royal decree, they took into account that in more developed countries in terms of education, its activity is regulated by wealthy and powerful departments and moreover, the merging with the Church Estates Department was logical, given the affinity of the two areas<sup>3</sup>. It is true that in most schools the clerics would teach using liturgical books, but through this merger they also pursued the consolidation of the Department of Church Estates and Public Teachings, especially since the political context allowed it. Moldavia was, at that time, in 1849, in a time of change of the political and legal status, sealed by the Convention from Balta-Liman. Therefore, despite the restrictive nature of that Convention, Romanian poli-

Manualul administrativ al Principatului Moldovei cuprinzatoriu legilor și dispozitiilor introduse in tara de la anul 1832 până la 1855 inoranduite de o comisie din inaltul ordin al Inaltimei Sale Princepelui Domnitor al Moldovei Grigorie A. Giga Voievod. Iasi 1856.

Serviciul Județean Iasi al Arhivelor Nationale (hereafter SJIAN), fund Ministerul Cultelor si al Instructiunilor Publice- Bucuresti (hereafter, MCIP-B.), file 116/1849 (hereafter, f.), leaf (hereafter l.) 2.

ticians had at least tried to modernize the institutional organization field by aligning it to European realities. Thus, they invoked art.3 of the Convention from Balta-Liman, which allowed for an opportunity to set up a committee for the review of school regulations in force at the time<sup>4</sup>, which was enough to trigger the start of reform.

Unlike Western countries, however, the Principality of Moldavia which was under a Russian Turkish power condominium was required, in advance, to obtain for this administrative change the consent of the suzerain power and of the protecting power<sup>5</sup>. The coherence of the practical organization that followed was amazing, proving experience in terms of institutions operation, and most of all in terms of the skilfulness and the prospective view of those involved in the reform. There are many provisions that provide in detail, the outlining of the new structure. Thus, even the royal decree stated that the new department would be headed by a governor of church estates and public teachings and that they would use the notification by means of the official sheet of the state on the closure of the Epitropy of Schools<sup>6</sup>.

On the other hand, even more interesting is the marginal resolution, signed by N. Ghica, the new governor of the unified department, addressed to the Secretariat of State of Moldvia, section II to the Department of Church Estates of September 6, 1849. It had three pages and included synthetically, on points and sub-points, the new structure, with the tasks involved. Thus, a first step would be the submission of all documents and of the cash fund held by the former Epitropy<sup>7</sup>. Then, the merging had to be made public by printing the royal decree on the official sheet8. More complex is the issue of organizing a new Chancellery, when to the two inital sections of the Department of Church Estates they added two more, with a new distribution of duties. Section II became the main financial department and section I became section III9. The future governor, N. Ghica wrote down in the resolution cited above that the activity would take place in three sections and the financial department. This would take place by means of the transformation of section II, which, until that time, was the accounting department. Also, two sections would be added, being recommended as administrative clerk high official Ioan Ciudin and as heads of departments high official Alecu Vuluta and Gheorghe Sion<sup>10</sup>. N. Ghica established even the responsibilities of the financial department and of each section separately and presented the principle used in order to establish it. Thus, he regulated the duties of the sections so that none would interfere with the tasks the other had to perform, "in order to stay away from omissions and mistakes that might happen when a section would work what the other had to work". 11The vision was taken to the point that, it was provided in the future that the archivist of the department would establish the archive on sections, and furthermore, he would constitute the earlier documents on the same principle, so as to be easy to use it when needed. Therefore, the powers of the three sections were defined as follows: the financial department had to deal with accounting, retirement department, local research regarding the state of the assets when they were submitted to owners; the duties of section II were related to education, section III had to deal with documents related to birth, marriage and death produced by priests, with the appointment of the abbots of monaster-

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

Ibidem, l. 1.

Ibidem.

Ibidem, l. 14, In the sender position, it appears corrected by the ruler's handwriting, who writes the resolution, Section I of the Department of Church Estates, with Section III for the position held by N. Ghica..

Ibidem, l.1v.

