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## PHILOSOPHY IN THE OLDEST VOJVODINA'S GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

### Abstract

This paper researches the representation of philosophy subjects and topics in Karlovci and Novi Sad Grammar Schools in the period between the First and Second World Wars. After a thorough analysis of the “Reports” and other available primary and secondary sources about the activity of Grammar Schools, the author concluded the following: there were certain changes in the names of philosophical subjects (Philosophical Propaedeutic (Logic, Psychology, Fundamentals of Psychology), Fundamentals of Philosophy, Philosophy), the scope of study (sometimes four classes a week, two classes in each of the final two grades of the Grammar School, while sometimes only two classes per week in the eighth grade), the content of lectures (Logic and Psychology together, just Logic, just Psychology), the textbooks used in the classroom (*Logika za srednja učilišta*, *Psihologija za srednja učilišta* (Đ. Arnold), *Logika* (Đ. Arnold), *Psihologija za srednje i stručne škole* (B. Lorenc), *Psihologija* (B. Lorenc), *Osnovi psihologije* (B. Lorenc), *Psihologija za srednje škole* (B. Lorenc), *Logika*, *Za učenike učiteljskih i drugih srednjih škola* (B. D. Marković), *Logika* (B. Marković), *Psihologija* (B. Marković), *Osnovi psihologije: za srednje i stručne škole* (B. Petronijević), *Logika za školsku i privatnu upotrebu* (S. Ristić), *Logika* (Sv. Ristić), and teachers (Dušan Spernjak, Panajot Miodragović, Jovan Marčetić, Simeun Grozdanić, Vladimir Vujić, Milivoj Ivančević, Milan A. Jovanović, Petronije Slankamenac, Svetislav J. Marić, Stjepan Vuković, Kosta Nikolić, Marko Jakovljević, Svetislav Banica, Petar Zavrtnik, Milan Jakovljević, Petar A. Jakaša, Pavle M. Tvrtković, Krešimir T. Georgijević, Mladen M. Leskovac, Ivan B. Medić, Miroslav L. Jerkov), however these, in the years that followed until the beginning of World War II, rarely coincided with changes in the curricula, as well as with the adopted laws,

regulations and decrees. Moreover, the research showed that the teaching of philosophy in Karlovci and Novi Sad Grammar Schools had a specific evolution which was significantly independent of implemented changes.

**Key words:** Karlovci Grammar School, Novi Sad Grammar School, philosophy teaching, “Reports”, analysis, representation, period between the two world wars

## Introduction

During the first three years of the Great War, the Grammar School in Karlovac, unlike the one in Novi Sad, was not open. The school years 1914/15, 1915/16 and 1916/17 saw the building of the school used for various military needs, as well as a German military hospital for a while. According to the notes of professor Milan Budisavljević, only when “the last squadron left” the school was able to function when, at the intervention of the Patronat, the approval of the Department for Worship and Instruction of the Royal Land Government came on August 13<sup>th</sup> 1917. By that approval, the new work cycle of the “Serbian Orthodox grand Grammar School of Srijemski Karlovac”, which, along with certain and understandable changes, operated up until the beginning of World War II in spring of 1941.

In the newly created state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, the Grammar School in Srijemski Karlovci continued to operate on the instructional basis valid at the time and on the firm principles of its own rich pedagogical tradition. On April 24<sup>th</sup> 1921<sup>1</sup>, the Ministry of Education brought a decision by which the Grammar School in Karlovac became a state school. Not even an act such as that meant an automatic and direct change in the curriculum, as it continued to work on the earlier designed and established concept (until the school year of 1924/25), by following the experiences and ways of *humaniore* which held up in the prior decades (Tešić, 2011:9).<sup>2</sup>

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1 Article 16 of the so-called Constitution of Vidovdan, which was also brought in 1921, states that instruction and arts are free to enjoy the protection and support of the state, that university education is free, that instruction is under the protection of the state and that it resides on one basis in the whole state, along with the addition that instruction must be adapted to the environment in which it is applied. It is also mentioned that all schools „must give moral education and develop civil awareness in the spirit of national unity and religious tolerance“ (parts of Article 16 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians were taken from the following Internet address: [http://www.arhivju.gov.rs/active/sr-latin/home/glavna\\_navigacija/leksikon\\_jugoslavije/konstitutivni\\_akti\\_jugoslavije/vidovdanski\\_ustav.html](http://www.arhivju.gov.rs/active/sr-latin/home/glavna_navigacija/leksikon_jugoslavije/konstitutivni_akti_jugoslavije/vidovdanski_ustav.html)). The new Constitution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, brought in 1931, summarizes in almost the same fashion the regulation of the status of instruction, arts, schools and education in articles 15 and 16.

2 The grammar school, understandably, was no able to permanently keep such an orientation because it had to take the valid regulations and laws into consideration, along with the speciality of the new state striving to equalize instruction in all grammar schools. It was like that earlier, as well. The relationship of the gymnasium in Karlovac, for instance, and the state authorities was regulated by a royal rescript of August 10<sup>th</sup> 1868, articles 92 and 93, and the later conclusions of the State-church council. The state authorities of the time held the supreme right of surveillance and the instructional methods of the grammar school in Karlovac had to be synchronized with the existing state school regulations and teaching methods of Hungary, Croatia, and Slovenia (Klicin, 1909: 128-134).

Data on classes and matter of Philosophical Propaedeutic<sup>3</sup>, as well as the information on the textbooks and books used in this subject which had certain parts of text from the works of the best and most famous authors and philosophers, are witness of the fact that the grammar school kept its special classical and philosophical-humanistic markings in the first several years after the war.<sup>4</sup>

### **Discussion**

The reports of the “Serbian Orthodox grand Grammar School of Srijemski Karlovac” for the two school years (1918/19 and 1919/20), bring little information regarding the classes in philosophy, and even less that those for the previous school year of 1917/18.<sup>5</sup> They simply state that the Philosophical Propaedeutic was held in grades VII and VIII, without any further detail. The only new thing which may be concluded from them is that there was a change in the teacher i.e. that professor Dušan Spernjak taught Logic and Psychology<sup>6</sup> in both years.

