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ARCHE OF PHILOSOPHY TEACHING IN VOJVODINA

Abstract

In this paper, the author tries to identify the level of autonomy of Sremski Karlovci Grammar School in creating its curricula, particularly for philosophical subjects, since its establishment in 1791 until 1921. Although it might be considered that the teaching of philosophical subjects, during the first 130 years of the history of Sremski Karlovci Grammar School, automatically followed the changes of curricula, in reality this was not the case. Moreover, it seems that the teaching of philosophy in Sremski Karlovci Grammar School had a specific evolution, relatively independent of implemented curricula, which is confirmed by the analysis of its “Programmes” and “Reports”. For example, even though that there were two different curricula implemented in the school from 1792 to 1825, the same philosophical subjects were taught: Logics and Ethics (they were also taught within curriculum for 1849/50 school year and 1850/51 school year). From 1825 until 1847/8 school year, Logics was probably the only philosophical subject taught in the Grammar School, even though two curricula were implemented in this period as well. In the school year 1853/54 a new curriculum was introduced in Sremski Karlovci Grammar School, according to which the teaching of philosophy subjects was sublimated into one subject, Philosophical Propedeutics. During the following two school years (1854 and 1855) this school subject comprised the lectures on Logics, Psychology, Metaphysics, and History of Logics. From 1856 school year until the end of the analyzed period, only two courses were held on Philosophical Propedeutics: Logics and Psychology. Within these 65 years there were many changes of the names of these subjects, as well as the scope of their teachings, sequences of lectures and literature; however they rarely coincided with changes of curricula, as well as of adopted laws, regulations, and decrees.

Keywords: Sremski Karlovci Grammar School, analysis, “Programmes”, “Reports”, representation, philosophy subjects, philosophy topics

One of the two most famous grammar schools in Vojvodina, the one in Sremski Karlovci, was created by way of long-standing activities of a series of respected and famous people at the end of the 18th century and its actualization was realized thanks to the generosity of a tailor, who later became a wealthy salesman and banker, Dimitrije Anastasijević Sabov. Sabov wanted to create his endowment, so he gave money for the creation of a grammar school, given that, at the time, it was considered that such an institution presented the greatest need of a people. Emperor Leopold II (1747-1792) confirmed Sabov's legate on October 11th 1791. From the basic letter, we should mention the resolutions that the grammar school must always stay in Sremski Karlovci and that it is the duty of the Patronage to prescribe what shall be taught in the school, as well as choosing the professors and the director of the school (*Osnovna pisma (Privilegije) Srpske pravoslavne velike gimnazije karlovačke* from 1791 and 1792 (1903).

Classes started on November 1st 1792,¹ after preparatory actions of pupils for going to school but also the rooms where the school will be placed, with the notification of the metropolitan Stratimirović that classes in the school will be held in German and Latin and that the subjects will be the same as those taught in other royal grammar schools. In fact, as a role model for the decoration of the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School, the first director Jovan Gros used the Pecs Grammar School, and the curriculum was the one valid for grammar schools in Hungary of the time.

Stratimirović was not satisfied with the curriculum according to which the Hungarian grammar schools worked, so he asked for counsel from various taught people of his time. Among others, he asked for advice from the school expert and reformer of Russian schools, Teodor Janković Mirijevski, whose recommendation it was that the best plan was still the one existing in the grammar schools in Hungary. Such a suggestion did by Mirijevski did not discourage Stratimirović, who wanted to adapt the Hungarian and Austrian plans to specific needs of the, in this case, the Serbian people. Namely, one portion of pupils left education after three or four grades of grammar school and began to deal with crafts or trading, and another portion continued their education at universities.

1 Even though it is noted in the oldest protocol of the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School that it began working on August 14th 1791 (*Protocollum Gimnasii Carlovitiensis ianugurati 14 Augusti 1791*). (Gimnazijski arhiv), it is more probable that the real school was opened, as it was stated, on November 1st the same year. Apart from the preparatory class, the first two grammar classes were opened and the following year 1793/4 saw the third one open, as well. In the school year 1794/5, the first humanities class was opened and in the year 1796/7 the second one, as well. Six classes were present in the school, therefore, only since 1796.

The intention was to enable appropriate and wholesome general education for both of these groups. Of course, there could not be much deviation from the curricula of the Austrian and Hungarian grammar schools so that those pupils who wanted to and had the option could continue their education at Austrian and Hungarian universities.