Ibidem, l. 4.

ies, with the situation of new churches and with the renovation of the old ones, with the care for forests, which were in the possession of churches<sup>12</sup>, with the religious ceremonies during holidays and with the correspondence of the department with the authorities regarding the ordination of priests and deacons and the exit of the priests from the Principality<sup>13</sup>. Section III had to deal with the cause of judgments, primarily, with the prescription of documents and causes of injustice<sup>14</sup>. Also, N. Ghica had in mind that a new space in which the department had to operate was needed because the number of officials and therefore of documents would be much higher. By the same resolution, he provided the solution of relocation to the larger space of Michaelian Academy<sup>15</sup>. The salaries issue was not forgotten either, saying that by means of the anaphora of the Great ruler the wages would be strengthened<sup>16</sup>.

The unification of the two institutions was not without incidents related to the missapropriation of the money from the charity box Epitropy, which, according to the new organization was included in the unification and had to surrender the amounts collected to the financial department. The culprit was high official Constandin Matfieu, former director and treasurer of that House, in the possession of whom had to be found a large amount of 17516 lei and 36 bani<sup>17</sup>. Despite the authorities' attempt to recover the money, by even trying to take Matfieu before the police, probably the damage remained, as the letter signed by him and submitted to the police, by means of which he justified his acts, shows<sup>18</sup>.

It is true that the department reorganization was influenced by numerous personal interests that caused the phenomenon take place more slowly and lose some of the consistency with which it had been originally thought, in theory. Thus, the appointment of the heads of departments took a while, several permutations taking place, as shown in the anaphora (report) of the governor of the department from December 8, 1849, which says that after its reorganization and after the distribution of the specific tasks for each section, Gh Dulcescu, who was formerly head of section I was now transferred in the same quality at section II<sup>19</sup>.

Moreover, when scholar Gheorghe Sion fell out of favour of Governor N. Ghica, he wrote a letter to the ruler by means of which he accused the former of hierarchical disobedience, and for his dismissal to be certain, he related the facts to the act of helping a priest who was head of the revolution of 1848. It is obvious that in 1850, such a move could not be overlooked and, thereby, N. Ghica was exempted from an indictment as department

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, l. 1v.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, l. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem, l. 37.

Ibidem, leaves 47–47v. A copy of the copy of his response "Costandin Matthei given to the Capital Police, on November 9, 1849: "To the address of the honest police no. 15440 of this month by means of which I am asked to answer to the Church Department 17516 lei and 36 bani, left in my possession since the collection of taxes. With honor I answer you that I have guarded my job for 20 years and 4 months, with only one salary of 600 lei per month, at the expense of the Chancellery without receiving any thanks from the Administration, unlike the others who served in other service of land and who are praised and conforted, I married 4 girls to 4 boys and I left them all the fortune I had, being left only with the money of those exempt from taxes, living in my son-in-law's home, Colonel Andrei Stamate who feeds me as if the Administration thinks I do not deserve any kind of reward. I have nothing in order to pay the mentioned debt unless they want to keep the money of those exempted from taxes as long as I live if one thinks clearly because I didn't spend this money in wantonness, but for the household needs such as I have showed you above, and I served without blemish the documents of the General Asembly which they gave me after the end of the financial year by means of which they show their gratitude". Certified copy.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, l. 51.

head<sup>20</sup>. The only good result of this intrigue complex was related to the appointment, on January 27, 1850 of Dim. Gusti<sup>21</sup>, a scholar, a great lover of the school and a pioneer of Romanian sociology and ethnology, instead of Gh. Sion.

The development of public school network (in 1850 there was already a number of schools), but especially the need to respond to practical needs related to uniform curricula, textbooks, teachers' remuneration, etc. led to the establishment on November 2, 1850, of the the School (Council) Board, as seen from the invitations addressed by the Departement of church estates and public teachings to those elect to become members: "Given the need to establish the School Board based on the new project of the establishment of schools, now, suddenly, the Department, before the completion of secondary classes and of faculties, thought fit to establish this temporary board consisting of five persons appointed under the law, who under the chairmanship of the Head or Director of the Department or in absentia of the inspector, would deal with the academic interests by observing the statutes that would be communicated to him. So, as you are among those elected, the Department asks you to come regularly at the established hours in order not to hinder the works with which the Board must deal. <sup>22°</sup>