The following four reports (from the school year 1920/21 to 1923/24), have an addition which is invaluable for this consideration – that the instructional basis remained the same as it was in the “Report” for the school year 1917/18. This

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3 The matter with the philosophical portents was present, apart from the plans and programs of philosophical classes, in the framework of other classes, as well, particularly Latin and Greek (Kaluderović, 2014: 276-368).

4 Classic i.e. philosophical-humanities educational orientation and function of the grammar school in Karlovac was nurtured and held by strong involvement by its most famous professors and directors, as well.

5 Philosophical Propaedeutic was taught in 1917/18 in grades VII and VIII of the grammar school. Logic, within the framework of the only strictly philosophical class, was taught in the seventh grade (professor Dušan Spernjak) and Empirical Psychology was taught in the eighth grade (professor Milan Budisavljević). Unlike, for instance, Latin and Greek, the classes of Philosophical Propaedeutic have no details of what was taught in the “Report” of the grammar school i.e. in its “instructional basis”. The only thing we can find in the available sources is that both classes, Logic and Psychology, were taught using the books by Đuro Arnold. In the school year 1917/18 the third edition of his book *Logika za srednja učilišta*, printed in 1907 in Zagreb, was used along with the fifth edition of the *Psihologija za srednja učilišta*, printed in Zagreb in 1906.

6 Having in mind the tendency of over six decades, the author believes it to be entirely possible that Logic and Psychology were also taught during the school year of 1919/20 in the school within the framework of Philosophical Propaedeutic (this is not explicitly stated in the “Report”), and in a similar or identical way as was the case in previous years. Philosophy was taught in the grammar school of Karlovac under the title of Philosophical Propaedeutic, with Logic and Psychology as the classes within its framework, perhaps back in the school year of 1853 and most certainly in 1854.

probably means that Logic was taught in grade VII and Empirical Psychology in grade VIII of the grammar school and that both subjects used the books by Đuro Arnold, *Logika za srednja učilišta* and *Psihologija za srednja učilišta*.

The volume of the matter of Introduction of Philosophy, most likely, was not changed in this period. In all that time (since the school year 1918/19 until the school year 1923/24), the only philosophical class was held in the grades seven and eight of the grammar school for a total of four classes per week i.e. two classes in each of the grades. There is, however, a dilemma regarding the number of classes in Philosophical Propaedeutic in the school year 1918/19. In the overview of classes for mandatory subjects it says that two classes were held in this subject per week for both grades of the school. On the other hand, in the "Status of the professor council" for the same year it says that professor Dušan Spernjak taught Logic in the seventh grade for two classes per week "and 1 class of psychology in the graduate course". No other professor states teaching Psychology that year so the author of this paper is inclined to believe that it is an oversight or a printing error.<sup>7</sup>

Since the introduction of the new curriculum in 1924, the Grammar School in Karlovac gradually started to change its markings i.e. it was transformed from an extremely classical curriculum to one focused more on the natural sciences, synchronizing itself with the needs of the new time and state, as the ruling instructional authorities saw it (Tešić, 2011: 49-111).<sup>8</sup>

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7 The fact that somewhat diminishes the troubles of finding philosophical themes and ideas in the work of the school in the established period, but also in the entire period between the two world wars, are speeches and articles of its professors and directors noted on various occasions. For instance, when writing on the changes in grammar schools, the director of the school in Karlovac, Radivoje Vrbovac, in his paper on the modernization of classical instruction, thinks on the dilemma present for teachers of contemporary humanities and social sciences. Vrbovac held that from the time that natural sciences and technical culture started to be favored, spiritual sciences started to lose value and that perhaps the greatest blow was suffered by classic philology. Not denying the value nor the admiration for the accomplishments of the technical civilization, Vrbovac asks, in "the sense of Socrates' teachings", how much did those findings truly make man better. He also claims that the ancient Greeks, more so than his contemporaries, thought more on the dilemma how to keep man a man. His contemporaries, even when they do reflect on the subject, do so based on the existing grounds, by combining the "old notion and ideas". See: „Izveštaj Srpske prav. velike gimnazije Sr. karlovačke za škol. godinu 1917./18“, Srpiska manastirska štamparija, Sremski Karlovci 1918, p. 20-21.

8 In the „Report of the State grand grammar school of Srijemski Karlovac for the school year 1924 – 1925“, on page 5 in the "Curriculum" section, the aforementioned gradual nature was operationalized in the following manner: "According to the regulation by the Minister of Education SNBr. 27761. of November 14th 1924 and the orders SNBr. 28.688. of November 25th 1924, the new curriculums for the grades I and II are prescribed, which were implemented in this school as well from December 1st 1924 to the end of the school year. The other grades

Regarding the classes of Philosophical Propaedeutic, the “Reports” of the school for this period, sadly, contain no changes regarding the previous years i.e. there are no data on what the curriculum of this subject was like. The rare piece of information available in the “Reports” is which professor taught Philosophical Propaedeutic. During the school years of 1924/25 and 1926/27, Panajot Miodragović taught the philosophical subject in the seventh grade and Dušan Spernjak did so in the eighth. In the school year 1925/26, professor Spernjak, like in the larger portion of the previous period, taught Philosophical Propaedeutic in both grades of the school. In the following school year of 1927/28, professor Miodragović taught Philosophical Propaedeutic in grades seven and eight of the school for the first time. In the school years of 1928/29 and 1930/31 as well, Panajot Miodragović was the professor of Philosophical Propaedeutic for both grades of the school. In the school year 1929/30, professor Miodragović was still the only one teaching Philosophical Propaedeutic, this time, due to the reduction of classes, only in the eighth grade. In the school year 1931/32, professor Miodragović taught the Fundamentals of Philosophy in the eighth grade and professor Jovan Marčetić taught the newly named philosophical subject in the eighth grade. During the last school year considered for the second period (1932/33), professor Marčetić, who “majored” in Greek as well, held classes in the Fundamentals of Philosophy in both grades.