At the request of Stratimirović, director Gros explained in detail what the differences are between the curriculum implemented in the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School and the curriculum of the Hungarian grammar schools.² The main difference was in the fact that the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School had more explicit materials in the so-called humanities grades than in the Hungarian schools. More detailed and in-depth classes on the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School related to the majority of subjects, Ethics being among them.

At the meetings of the commission for the creation of the curriculum, in 1796, the principles according to which teaching was done in the school were created. An example of those principles was written in the Church Slavic language and contained the syllabus in broad strokes, with its full title being: *Namjerenije i izloženije nauk, koji u Gimnazijumu karlovačkom junosti serbskoj u obojih tečenijah predajut se.*³ According to this oldest syllabus (in short, *Namjerenije i izloženije*), the purpose of attending the school was three-fold: to gain knowledge necessary for every man who wanted to be considered enlightened, regardless of his profession; to prepare young people for academies and universities for higher social layers in the Hungarian kingdom; and third, to not overwhelm the young with knowledge but to enlighten their mind and will, in accordance to the principles of Enlightenment.

According to the schedule of classes for the period 1792-1798 (Petrović, 1991: 61-62), in the first semester of the first grade of humanities, there was one class of *Ars cogitandi* (“the art of thinking” or what would today be called Logic⁴). In

2 In the Hungarian grammar schools, teaching was done according to the plan outlined in the *Ratio educationis totiusque rei literariae per regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas* (“The general school and teaching system for the Hungarian kingdom and its affiliates”) from August 22nd 1777, and later on according to *Ratio educationis* from 1806 (on the information regarding different school laws and regulations in Austria and Hungary, see: Kaluđerović, 2014: 369-386).

3 The basic ideas in the syllabus from 1796 were taken from *Ratio educationis*. It was implemented in the grammar school in the school years 1796/97 and 1797/98.

4 Logic was taught, in the first 130 years of the school's existence, according to different authors and books, learned from manuscripts, Krebs' textbook *Handbuch der Logik*, from J. S. Beck, R. v Zimmermann, with the *History of Logic* by J. v Lichtenfels, by G. A. Lindner, Đ. Arnold i.e. by several editions of his book *Logika za srednja učilišta*.

the first semester of the second grade of humanities, there is no mention of any strictly philosophical subjects.⁵

Kosta Petrović, at the place where he lists in detail all the subjects taught in the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School according to the plan from 1796, gives somewhat different, or slightly more complete, information (Petrović, 1991: 67). According to that data, in both higher grades of the school, Logic, and Morals were taught. Logic taught the rules of how to acquire and enlarge human knowledge in order for it to be clear and founded. In the subject called Morals, pupils learned of their duties towards God, themselves, and their fellow man. Even though the data for this period is scarce, it is highly probable that the bellow information is correct. It is, in any case, concurrent with the notes by Stevan Lazić, director of the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School 1876-1896. He, namely, in the text *Prvih sto godina srpske velike gimnazije karlovačke, 1791-1891*, mentions identical data on Logic and Morals (Lazić, 1891: 26), which are then found in the book by Petrović.⁶

Given that Stratimirović was not satisfied with the existing syllabus, the new syllabus was designed as soon as 1798 and was valid all up until 1825. That is the famed Volni plan, which he created with the help of professor Lazarević based on the principles expressed in *Namjereniju*. The number of grades did not change with this change in syllabus, apart from the preparatory grade being canceled since the school year 1807/8,⁷ so, from then on, the grammar school had four grammar and two humanities grades.

5 Subjects with a philosophical background or explicitly philosophical subjects were, truth be told, taught in different schools in Sremski Karlovci beginning from 1728. Their titles varied those years, from Rhetoric and Morals to Logic, Ethics and Philosophy. In Rhetoric, apart from theory, pupils practiced also on Cicero's speeches *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* and *Pro Anio Milone*, and used "Soarii Rhetorica", 2 Stück, Nürnberg, 1753; „Ciceronis Epistulae", 3 Stück, Nürnberg, 1753; „Isocratis orationes", Paris, 163. For Logic, the references state that it was taught by the book by J. Redlhamer, while the following book is mentioned for philosophy: „Redlhameri Philosophiae", 11 Stück, Wien, 1760. J. Redlhamer (1713-1761), Austrian Catholic theologian and philosopher, at one time the professor of ethics in Vienna. From his works with a philosophical connotation we can highlight: *Philosophia rationalis*, Vienna, 1752 et 1755; *Philosophia naturalis seu Metaphysica, Ontologiam, Cosmologiam, Psychologiam et Theologiam naturalem complectens*, II Tomi, Vienna 1753, Varsaviae 1761; *Philosophia naturalis seu Physica generalis et particularis*, Partes II, Vienna 1755; *Philosophiae tractatus*, i, ii. 8vo. Vienna, 1753-55.