Shortly thereafter, on November 4, 1850, the Board was expanded with another member in the person of George Sion, whose was thus acknowledged as a scholar and person with a real potential to become a reformer of the school<sup>23</sup>. In the invitation to join the School Board, the Department's officials recognized his qualities: "Having confidence in you and appreciating your zeal you have for intellectual work and your literary knowledge, you are appointed Member of the Board, having the confidence that thanks to your energy and goodwill, you will contribute to the purpose for which they set this Board". 24 Thus, the six members plus the principal and general school inspector had to deal with: "school interests and the implementation of the provisions of Regulations relating to public teachings." <sup>25</sup> One can see the very practical directions that had guided the people in the Department when they set up the new administrative structure. So, on the one hand, education was in need of a projection, therefore, of the development of new school regulations and, on the other hand, there was the need to organize and control the work performed in schools at that time because it was obvious that along with the extension of the school network, a single inspector could not cope with the situation. The provisional nature of this administrative body stressed by the Department was also very interesting, allowing us to understand that they wanted to lay the foundations of a future permanent structure, which would occur after the birth of the new school regulation and after the formation of the university structures<sup>26</sup>.

Council's activity had to be very intense, with regular ordinary meetings, held on Saturday, and, if necessary, members could meet in extraordinary meetings as well<sup>27</sup>. At that time, the establishment of certain commissions and committees to address various issues was a common fact, therefore the Board was organized very fast and consistently, and on December 4, 1850 its members Gh Saulescu, inspector of schools and teachers Scarlat Fiveger, Louis Jordan, D. Stoica, D. Gusti and Gheorghe Sion, determined its *Operational* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibidem, leaves 53, 53v and 54.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> SJIAN, fond MCIP-B., f. 18/1850-1853, l. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, leaves 3 and f 3v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibidem, l. 3v.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, leaves 3 and 3v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibidem, l. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, l. 4.

status<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, the school Council, in addition to regulations regarding education and school network administration, had to deal with the publication and enforcement of the provisions and regulations determined. Another major concern of the Board was related to the supervision of textbooks which had to observe our culture, to be written in an accurate Romanian language, to be consistent with the educational system that was about to take shape, to be edited by observing all rigors of teaching, to observe the school curricula and be appropriate for the children's age, for the number of hours allocated to the subject in question. School exams of all categories, general, of admission to an education form, final exams were still the responsibility of the school Board. It also had the right to decide on the classification of schools and on the methods used to maintain discipline in schools. Matters relating to the internal organization of the Board's activity were very carefully established. Thus, all its proposals had to be approved by the Department, and after that they would be legally binding for all teachers. Then, they established the manner in which the minutes of the meeting would be written, who would write it, who would preside the meetings, who would replace the chairman in his absence, the way in which the archive should be kept and the way in which the correspondence should be achieved. Also, attendance at meetings was mandatory (given the seriousness with which the mission of this new body was approached, as it should lay down rules in a very short time), and the right to opinion of each member was guaranteed. Moreover, divergent views had to undergo deliberations and had to be notified to the Department, and there were times when heated debates took place<sup>29</sup>.

The Council had been always concerned to work in accordance with the spirit of the age. Therefore, all specialized opinions in Europe were heard. Therefore, on November 17, 1850, they requested to the Department the subscription to a few representative European newspapers namely to: *La Revue d'enseignement, La Revue de deux mondes, La Presse, Vestitorul romanesc, Pedagogische Revue.* One can notice that, the models that were pursed, mainly, the French and Prussian ones, as those were the environments which formed most of Moldavian scholars<sup>30</sup>. Out of financial reasons, probably, the Department approved only two subscriptions for *Revue des deux mondes* and *Revista pedagogică germană (German Educational Magazine)* <sup>31</sup>. It was, however, a very balanced choice, as they chose two representative periodicals, from two valuable cultural spaces capable of generating different views, but consistent and motivated, which gave the opportunity to the representatives of the School Board from Moldavia to choose and adapt what was most appropriate.