The Philosophical Propaedeutic was taught with the same volume from the school year 1924/25 to 1928/29 regarding the number of classes per week (four) as well as the grades in which the classes were held (seven and eight). The same volume was held for the school years 1918/19 through 1923/24. In the school year 1929/30, there was, however, a change. The volume of classes for Philosophical Propaedeutic was reduced to two classes per week and classes were held only in the eighth grade. The explanation for this reduction is relatively simple at first sight. In the “Report” for that year, it is stated that grades I through VII worked on the curriculum for real schools and grade VIII still worked based on the old classical program.<sup>9</sup> The idea that the volume of classes for Philosophical Propaedeutic was reduced i.e. that it was no longer taught in the seventh grade due to the transition of the school to a new curriculum would be correct if the same principle was held for the following school years. However, even though the following school year (1930/31) functioned based on the new curriculum

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worked on the old instructional basis the entire school year, as was printed in the Report for 1917/18.”

9 „Izveštaj Državne realne gimnazije sremsko-karlovačke za školsku godinu 1929./30.,” Srpska manastirska štamparija, Sremski Karlovci 1930, p. 31.

for grades I through VIII, the volume and number of classes in the “obligatory” philosophy subject was returned to the level applied for the twelve years prior to that (two classes per week in grades seven and eight). The only new thing was the title of the subject. For the first time in the 140 years of the existence of the Grammar School in Karlovac, the subject was called Fundamentals of Philosophy.<sup>10</sup> In the following two school years (1931/32 and 1932/33) the Fundamentals of Philosophy subject was taught without changes in the number of classes and grades (four classes in total, two per week for grades VII and VIII).

The works used in philosophy classes, apart from the already mentioned ones, were: B. Lorenc, *Psihologija za srednje i stručne škole*, Belgrade 1926; B. D. Marković, *Logika, Za učenike učiteljskih i drugih srednjih škola*, Belgrade 1926.

Professors and directors of the oldest Serbian grammar school in Vojvodina attempted to prove for almost a decade that it is an error that their school was equated with all the other schools in the state with the reduction to a real grammar school. It is evident that with the change in the educational profile of the school i.e. its transition into a realistic grammar school, the tendency of the general soft decline of student success rates is also apparent. Vrhovac interpreted this with the circumstance of the insufficiently rigid selection of students during enrollment on the one hand, and with the nature of the new curriculums which, due to their inappropriateness for the function of the school, were insufficiently stimulating and encouraging for a stronger intellectual energy of students on the other. He suggested to the authorities that the curriculums be revised from the ground up and that the school should be returned to a purely classical one.<sup>11</sup>

On the lines of the initiative and involvement of the director of the time, Stefanović, the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia brought

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10 The titles of the philosophical subjects in the school in the period since it was founded were: Ethics („Moralka”, „Nauka moralna”), Metaphysics, History of logic, Logic (Ars cogitandi, „Umoslovie”, „Obraćeno umoslovie”, „Logika čista”, „Lodika”), Psychology („Dušeslovie”, „Opšte dušeslovie”, „Psihologija”, „Psihologia obšta”, „Psihologia osobenna”, „Empirijska psihologija”, „Empirijska psihologia”, „Empirična psihologia”, „Empirična psihologija”, „Empirična psihodija”, „Empirička psihologija”, „Empirička psihologia”, „Psiholodija”) and the aforementioned Philosophical Propaedeutic („Filosofska propedevtika”, „Filosofijska propedevtika”, „Filozofska propedevtika”, „Filosofsko predugotovlenie”, „Filosofična propedevtika”, „Filosofička propedevtika”, „Filozofijska propedevtika”, „Filosofijska propedevtika”).

11 The following director of the school in Karlovac, Velimir Stefanović, in his memo to the Ministry of Education dated December 2nd 1932 also suggested to reinstate the classical grammar school to Srijemski Karlovci: *“As the classical grammar school is also an excellent school to build character and awaken patriotism, the best preparation for philosophical, juridical, medicinal, and theological sciences, and as we have no such grammar school in this area, I suggest and politely ask to return the previous character to the grammar school in Srijemski Karlovci.”*

one of the most important decisions for the fate of the Grammar School in Karlovac on August 19<sup>th</sup> 1933 which stated: „that the State real Grammar School in Srijemski Karlovci, along with the real sections, should open classical ones as well, and it should be done gradually, in the first grade in the school year 1933/34”. This decision initiated the last short developmental period of the Grammar School in Karlovac during which it was a real and classical grammar school at the same time, until World War II (Tešić, 2011: 112-181).

This was the most difficult period for which the structure and details of classes in the Fundamentals of Philosophy were to be established (1933/34-1939/40). The reason is a complete absence of a curriculum i.e. the “instructional basis” for all subjects, including the stated ones, for the seven analyzed “Reports” of the Grammar School in Karlovac.

A few things, nevertheless, are possible to establish. Firstly, as was the case in the previous period, a rhythm of professor changes for Fundamentals of Philosophy was noted in the school. In the school year 1933/34, Simeun Grozdanić taught the subject; for the following five school years (1934/35, 1935/36, 1936/37, 1937/38 and 1938/39) classes were held by Vladimir Vujić; for the last considered school year (1939/40), the professor for Fundamentals of Philosophy was Milivoj Ivančević.