6 The stated information does not have to be contradictory given that the mentioned schedule for the period 1792-1798 is incomplete because it pertains only to *primo semestri* for both humanities grades. It is entirely possible that Morals was taught in the second semester of the second grad of humanities, which would synchronize both sources.

7 The cancellation of the preparatory grade was executed in all grades in Hungary, along with the aforementioned school law *Ratio educationis* from 1806.

The very same 1798 saw the principles made to which one must adhere when teaching in a grammar school. According to this plan, the “intention” of the grammar school is:

1.) To teach those sciences needed by every enlightened man, whether he be a tradesman, houseman, soldier or a priest. Every citizen must know, apart from their mother tongue, German, arithmetic, natural sciences, world history, physics, logic, and ethics.

2.) To teach those sciences in grammar school, which will equip the young to study at academies and universities. That is why the youth of the time needed to learn Latin, the basics of algebra, geometry, and trigonometry (Petrović, 1939: 148).

According to the Protocol, in the second grade of humanities for 1798, Andrija Volni taught Logic (in the first semester *Logica elementa* and *Logica elementa et exercitium*) and Ethics (in the second semester *Doctrina moralis*).⁸

According to the “Scientific basis” for the period 1798-1825,⁹ Logic and Morals were, for the first period until 1810, taught in Latin in the same way and identical form to what was stated in the Protocol for 1798. For the period 1810-1825, in the second-grade *humanitatis classis*, Logic taught about “*notions, the direct and indirect judgment (ratiocinia) on different cognition*”. The second part for the same grade comprised of Morals and it taught about natural theology and the aforementioned moral duties “*to god, to ourselves and our fellow man*” (Lazić, „Program srpske velike gimnazije karlovačke” za 1890/91 godinu: 34).

Religion class was taught every school year in the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School, just as in the state grammar schools. In fact, according to the syllabus of the time, the classes from all subjects lead to the same goal: to “*glorify the name*

8 In the Grammar School Archive a manuscript is kept which confirms that professor Volni taught from his notes *Principia Doctrinae Moralis*. From the first to the fourth grammatical grade, the same professor taught all the subjects in individual grades and he was called *classis professor*. In the first and second grade of humanities, two expert professors taught, one for mathematics, natural sciences and philosophy, and another for Latin and history.

9 Volni was famous for creating, because he was a man extremely inclined to natural sciences, composing a syllabus which highlighted learning anthropology with hygiene, botany, zoology, mineralogy with geology, and physics and astronomy in the higher grades of humanities. However, when we come to philosophical subjects, there were no significant changes in the name of the class, the volume of the class, the order of exposition, nor the content of the matter taught in Logic and Ethics from the previous syllabus adopted in the school. The only visible change that was stated in the text was of a technical nature and comprised of the fact that Logic and Ethics were no longer taught separately in two grades (the first and second grade of humanities) but together in the fourth.

of God” in every scientific truth and natural phenomenon. From the “Scientific basis” for Morals it is visible just how much that discipline was dedicated to that goal and how little it differed from, for instance, the task that religion class had, which was to “*have pupils, absent-minded by nature and giddy, not forget some religious truth*” (Petrović, 1939: 155). In work by one later “Report”, which brings a text on Euripides, it is explicitly stated that: “*Hellenic philosophy, as in general all the beginnings of free human thought, had its source in religion*” („Izveštaj srpske velike gimnazije karlovačke” za školsku 1904/5 godinu: 100). This only shows that science and philosophy were, or at the very least should have been, “servants of theology”. Apart from the undeniable influence of the Enlightenment spirit, the disputing of the legitimacy basis of the Christian-feudal world went slow, and the secular movement and the idea of a layman school, in that period, still had not come to life.