Shortly after its foundation, the development of the structures of the Board in accordance with the provisions of the *Establishment of schools* (January 1851) which had not been put into practice until then, was required, by means of the appearance of its ordinary structures (March 1851) so as to be representative of all forms of education<sup>32</sup>. Thus, the School Board, besides the general inspector and the principal of the boarding school, had to include another three teachers elected by the teachers of secondary schools and by the university teachers, who belonged to higher education (missing at the time), and therefore they were filled by three teachers chosen from secondary classes, who, together with the inspector, completed the number of five Members<sup>33</sup>. Perhaps the new body had become very popular among teachers, and the wish to become a member very strong. This is ev-

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, l..6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, l. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ibidem, l..8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ibidem, l. 14.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem.

idenced by the elections that took place for the appointment of the new members, when the results were unexpected and very tight<sup>34</sup>. Many of those who were supported by Prince Ghica to occupy high positions in the education area, fell in the popular vote, as teachers manifested their sympathy or disapproval freely<sup>35</sup>. We can notice how all members of the Board appointed initially by the Department, namely D. Gusti, s. Fiveger, D. Jordan, obtained lamentable scores, even if some of them represented certain values in the field of science. Clearly, the aversion was against certain officials of the Department, as the teachers might have punished the relations their peers had built there. Also, it should be taken into account that the elections provided an opportunity for those who inspired confidence among teachers to affirm, and that they saw an opportunity to impose their beliefs on education, which was of course a good thing. Therefore, on March 21, 1851 the teachers of mathematics, Gh. Vasiliu, of Latin, D. Stoica, and of French, D. Popu, all of them famous teachers of the Central School from the capital of Moldavia, Iasi, were elected as Memebers of the School Gathering<sup>36</sup>. Their choice was a surprise even despite of the development of the school at the time, because they had to find interim solutions, to replace the representatives of the boarding school and of the faculties which had not yet been established. Therefore, General Inspector, Gh. Saulescu asked the resort Department to allow him to call "teachers of the secondary school of both extraordinary languages and ordinary subjects as needed"<sup>37</sup> at the extraordinary meetings.

An education system which was developing needed a lot of regulations. We value the systemic vision of the Board's Members, which they manifested at all times. Thus, they were able to say when a new reality in education was looming, to pursue its development and impact and decide what to do, so that it could become part of the system. This is the case of the private boarding schools, whose number grew dramatically in first half of the nineteenth century. Thus, they were listed under the authority of the resort Department and implicitly of the School Board, and were required to organize exams at the same time as other public schools<sup>38</sup>. In the same vein, all the boarding schools principals had to notify the Department on the education cycle they promoted, in order to receive the appropriate curricula developed for public schools because, as General Inspector Gh. Saulescu appreciated, "public education(...) must be uniform." <sup>39</sup> The explanation is very logical as students had to be trained so that they could be transferred, if necessary, or integrated into other educational cycles after graduating from the boarding school<sup>40</sup>. Also, these schools were required to use Romanian as a teaching language. In this regard, there was a problem because people still believed that the use of French was a symbol of belonging to the high class, and moreover, the owners of these boarding schools were mostly, foreigners who did not pay much attention to Romanian language. Therefore, firm regulations were needed. In one of his reports to the Department, the General Inspector explained this decision by saying that "using the example of the boarding schools from other countries, it would be

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, leaves 14 and 16.

Jisidem, I. 20. Thus, after the second round of voting, the following results were obtained N. Măcărescu 0, G. Vasiliu-12, T. Codrescu-2, D. Gusti-3 votes, D. Stoica, 13 votes, s. Fiveger-1 vote, D. Jordan-0 votes, D. Popu-11, D. Columbu-1., V. Peltechi-5 votes, D. Metaxa-5 votes. One can notice how all members of the Board initially appointed by the Department, namely D. Gusti, s. Fiveger, D. Jordan, obtained lamentable scores, even if some of them represented certain values in the field of science.