The following confirmed fact is a discrepancy in the subject title. In all the “Reports” of the Grammar School in Karlovac, in what was called the “Curriculum”, the subject is called “Fundamentals of Philosophy”. On the other hand, on the first pages of the report where there are data on the professors, all three professors simply have “philosophy” in their “subjects taught” section.

Furthermore, in the “Reports” of the school there is a list of textbooks used for each of the stated school years. When dealing with books for Fundamentals of Philosophy, their listing according to grades causes, however, two problems. For the school year 1933/34, for instance, in the seventh grade there were two books of philosophy used during classes, *Psihologija za srednje i stručne škole* by Borislav Lorenc and *Logika* by Blagoje Marković, with an addition written for both books “only in the first semester”. Nothing in this note would be problematic if there weren’t for the piece of data that Fundamentals of Philosophy wasn’t taught in the seventh grade of the mentioned school year!<sup>12</sup> A similar dilemma appears also in the “Report” for the school year 1936/37. There, apart from the

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<sup>12</sup> In the eighth grade of the school year 1933/34 (in which there were classes in Fundamentals of Philosophy), *Logika* by Marković was used in class.

fact that books in Psychology and Logic were used in the eighth grade, there is an addition that *Psihologija* by Lorenc was used in the seventh grade, even though there were no classes in Fundamentals of Philosophy for that year either. One can only speculate for which subject or subjects these textbooks were used in a grade in which there was probably, no class in philosophy.

In the eighth grade of the school years 1934/35,<sup>13</sup> 1937/38, 1938/39 and 1939/40, books from Logic and Fundamentals of Psychology (Psychology) were used, which probably represented a framework for the making of the curriculum in the Fundamentals of Philosophy.

In the school year 1935/36,<sup>14</sup> only *Logika* by Marković was used as a textbook in the eighth grade which, possibly, defined the classes for the philosophical subject of that year.

How do things stand for the Fundamentals of Philosophy) Even though the number of classes in Latin began to increase for students of classical sections since the school year 1933/34, and Greek was introduced for the same group of students two years later with a growth tendency, the number of classes in Fundamentals of Philosophy was reduced in the first year when applying the decision of the Ministry of Education! In the school year 1933/34, the volume of classes in this subject was, much like in 1929/30, two classes per week in grade VIII of the Grammar School. Despite the gradual return of classic sections into the system of the Karlovac school, the volume of classes for Fundamentals of Philosophy remained unchanged for all the following years, concluding with the school year 1939/40 i.e. it remained two classes per week in the eighth grade. Students of real sections of the school had an identical number of classes in

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13 The Svetosavski speech held by the director Milan Jakovljević in 1935 only confirms the basic orientation of the school towards *humaniori*. He highlights that one of the main tasks of the modern school is to educate the moral nature of a child. Professor advice, according to him, can significantly influence students, even more by own example *“but the ethical motives of students affect their moral sentiment far more than what we tell them, or we do. If an instinct for their own work and well-being is born from our work and advice, only then is the goal accomplished”*. See: „Izveštaj Državne realne gimnazije u Sremskim Karlovcima za školsku 1934/35 godinu”, p. 19.

14 Jakovljević summarized the relation between school and life in his speech dedicated to the relationship between the home and school in student education in the following manner: *“In the words of the wise philosopher: By the old notion of learning (διδασκων γηρασκω) the limitless function of the school is marked beautifully, understood as a constant and ceaseless element of life in its own course”*. See: „Izveštaj Državne realne gimnazije u Sremskim Karlovcima za školsku 1935/36 godinu”, p. 21.

Fundamentals of Philosophy as their peers in classic sections – two classes per week in the final grade.<sup>15</sup>

New textbooks of classic and philosophical orientation used in this period, along with the already mentioned ones, are: V. Perinović, *Izbor iz rimskih klasika I II deo*; N. Majnarić, *Izbor iz Homerove Ilijade i Odiseje*; B. Petronijević, *Osnovi psihologije: za srednje i stručne škole*, Belgrade 1933; S. Ristić, *Logika za školsku i privatnu upotrebu*, Belgrade 1931.

The suggestion on the return of the Grammar School in Karlovac to the status of a classic grammar school was submitted in 1939 as well by its former director Velimir Stefanović. As well as highlighting its classic status from the very founding in 1791, he added that ancient times must be studied due to the continuity of the very culture of the Serbian people, given that man is an “amphibian” creature i.e. not only a creature of nature but also of history, in his memo to the Ministry of Education. Stefanović, apart from that highlighted that classic instruction contains within itself timeless values representing an invaluable matter for the education of spirit and character. Its obvious pedagogical value is in the fact that “its contents are checked by the spirit of fresh youth”.

The educational authorities did not give their opinion on whether the school will remain in its status, a real grammar school with classical sections or will it be reorganized into a purely classical grammar school i.e. make it what it once was. It seemed that the initiative of many professors, directors, and students to make it an exclusively classical grammar school will be adopted, but the change never came to pass. The reason for that are difficult historical conditions in which the Yugoslavia of the time was. More precisely, the common state fell apart. On March 31<sup>st</sup> 1941, the students of the school received the decision that the school will cease to function, effectively ending the school year 1940/41 – the final school year in the Grammar School Karlovci in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

After a thorough analysis of the “Reports” and other available sources on the work of the Grammar School in Karlovac in the period between the two world wars, the author made the following conclusion:

There were changes in the title of the philosophical subject (first it was Philosophical Propaedeutic named “Filozofijska propedeutika” in the “Reports”

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15 Regardless whether the school in Karlovac was classic, real or real with classic sections, the subjects Philosophical Propaedeutics and Fundamentals of Philosophy were taught, during the twenty-two years considered, in the same volume in all sections. The philosophical subjects were taught mostly two classes per week in almost thirteen decades prior to that.