The following syllabus, created by the director of the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School of the time Jakov Gerčić, was valid for the period 1825-1846/7. Gerčić completely changed the orientation of the school valid in the previous time. He, given that he was an avid advocate of classicism,¹⁰ dramatically reduced the matter in science classes in the syllabus, considering that school should primarily teach history, geography, German, and, especially, Latin.

The sources for this period are, sadly, scarce, and so there is no data in the text by Lazić (*Prvih sto godina srpske velike gimnazije karlovačke, 1791-1891*), nor in the one by Petrović („Iz istorije Karlovačke gimnazije 1791-1851”) about the philosophical subjects possibly taught during the 18 years of this syllabus. The first information Petrović states in his book *Istorija karlovačke gimnazije*,

10 Vasilije Vujić (director of the school 1896-1903), even though he was not an opponent of natural sciences, believed they should be taught to pupils in a way they can understand and transform into thoughts and feelings. Vujić wanted “*the youth to be filled with all those noble thoughts of great Greek philosophers so that, later on, when they are mature, they would be a mirror of smart thoughts and feelings, of a society and an individual*”. Vujić thought, defending the classic concept of the grammar school:

That for young minds the best gymnastics, on average, is the mental methodical dissemination of the thought process of old writes, whose very human essence makes up for a kind of spiritual mother’s milk; that the ability to grasp and process natural truths is rare and that it is developed only in the mature years of youth; and especially practical work in the laboratories etc. remains a toy, at best a lower technical exercise, right up until something is awakened in the individual from a philosophical instinct of causality, without which there is no mention of any serious work in science of nature.

Vujić presented his vision of the *paideutic* function of education by highlighting the free will of the students which should be encouraged, their moral lines and the importance of cause for every people (consult: Petrović, 1991: 262-264).

and which pertain to the period as mentioned earlier, relates to the school year 1843/44. According to that, Logic was taught in the second grade of humanities. There are no additional pieces of information, so it cannot be reliably stated whether that schedule was valid only from that school year or did it pertain to all the previous ones, beginning with 1825.

Until the school year 1842/43, there were only three marks noted in the main catalog and the yearly reports for the grammar grades. One of them was general for all the science subjects, another one for Christian studies, and a third one for conduct. In the school year 1842/43, grading across subjects was introduced in the grammar classes as well.

The syllabus from 1847/48 is also interesting for the fact that the Patronage ordered Gerčić to copy the new syllabus introduced in the Grammar School Novi Sad.¹¹ The director was then given the task to divide all the subjects in the School to teachers, and the classes in the new school year were supposed to go on in four languages: Latin, German, Hungarian, and Serbian. By that schedule, as it was several years prior, Logic¹² was taught in the sixth grade of the grammar school, and it was in Latin.

Whether it is because of the unsatisfactory results of working by a teaching system used in the school year 1847/48 or for some other reason, he did not stay in the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School for long, and so for the school years 1849/50 and 1850/51 there was another system used, the so-called “fahsystem”. During those two school years, in the sixth grade of the grammar school, apart from Logic, classes were also held in Ethics.¹³ This schedule of philosophical subjects in class, with Logic and Ethics being in the final humanities grade, signified a return to a plan valid from 1798-1825. Finally, in the division of subjects for the school year 1851/52, there is no subject of a narrow philosophical provenance.¹⁴

11 This information is unusual because the Grammar School Novi Sad was founded only 37 years prior and was modelled after the one in Sremski Karlovci. Upon its foundation, it had the same system of education as was in the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School!

12 In Logic, for the years to come, different aspects were taught: thoughts and thinking, judgment and basic conclusions, syllogistic thought, and the question of how to use logic.

13 In the fifth grade there was also Psychology, just as Anthropology was reintroduced.

14 The absence of strictly philosophical subjects did not necessarily assume the absence of any matter of philosophical provenance in teaching in the grammar school. The Sremski Karlovci Grammar School nurtured an extremely humanist character with a strong accent on the teaching of classical languages. In Latin, various writers were read, translated and interpreted

By order of the Austrian Ministry of Education, professors F. S. Exner and H. Bonitz made a new syllabus in 1848 for the grammar schools in Austria, the so-called "Organizational blueprint" (*Organisations-Entwurf*). By that blueprint, the primary goal of the grammar school was to enable higher general education to young people. As a result of classes, the Enlightenment credo is stated – that the purpose of all subjects is to ennoble the character of young people. That new syllabus was supposed to be applied to the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School, given that the territory of Serbia's Duchy belonged to the jurisdiction of the Austrian Ministry of Education.