<sup>36</sup> Ibidem, l.16.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, 1.26.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem.

desirable to teach the subjects in the national language"<sup>41</sup> because by means of it children could better understand what they were taught. He also believed that foreign languages had to be taught only as "languages with their literature", and if the principals refused to observe the provision according to which Romanian grammar, the geography, history of our country and religion had to be taught in the national language, they would be severely punished, even by closing the school<sup>42</sup>.

In the nineteenth century, "the century of nationalities", there was a great concern to promote Romanian language, the national language in schools in Moldavia. On the other hand, school was the most natural environment for the affirmation of national languages and, therefore, the school Council worked hard for the development of good writing and reading handbooks for children. The approach was difficult because the texts had to be written in a very accurate Romanian, but at the same time the opinion of the church representatives was very important, because most of the lessons were religious texts. Sometimes, the latter showed more intransigence in relation to the texts dogmatics than to the language used or to the pedagogical value of lessons. Thus, in 1851, the Department of church estates and public teachings decided to withdraw the reading handbook from the 1st grade<sup>43</sup>. In order to try to find quick solutions, the school Board proposed at the meeting of October 13, 1851 the temporary use of the handbook from Wallachia as it contained "all the prayers that had to be learned by every child so as to be a true Christian". 44Accordingly, the resort Department decided the elimination of its own spelling book and the temporary introduction of the Vlach one, but this decision was greatly criticized. Thus, the Romanian grammar teacher from the Central School in Iasi, D. Stoica, opposed to this measure, arguing that a suppression only because some neologisms were introduced in certain religious texts of the lessons was not necessary and that those two to three pages, where the situation existed, could be omitted<sup>45</sup>. The same Stoica said it would be a good thing to introduce the ABC of the Doctor in Philosophy T. Stamate, so as to no longer need to take over a borrowed handbook, which would be a blot on the face of Moldavian intellectuals<sup>46</sup>. Moreover, the auxiliary role of the handbook in the education process was showed and the fact that the teacher was the one who decided the teaching method and that the main goal was to train young people in the scientific spirit and not turn them into people loyal to some handbooks was also emphasized<sup>47</sup>.

Then, the worst counterargument against receiving the Vlach handbook in the schools from Moldavia was linked to the Romanian language used, as everybody knows that in the southern Romanian space, people used some grammatical disagreements unacceptable in the rest of the country<sup>48</sup>. Moreover, D. Stoica disagreed with the way in which some terms were used in the prayers-lessons, and thus he demonstrated that Vlachs misused in the religious texts "Glorification, to You Lord" instead of "Glory, to You Lord" because "glory" means "honour", "glorification" and "glorification" refers to "Majesty" It is possible that this approach may have had an impact, as on December 21, 1851, section I notifed teacher T. Stamate that the School Board, after discussing on the choice of a Romanian spelling

<sup>41</sup> Ibidem, 1.26 v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Ibidem, leaves 26 and f 26 v.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, l. 44.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, l. 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ibidem, l. 44.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem, l.44v.

<sup>48</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem.

book for primary schools, asked him to participate in the meeting of the Board, "by bringing the spelling book edited by you, both the printed parts and the non-printed parts." <sup>50</sup>

Certainly the most important step of the school Council, which required a huge amount of work, but which had also produced numerous disputes, was related to the achievement of the educational framework-plans in todays' modern language, and to the of study curricula on subjects, namely to the invention of tools by which to ensure the unity of the subjects taught in schools and to facilitate the organic development of information accumulated by children based on their school age. First of all, there had been discussions related to the number of years necessary for the primary cycle, which most children attented. The parties were either in favour of three years of study, or of four. Thus, General Inspector Gh. Saulescu declared himself for the opportunity of four years of primary education, precisely because most children did not continue their studies, and in three years one could not acquire the reading or writing techniques or any mathematical calculations well enough<sup>51</sup>. Thus, he added, ever since 1847, the question of creating the fourth grade, after the German model had been raised, with the introduction of concepts contained in the sciences department and secondary schools<sup>52</sup>. Then, Saulescu also said that it would be good to keep a fourth grade where that fact had already happened, namely in Iasi, Barlad and Galati. Saulescu believed it would have been better to create the fourth grade at the public school in Botosani as well, so that they could exist as centers in order to receive for the last year of study children from nearby areas<sup>53</sup>. These views were taken into account, because the Department responded to the School Inspectorate on October 18, 1851, that the study curriculum had to be developed on subjects for four grades, applying it gradually along with the spread of the establishment of the fourth grade in the Principality<sup>54</sup>. To achieve proper education plans, based on the actual number of teachers in the system, the School Council cared for developing a census regarding their number, as shown in the circular of December 18, 1850.