and then Fundamentals of Philosophy), the volume of the classes (in the fourteen considered "Reports" it was four classes per week, two in each of the final two grades of the school, while in eight "Reports" the philosophical classes were held only two classes per week for the eighth grade), the content (Logic and Psychology together, only Logic, only Psychology), textbooks used (*Logika za srednja učilišta, Psihologija za srednja učilišta*, (Đ. Arnold), *Psihologija za srednje i stručne škole* (B. Lorenc), *Logika, Za učenike učiteljskih i drugih srednjih škola* (B. D. Marković), *Osnovi psihologije: za srednje i stručne škole* (B. Petronijević), *Logika za školsku i privatnu upotrebu* (S. Ristić), as well as professors (six in total: Dušan Spernjak, Panajot Miodragović, Jovan Marčetić, Simeun Grozdanić, Vladimir Vujić, and Milivoj Ivančević), but, in the years up until World War II, they rarely coincided with the changes in the curricula, as well as the laws and regulations. Research, furthermore, showed that philosophy classes in the Grammar School Karlovac had a personal evolution, as well as that the evolution was significantly independent of the implemented changes.

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With the liberation of Vojvodina and its entrance into the common state of the South Slavs at the end of 1918, a new period in the life and operation of the Grammar School in Novi Sad began. Two school years (1918/19 and 1919/20) of school work in the new historical circumstances, went on without significant changes and additions, at first glance. The grammar school still held the name of "Serbian Orthodox grand grammar school", only instead of "in Ujvideku", as was written during the four years of war, it said, "in Novi Sad" and it was under the handling of the Patronat.<sup>16</sup>

The grammar school was a secondary school of a classic-humanitarian orientation,<sup>17</sup> and it is best to illustrate this statement, just like in the case of

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16 Vasa Stajić (1949: 404-405) believes that the grammar school, in the last dozen years prior to the Great War, reached its peak i.e. "the greatest degree in its hundred years of evolution", while the two years after the war, due to the radically changed circumstances which initiated its foundation, were the years of "slight agony", according to him.

17 *Odbrana Sokratova* (pars I (1-24 cc) was, for instance, a part of the eighth grade of the Grammar School in Novi Sad lectures in Greek in 1918/19, but also earlier, in 1914/15, as well as a work of the indicative title called "Plato and Philosophy" (near the end of the "Special curriculum" for the seventh grade in the same school year there is a section called "The teachings of Socrates", which has no additional clarifications so one can only guess what the professors of the Grammar School in Novi Sad taught their students in this segment of classes in Greek). In the last grade in the school year 1916/17, students were also taught the first so-called Socratic description of Plato in a somewhat larger edition (pars. I (1-22), pars III (29-33 cc.), as well as *Kriton* (1-5, 9-13 cc.). In the following school year 1917/18, the minimal mandatory reading materials for

the Grammar School in Karlovac, by an analysis of the available literature i.e. its “Reports”.

The data for “Philosophical Propaedeutic” during this period are scarce. During the school year 1918/19, by the title of the subject (“Philosophical Propaedeutic”) was simply written “Logic” for the seventh grade, while in the eighth grade there was “Psychology”, which was also probably the schedule for the following school year (1919/20).<sup>18</sup>

In the school years 1918/19 and 1919/20, the number of classes for Philosophical Propaedeutic was doubled compared to previous years.<sup>19</sup> Namely, classes for this subject were held in grades VII and VIII of the Grammar School for a total of four classes per week for this subject.

In the two school years after World War I (1918/19 and 1919/20), just like with some other subjects, there is no record of textbooks used for Philosophical Propaedeutic.<sup>20</sup>

By the memo of the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians dated August 27<sup>th</sup> 1920, the “Serbian Orthodox grand grammar school in Novi Sad” became a state school and gained the title “State male grammar school in Novi Sad”. The decision of the Ministry Council stated that “*in the interest of the unity of classes in education*<sup>21</sup> and administrative jobs, the

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Greek contained portions of the *Odbrana Sokratova* („Stare klevete” (1-10 cc.) and “Why does Socrates not cease his way of life” (17-19 cc.) (Kaluderović, 2008: 54-63).

18 The situation is not much better even in the earlier years of the other decade of the 20th century. In the school year 1914/15, for instance, the only thing stated for the 10th subject (Philosophical Propaedeutics) for the eighth grade of the school is that the fundamentals of psychology and logic will be taught. Such a modest piece of information stood in the “Reports” of the Grammar School in Novi Sad for the following two school years (1915/16 and 1916/17). In the school year 1917/18 there were no data on what the students were taught from the only philosophical subject in the eighth grade.

19 The philosophical subject was taught, only in the eighth grade of Grammar School for two classes per week starting at least from 1879/80.

20 The situation with the textbooks used for philosophy is, paradoxically, somewhat better when one takes the “Reports” for the war period into consideration. From the school year 1914/15, *Logika* by Rabijer-Vorms and *Psihologija* by Raf were used. Such a list stood in the “Reports” for the following two school years (1915/16 and 1916/17), while in the school year 1917/18 the book by G. Kornis, *A pszihologia és logika elemei* was used.

21 The Svetozavske speeches held every year had significance for the accomplishment of the educational tasks of the grammar school, held particularly in the period from 1874 to 1914 (the first speech after World War I was held in February of 1920). Professors also took part in the program of these school events (with their presentations on topics in sciences, arts, and philosophy) as well as students (the school choir and other individual presentations). The speeches also highlighted the basic tasks of the educational process in the school, differentiated

*school and educational laws valid in Serbia and Montenegro are spread to the folk, middle, and trade schools, as well as other educational institution in Bačka, Banat, and Baranja*" (Nikić, 1929: 3). In other words, schools had to have a state character.