Supervisory authority over the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School was under the Court War Council in Vienna at this time, as well. This school was equated with all the other grammar schools in the country. It had a public's right, and its pupils were accepted, without entrance exams, into Hungarian grammar schools. The Patronage was, of course, obliged to send periodic reports to the Court War Council on the success of pupils, data on the syllabus under which the classes were done, as well as the details on the teachers and the school director.

When the eighth grade of the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School was opened in the school year 1853/54, the syllabus composed on the principles *Namjerenija i izloženija* from 1798 ceased to be valid. That year, the syllabus made by the "Organizational blueprint" was introduced into the Grammar School. The new syllabus brought significant changes in the teaching of philosophical subjects. Firstly, classes were sublimed into one subject called Philosophical Propaedeutic, which, by Lazić's notes, began with teaching from the school year 1852/53. In the school year 1854, classes in Philosophical Propaedeutic comprised out of

(Cesar, Valeria Maximus, Tacitus, Plinius, and other authors), among them also philosophers Cicero (*De officiis*, „a speech by Cicero" and „one of the lesser philosophical works") and Seneca, as well as a "view of Horatio in a philosophical, religious, political, and poetry horizon". In the "Programmes" it was then stated that the following authors were taught in the Greek language course in the school: Xenophon (*Anabasa*, *Cyropaedia* and *Memorabilia*, which is the philosophically most interesting work), Demosthenes, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch, Sophocles, Plato (*Protagoras*, *The Defence of Socrates*, *Crito*, *Gorgias*, *Laches*, *Philebus*, *Charmides*, *Euthyphro*, *Lysis*, *Phaedo*, *Menexenus*). The frequency of appearance of various dialogues of the Athenian in the "Programmes" and "Reports" of the grammar school is very uneven. *The Defence of Socrates* appears in 41 "Programmes" and "Reports", *Crito* was taught at least for 26 years, *Phaedo* for 17, *Protagoras* eleven, *Laches* four, *Gorgias* three, *Charmides* and *Euthyphro* two and *Philebus*, *Lysis* and *Menexenus* only one school year) and different Plato's dialogues "with the literary introduction on the history of Greek philosophy" (it can only be guessed how this "literary introduction on the history of Greek philosophy" was conceptualized, but it is entirely possible that, apart from the problem approach present through the analysis of different dialogues by Plato, the Grammar School started, from the end of the 19th century, valuing the historic-philosophical approach) and Aristotle ("chosen texts").

two courses and they had classes in Logic, Psychology¹⁵ and Metaphysics.¹⁶ The following year, 1855, within the framework of Philosophical Propaedeutic, Psychology, Logic, and History of Logic were taught.¹⁷ From the school year 1856, up until the end of the considered period (the school year 1921/22), only two subjects were taught within the framework of Philosophical Propaedeutic, and those were Logic and Psychology.¹⁸

The teaching language in the grammar schools was regulated by order of the Ministry of Education in Vienna from January 1st 1855. All the subjects were slowly starting to be taught in German because of the specific interpretation of the orders on learning the German language, on the one hand, and Bach's absolutism and the fully ongoing Germanization of the country on the other. In the Serbia Duchy and Tamiški banat, German was the official language, just like in the entire Austrian empire.

Given that Sremski Karlovci was a part of the Petrovaradin Regiment in the Military Border, jurisdiction for the matter of schools was under the General Command in Timisoara. The reports that the General Command received from the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School mostly ended up being duly

15 Psychology with different prefixes was held according to the works by Zimmerman, Beck, Lichtenfeltz, Lindner, Arnold (various editions of his book *Psihologija za srednja učilišta*) and according to the "personal manuscript of the professor". It is visible from the available works that classes were also done in General Psychology i.e. its sources and method. After that, pupils listened to classes from cognition of the soul and "its immateriality" and of knowledge, feeling and aspiring.