Thus, the schools from Mihaileni, Botosani, Targu Piatra, Targu Ocna, Roman, Bacau, Falticeni, Targu Frumos, Husi, Vaslui, Tecuci, Focsani, Galati alwere required to provide data on the curriculum taught in their school, the grades it had and the way in which school hours were assigned for each subject and to each teacher and alternate<sup>55</sup>. Subsequently, the Council estimated how many teachers they needed in order to be able to teach what they had planned<sup>56</sup>. The question of the School Council competence to develop the curricula for secondary school was also debated because initially the Department had set only the requirements for primary education. Thus, Saulescu said that he had to deal with the implementation of curricula for secondary school because some teachers of the primary school worked in secondary schools as well, so there had to be a connection between the old and the new curricula<sup>57</sup>.

After all these preliminary matters were finalized, Gh. Saulescu suggested that children had to study in the first year, Reading, Writing and Memory classes, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> year, Catechism and New Testament History, Calligraphy, Romanian grammar, General concepts of geography, Arithmetic elements, Historical concepts from famous biographies, Concepts of

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem, l. 9.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, leaves 51 and 51v.

<sup>52</sup> Ibidem, 1.51v.

<sup>53</sup> Ibidem, l. 52v.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, l. 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> SJIAN, fond MCIP-B., f. 48/1850-1853, leaves 3 and 3v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> SJIAN, fond MCIP-B., f. 48/1850-1853, leaves 89 si 90.

<sup>57</sup> Ibidem, l. 87.

Latin letters and in the fourth grade, Latin reading and writing with calligraphy, Concepts about measurement units, weights and coins, Introductory concepts of geography and history of our country, Introductory concepts of natural history applied especially to agricultural production<sup>58</sup>.

For the secondary education which existed only in the Central School of capital Iasi, the following school subjects were established: *Religion, Romanian grammar, Geography, World history and history of Romanian Principalities, Latin, Greek, Calligraphy and drawing, Arithmetic and mathematics, Physics, Natural History, Introduction to philosophy, French, German and Russian.* There were proposals for introducing Italian and Turkish, for which, however, they had no teachers.<sup>59</sup> The conclusion of the approaches was presented through the report of November 24, 1851 report, which showed that the general curriculum for secondary school with the division by years and semesters was completed and that it was sent to the Department for approval<sup>60</sup>, which approved it on November 26, 1851, as evidenced from the resolution of G. Cuza<sup>61</sup>.

We can thus see, the work efficiency of the school Council in 1851. Earlier that year, the *Establishment of schools* came into effect, which laid the general foundations of the system organization. Then, within a few months, the education schedule and the curricula for primary and secondary schools, from Iasi and from different provinces and districts were established, they made an estimate on the number of teachers available and necesary, for which they required the organization of competitions for appointment<sup>62</sup> and the issue of appointment decrees<sup>63</sup>, so that starting with the 2<sup>nd</sup> semester the new curricula could be applied in schools.

The school Council was aware of all the problems faced by education throughout time and was not concerned only with tracing the main lines. Its members had always treated every aspect that they discussed very seriously. They sought the most effective solutions and they pursued the way in which the problem was enacted in other states that had a longer tradition in terms of the education system. Thus, in addition to their core concern to finish in the shortest time possible the education plans and curricula, they also covered issues relating to the maintenance of discipline in schools<sup>64</sup>, to the decisions that schools needed to take in relation to students' absenteeism<sup>65</sup>, to the supply with teaching materials (maps, well-known literary or grammatical works, which received approval to be employed as teaching books) <sup>66</sup>, to the award of school awards, to the manner of giving marks and the most appropriate terms for them<sup>67</sup>, to the situation of the scholarship students<sup>68</sup> abroad etc.