Vasa Stajić noted that the grammar school of Sava Vuković and Pavao Josif Šafarik ceased to exist by completing its historical mission (Stajić, 1949: 410). Apart from that, the grammar school significantly changed its character by becoming a real grammar school instead of the classical one it was up until then. The act of making the Grammar School in Novi Sad a state school was not disputed by Stajić. Moreover, he considered that to be a natural consequence of historical changes ensuing after World War I, but he objected to the way it was done i.e. the lack of tact by the Ministry of Education during the realization of the act of transition for the school itself. The authorities of the new state of South Slavs did not inform the administration of the school nor the Patronat on making the school a state one. They only informed the Educational Department for Banat, Bačka, and Baranja, and didn't even pay homage to the school for the hundred years of work of the school "*in raising the culture of our people*" up until then.

From 1920, the school worked based on the curriculum as the unique pedagogical document for education institutions of a grammar school type, brought by the Ministry of Education of that state.<sup>22</sup> The grammar school kept the profile shaped in the 19<sup>th</sup> century even after World War I, with a dominant humanistic orientation of subjects. According to the authors of the book *Novosadska gimnazija*, the change of the official school name in 1930, when the Grammar School became a real one i.e. the "Male real grammar school of Novi Sad", nothing important changed in relation between the humanistic and exact subjects "*because humaniora still kept the superior position*" (Grupa autora, 1986: 164).<sup>23</sup>

At the end of the twenties, there was an attempt to reinstate tradition. To be more precise, in 1928/29 classes started in the first grade of a classic section, which was meant as the "beginning of a parallel humanistic grammar school".

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in three sections: preparation of young people for universities, testing for basics of healthcare of the future intelligence, and founding morals by educating character.

22 Until then, along with minor corrections, the curriculum brought in 1899/1900 was valid.

23 The grammar school branched out into other various actions, apart from teaching, in which the professors of humanistic subjects were engaged around the half of the twenties of the last century. Their intent was to spread the spiritual horizons of the students of Grammar School in Novi Sad by extracurricular activities.

This represented a kind of victory for the supporters of classic education, celebrated by a festivity in January 1929.<sup>24</sup> Professor Aleksandar Zamurović reminded of earlier lecturers in the school in his speech, those who spread the classic and humanistic spirit, but also of the students spreading the glory of the school in the famous universities of that time. Even though Zamurović said that he believed that the renewed grammar school would be worthy of the old one and that it will shine just as bright, that did not happen. Three years later i.e. in the school year 1932/33, the classic section of the first grade was not renewed. In the documentation from the school from that time, there is no piece of information which would point to the reasons of the failure of the attempt to revitalize the old school.

The intent to once again renew the Serbian Orthodox grand grammar school with its old autonomy, under the handling of the Patronat of old,<sup>25</sup> was enforced in the final year of the fourth decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Based on the resolution of the Minister of Education of the time, Anton Korošec, in September 1939 the old Serbian Orthodox grammar school of Novi Sad was reinstated, and it was supposed to be a classical one. Korošec, according to Stajić, found it clear that the revitalized grammar school cannot have the same role and significance it had in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It would have an exclusively “*religious, Orthodox character*” (Stajić, 1949:412).<sup>26</sup> The school started to operate in 1939/40. That same year, only the first grade was functional, and the second one followed in the ensuing school year (1940/41). Due to the start of World War II, the process was not finalized, and the Grammar School in Novi Sad did not completely return to its classic roots.

Not one piece of information regarding classes in Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutic was not, sadly, found in the analyzed topics in the “Reports”.<sup>27</sup>

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24 During 1929, four systematic laws in education were brought: “The Law of Secondary Schools”, “The Law of Teacher Schools”, “The Law on Textbooks for Folks, Civil, Teacher, and Secondary Schools”, and the “Law on Folks Schools”

25 The Patronat existed in the institutional form outside of the school until the start of World War II and occasionally influenced primarily the religious education of students, even though it formally had no legal or pedagogical authority after the school became a state school.

26 The reason why the “cleric” Korošec wanted to renew the old Serbian Orthodox grammar school was, per Stajić, in the fact that there were several non-state Catholic schools at the time and their position would be strengthened if the Orthodox had “*their own religious schools*” (Stajić, 1949: 413).

27 Therefore, it cannot hurt to state some of the notes of professors in the school. In the introductory section of the “Classic teaching in a grammar school” text (“Report” for the school year 1928/29), professor Zamurović, for instance, reminds of the Likurg, as well as Plato’s *State*

Based on the list of textbooks used, it may still be presumed that students were taught Psychology and Logic in the school year 1929/30 under the wing of "Philosophical Propaedeutic". The author's assumption is that Psychology classes were held in the first semester of grade VIII, and Logic classes in the second one.

Psychology and Logic were taught together in grades VII and VIII of the school years 1930/31 and 1931/32, probably based on the same model as the previous school year, but in twice the volume.

In the school year 1931/33, VII grade students had Psychology and Logic classes and only Logic in the final one.

In the following school year (1933/34), the only book used in class is *Logika*, leading to the assumption that the content of the classes in the philosophical subject was adequate in the final grade of school.

Logic and Fundamentals of Psychology were a part of Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutic classes in grade VIII of the Grammar School in Novi Sad in the school years 1934/35, 1935/36, 1936/37 and 1937/38. The author considers that classes were organized similarly to those of the school year 1929/30, only this time it was Logic first, then the Fundamentals of Psychology.

In the final three school years (1938/39, 1939/40, and 1940/41), there was a partial change in the titles of the textbooks used for Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutic in grade VIII and so the students during that time, quite possibly, had classes in Logic first and then in Psychology.