So, the return to the study of the documents of the time, throws a new light on the beginnings of the system of education in Moldavia as a consolidated system, observing that the legislative work in the field of Prince Cuza would not have been possible without the support of his predecessor Grigore Alexandru Ghica (1849–1853). This ruler had an amazing global vision on the development of an education system, and also a future vi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Ibidem, l. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibidem, l. 89 v and 90.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, l. f 70.

<sup>61</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem, l. 89v.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem, l.89.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem, l. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Ibidem, 1.97.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem, leaves 10, 32 and 49.

<sup>67</sup> Ibidem, l. 64.

<sup>68</sup> Ibidem, l. 67-69v.

sion, a quality proved by the fact that the policies generated during his time were viable and were subsequently put into practice. Another undeniable merit is that he surrounded himself with well-trained people who suggested in a very short time, many steps, by which matters such as the teaching in Romanian, including in private schools (instead of French), the application of modern and valuable curricula, the approvals for the development of quality handbooks, the structuring of education in cycles, the establishment of exam rules, of the awarding ceremony, of the granting of scholarships or of places in boarding schools, the method of financing, of inspection of schools etc were regulated. All these were related to what already existed in the West, but especially they pursued the similarity with the measures from Wallachia, the other Romanian principality (in fact, this concern manifested itself in two ways).

## Organizace a vývoj školské správy v Moldávii v letech 1800-1852

Historie vzdělávacích systémů způsobuje vždy vášně, protože odhaluje aspekty každodenního života starých společenství, včetně skutečností, které nemohou být reprodukovány z jiných historických pramenů. Tak v Moldávii v 19. století si můžeme více všímat veřejného vzdělávání, které doplňuje soukromé vzdělávání, ale účastní se ho pouze část dětí.

Systém veřejného vzdělávání má v praxi svůj přirozený vývoj, počínaje potřebami komunity. Na začátku existuje jen několik veřejných škol, navštěvovaných velmi malým počtem dětí. Jedná se o školy, které nemají jednotnou organizaci a kde probíhá výuka pomocí liturgických knih. Počínaje polovinou 19. století se tento fenomén začal rozvíjet a vzdělání se stalo jednou z hlavních starostí politiky v Moldávii. Na jedné straně si můžeme všimnout překrývání mezi výzvojem sítě škol, která nadále roste přirozeným způsobem dle diverzifikace potřeb společnosti a státní legislativy.

V praxi se, vzhledem k stále rostoucímu počtu škol, objevuje potřeba jednotné úpravy řešení některých otázek, jako je najímání a placení učitelů, podoba zkoušek, správa škol, výstavba nových budov atd. V 19. století navíc v Moldovia značně vzrůstá počet intelektuálů, kterým se dostalo vzdělání v nejprestižnějších evropských školách. Ti se následně podílejí na vývoji vzdělávacího systému. Vznikají tak, nejprve dočasně, specializované instituce, kde probíhá diskuse o budoucím systému, preferovány jsou pruské a francouzské systémy. Moldávie je tradičně multikulturním prostorem.

Návrat ke studiu dokumentů té doby vrhá nové světlo na počátky systému vzdělávání v Moldávii jako konsolidovaného systému. Je zjišťováno, že legislativní úpravy knížete Cuze byly možné jen s podporou jeho předchůdce Grigore Alexandru Ghica (1849–1853). Tento panovník měl úžasnou globální vizi rozvoje vzdělávacího systému. Tyto kvality ukázala skutečnost, že opatření z jeho doby byla životaschopná a byla následně uvedena do praxe. Jeho další nespornou předností je, že se obklopil dobře vyškolenými lidmi, kterým se podařilo ve velmi krátké době uvést návrhy do praxe (např. výuka v rumunštině, a to i na soukromých školách (místo francouzštiny), aplikace moderních osnov, rozvoj kvalitních příruček, strukturování vzdělávání v cyklech, podoba zkoušek, slavnostní vyhlášení výsledků, udělení stipendií nebo zřizování míst v internátních školách, způsob financování, inspekce škol atd.).