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i.e. the importance of the education of young people for the creation of the so-called ideal state. In the continuation of the paper it is highlighted that the cultural history of the old Greeks and Romans had "an absolute historical importance". Zamurović, as a lover of Greek history, considered that it is completely different from that of other notable people and that it is not a fruit of chance but that it showed the supremacy of the Greek in relation to other nations. The supremacy, as well as a high degree of education of the old Greeks, may be noticed especially in their artwork. Even the ruins of public buildings and temples of the Greek, Zamurović states, inspire admiration in the educated world, while modern artists study chapters of their statues. The author reminds his adversaries of the introduction of classic sections into grammar schools that the spiritual power of Greece never waned and that "the genius of Greek education, wherever it goes, spreads new light" („Muška gimnazija u Novom Sadu Izveštaj za školsku godinu 1928/29", Štamparija uč. kom. dr. „Natošević", Novi Sad 1929, p. 45). Zamurović rightly notices that the Greek succumbed to the politically and military superior Romans who submitted their defeated by using the supremacy of their culture. A clear attitude spreading throughout the entire presentation is that the learning of classical languages is a foundation of the entire education in grammar schools but also that, without the knowledge of Greek and Latin there is no further study of philosophy, history, archeology, theology, and law.

How are things with the representation of the only philosophical subject in the classes of the grammar school in Novi Sad? Philosophy, according to the "Report of the male grammar school in Novi Sad" for the school year 1924/25, was taught for four classes per week, two classes in grades VII and VIII.

In the following school year (1925/26), the subject was called Philosophy, according to incomplete records, but it was taught only in grade VIII, 2 classes per week.

In the following three school years (1926/27, 1927/28, and 1928/29), classes in Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutic<sup>28</sup> were still held in the final grade with two classes per week.

During the school year 1929/30, the subject titled Philosophical Propaedeutic was represented also in grade VIII of the school, and the number of classes was identical to that of the previous four school years, two classes per week.

In the "golden period" of the introduction of classical section into the school (school years 1930/31 and 1931/32), and the following school year (1932/33), the number of classes in Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutic was once again four classes per week, two in grades VII and VIII.

In the following several school years (1933/34, 1934/35, 1935/36, 1936/37, 1937/38, 1938/39 and 1939/40), the number of classes in Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutic in the school was held at the earlier level of two classes per week in grade VIII.

By consulting the "Instructions to the students of the male real grammar school of King Alexander I in Novi Sad for the school year 1940-41", it has been determined that Philosophical Propaedeutic, like in the previous seven school years, was taught to students of the school in grade VIII, most probably for two classes per week.

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28 In the "Reports for the twelve school years (1926/27, 1927/28, 1928/29, 1931/32, 1932/33, 1933/34, 1934/35, 1935/36, 1936/37, 1937/38, 1938/39, and 1939/40), there is an incompatibility in the name of the only philosophical subject taught in the school, mentioned also in the part on the school in Karlovac. In the "Overview of classes for obligatory subjects" for the school years, it was titled "Philosophical Propaedeutic", and in the schedule stating what each professor taught it is simple title "Philosophy". The analysis of the "Report" for the school year 1930/31 brings another "more complicated" situation. In the schedule for classes, it states "Philosophical Propaedeutic", and next to the professors teaching there is something different. Milan Jakovljević taught "Philosophy" that year, and Kosta Nikolić, Petar Jakaša, and Petar Zavrtnik taught "Philosophical Propaedeutic".

Textbooks for philosophical subjects used in various combinations from the end of the twenties until the beginning of World War II in the school in Novi Sad are: B. Lorenc, *Psihologija* (school years 1929/30, 1930/31, 1931/32 and 1932/33); B. Lorenc, *Osnovi psihologije* (school years 1934/35, 1935/36, 1936/37, and 1937/38); B. Lorenc, *Psihologija za srednje škole* (school years 1939/40 and 1940/41); Đ. Arnold, *Logika* (school year 1929/30); Sv. Ristić, *Logika* (school years 1930/31 and 1931/32); B. Marković, *Logika* (school years 1932/33, 1933/34, 1934/35, 1935/36, 1936/37, 1937/38, 1938/39, 1939/40, and 1940/41); B. Marković, *Psihologija* (school year 1938/39).

### Conclusion

During the twenty three years of the operation of the Grammar School in Novi Sad taken into consideration, many significant things happened: a change in the state framework existing after World War I, the decision on making the school a state school, the transformation of the Grammar School from a classic one to a real one, the short-term return of classic sections into the system of the Grammar School, an attempt to reinstate the old autonomous classic Grammar School under the leadership of the Patronat. The name of the school changed, its curricula, laws, regulations, but the organization and performance of Philosophy i.e. Philosophical Propaedeutic<sup>29</sup> did not automatically and consistently follow all these changes.

It is not simple, for illustration purposes, to establish any pattern when observing the years in which the philosophical subject had the most significant presence in the teachings of the school. There are two periods in question. The first one lasted from the school year 1918/19 to 1924/25 (during the three investigated "Reports"). The second one is from the school year 1930/31 to the year 1931/32 (also three analyzed "Reports". During these six compared "Reports", there were many organizational, political, social, and human resource changes, which sometimes dramatically influenced the curricula of other subjects in the school. Even though the school went from private to state in those years, with a highlighted religious background and without it, classic and real, real with classic sections, had the prefix "male" in its name and lost it, none of these things influenced the volume and schedule of classes in Philosophy

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<sup>29</sup> Professors of this subject, stated in the nineteen "Reports" of the Grammar School were: Milan A. Jovanović, Petronije Slankamenac, Svetislav J. Marić, Stjepan Vuković, Kosta Nikolić, Marko Jakovljević, Svetislav Banica, Petar Zavrtnik, Milan Jakovljević, Petar A. Jakaša, Pavle M. Tvrtković, Krešimir T. Georgijević, Mladen M. Leskovic, Ivan B. Medić, Miroslav L. Jerkov.

i.e. Philosophical Propaedeutic. Furthermore, these are the years in which the strictly philosophical subject was the most present in classes (held in two grades – VII and VIII – with the largest weekly volume of four classes.<sup>30</sup>

Similarly, it is not possible to prove why the position of Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutic was unenviable during all other years, with a volume of only two classes per week in the final grade.<sup>31</sup> Such a small presence for “the queen of sciences” in an extremely humanities-oriented conception of the school was, at least, disproportionate with its educational significance. The fact that some of the directors (for instance, Branko Magaršević) were prime philologists and philosophically well-educated people did not help promote a greater presence of Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutic in the classes of the Grammar School in Novi Sad.<sup>32</sup>

Philosophy and/or Philosophy Propaedeutic in the Grammar School in Novi Sad, finally, had a personal evolutionary rhythm and its shaping, apart from all the name changes for this subject and the dilemmas around it - the number of classes and grades in which it was taught, the order or solitary presentation of Logic or Psychology,<sup>33</sup> fifteen different professors and at least seven textbooks

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30 In the “Report” for the school year 1932/33, for instance, a strong differentiation in the tendency of the number of classes in Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutics may be noticed when compared to, for instance, Latin and Greek. While the number of classes in Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutics was at its maximum (four classes per week), the number of classes in Latin was significantly reduced when compared to the school year 1931/32 (from 32 classes to a personal minimum of 14 classes per week). An even more radical situation happened with Greek in those years. In the school year 1931/32, the second classic language was taught for 8 classes per week and in 1932/33, classes in this subject were discontinued.

31 Dragoslav Đorđević (1930: 39) cites R. Lehmann that: „*Philosophy is an alien in the curriculum with one or two classes per week*”.

32 The reason for an insufficient number of classes in Philosophy and/or Philosophical Propaedeutics did not lie in the (in)favorability of the director, but in the curricula, which were under the jurisdiction of the expert member of the Ministry of Education.

33 During the analysis of the available “Reports” of the Grammar School Novi Sad, the author established a series of variations in the exposition of Logic and Psychology i.e. the Fundamentals of Psychology which, perhaps due to scarce documentation, are not explainable. In the two “Reports”, the order is such that the students of the Grammar School were first taught Logic (in grade VII) and then Psychology (in grade VIII). In seven “Reports”, Logic and the Fundamentals of Psychology i.e. Psychology were taught in grade VIII. The most probable order is that Logic was taught in the first semester and the Fundamentals of Psychology i.e. Psychology in the second one. There is no valid evidence as to why the order was reversed in the meantime and so, in one “Report”, along the lines of the list of used textbooks for grade VIII, first there is Psychology and then Logic. In two “Reports”, Psychology and Logic are represented in both final grades, quite possibly in the same order: first Psychology and then Logic. In one “Report” it is said that the students of grade VII of the Grammar School had classes in Psychology and Logic, and only Logic in grade VIII. IN the end, one “Report” states that Logic is the only philosophical discipline taught in grade VIII of the Grammar School.

used in class – did not match or rather rarely coincided, similar to the case of the Grammar School in Karlovac, with the anticipated and applied solutions and decisions.

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## FILOZOFIJA U NAJSTARIJIM VOJVOĐANSKIM GIMNAZIJAMA

### Sažetak

U radu je ispitivana zastupljenost filozofskih predmeta i tema u nastavi u Karlovačkoj i Novosadskoj gimnaziji u periodu između Prvog i Drugog svetskog rata. Nakon detaljne analize „Izveštaja” i drugih dostupnih primarnih i sekundarnih izvora o radu Gimnazija, autor je izveo sledeći zaključak: Dešavale su se promene naziva filozofskog predmeta (Filozofska propedeutika (Logika, Psihologija, Osnovi psihologije), Osnovi filozofije, Filozofija), obima nastave iz njega (nekada je iznosio četiri časa nedeljno, po dva časa u svakom od dva završna razreda Gimnazije, a nekada su filozofska predavanja održavana samo dva časa nedeljno u osmom razredu), sadržaja izlaganja (Logika i Psihologija zajedno, samo Logika, samo Psihologija), korišćenih knjiga u nastavi (*Logika za srednja učilišta, Psihologija za srednja učilišta* (Đ. Arnold), *Logika* (Đ. Arnold), *Psihologija za srednje i stručne škole* (B. Lorenc), *Psihologija* (B. Lorenc), *Osnovi psihologije* (B. Lorenc), *Psihologija za srednje škole* (B. Lorenc), *Logika, Za učenike učiteljskih i drugih srednjih škola* (B. D. Marković), *Logika* (B. Marković), *Psihologija* (B. Marković), *Osnovi psihologije: za srednje i stručne škole* (B. Petronijević), *Logika za školsku i privatnu upotrebu* (S. Ristić), *Logika* (Sv. Ristić), kao i profesora (Dušan Spernjak, Panajot Miodragović, Jovan Marčetić, Simeun Grozdanić, Vladimir Vujić, Milivoj Ivančević, Milan A. Jovanović, Petronije Slankamenac, Svetislav J. Marić, Stjepan Vuković, Kosta Nikolić, Marko Jakovljević, Svetislav Banica, Petar Zavrtanik, Milan Jakovljević, Petar A. Jakaša, Pavle M. Tvrtković, Krešimir T. Georgijević, Mladen M. Leskovac, Ivan B. Medić, Miroslav L. Jerkov), ali one su, u godinama koje su sledile do početka Drugog svetskog rata, retko koincidirale izmenama nastavnih planova i programa, kao i donetim zakonima, propisima i uredbama. Istraživanje je, štaviše, pokazalo da je nastava iz filozofije u Karlovačkoj i Novosadskoj gimnaziji imala osobenu evoluciju, kao i da je ta evolucija u značajnoj meri bila nezavisna od implementiranih promena.

**Ključne reči:** Karlovačka gimnazija, Novosadska gimnazija, nastava filozofije, „Izveštaji”, analiza, zastupljenost, period između dva svetska rata