16 The only information in Metaphysics is that teaching was done according to Mattiœu.

17 History of Logic was done according to Lichtenfeltz. The Austrian philosopher J. v Lichtenfeltz (1793-1866) was under the influence of Jacobi. He advocated "subordinated dualism" of the suprasensory and sensory, supranatural and natural, spiritual and corporeal, moral and physical. According to him, "philosophy is the science of the suprasensory-real", while logic is the science on the legalities of thought, a formal science. Lichtenfeltz is the author of the following works: *Lehrbuch der Logik*, Wien, 1842; *Lehrbuch zur Einleitung in die Philosophie*, Wien, 1863; *Lehrbuch der Psychologie*, Wien, 1843.

18 Philosophy may have started to be taught from that same school year in the grammar school under the title Philosophical Propaedeutic, with Logic and Psychology as subjects within its framework and according to the minutes of professor conferences from 1853, and most likely from 1854 and it held up until the end of the discussed period (see: Petrović, 1991: 180). This piece of data is incongruent with the information from the "First programme of the Serbian Sremski Karlovci Grammar School" for the school year 1853, according to which there were no philosophical subjects in the grammar school at all. Along the line of the minutes of the professor conferences is also the note from the text by Lazić in which it is stated that "*Mihajilo Ristić taught philosophical propaedeutic*" in the school from the school year 1852/3 until 1861. (see: Lazić, „Program srpske velike gimnazije karlovačke" za 1890/91 godinu: 43). Both sources, therefore, claim that Philosophical Propaedeutic was taught in the school 1853, even though it is not present in the programme for that year.

noted. Even though General Command occasionally noted objections of the didactic-pedagogical nature and edited some of the elements of the school's life, supervision of the school was mostly of a formal nature. There are no recorded attempts of a state supervisor performing expert supervision in the school itself. True, there wasn't much reason for more serious objections, given that the school went in line with other state schools even next to its relatively high degree of independence and, regardless of the fact that it was then a private institution without a public's right, it had almost an identical syllabus as every other state grammar school.

The Patronage permanently attempted to preserve the independence of the school.¹⁹ In hard situations, help was not sought from the Ministry of Military as the supervisory authority in the Military Border, instead, the Patronage spoke to the people themselves because that was the only instance for which it was sure that it would not jeopardize the independence of the school (Patronatski zaključak od 15.03.1852. god. č. 2 (Patronatski arhiv). The Ministry of Military was disposed to give the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School public's right, under the condition that it be under the supervision of the school's government authorities. The Patronage did not want to cede to that condition, having in mind the long-kept and defended autonomy of the school itself.

At the beginning of March 1873, the General Command in Zagreb awarded the public's right the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School, with a right to take the test of maturity in the school.²⁰ After that, several difficult conditions were set, which the school, given the difficult position it was in, was forced to accept. Firstly, the Patronage still had to take care of supporting the school and could set its professors, but with a condition of getting the approval of the General Command. Secondly, the syllabus in the school was supposed to be identical to other state grammar schools in the Military Border of Croatia-Slavonia. Thirdly, all disciplinary actions and rules valid in other state grammar schools had to start being applied in the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School. Fourthly, the work in the grammar school was, from then on, performed under the supervision

¹⁹ The relationship of the grammar schools in Sremski Karlovci and Novi Sad towards the state authorities was regulated by the royal rescript from August 10th 1868, articles 92 and 93 and the latter conclusions of the National-Church Parliament. The state authorities had the supreme right of supervision and the teaching method in the schools in Sremski Karlovci and Novi Sad had to be synchronized with the existing state school orders and teaching method in Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia (see: Klicin, 1909: 128-134).

²⁰ Sremski Karlovci Grammar School got the public's right based on the "Organizational blueprint".

of the state school supervisor, under whose chairmanship all future maturity exams were had (Zapisnici Gimnazije za 1873. god. K.k. General-Commando in Agram v. 9 März 1873. Gimn. arhiv).

In the year 1883, the Patronage of the school had its right to decide on the disciplinary measures of its students taken from it. With these acts and those similar to them, the Provincial Government in Zagreb showed how it would, as in similar previous situations, act with the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School, just like with all other regional grammar schools under its jurisdiction. Every major penalty and expulsion of a student from the school, for instance, had to get the final approval of the Provincial Government. When accepting new students from other grammar schools, if the syllabus was only partially differentiated, the approval from the government was supposed to be issued for it first. When changing the syllabus with some act, the government would give the instructions to the director of the grammar school (Stevan Lazić) to make sure of the exact enforcement of its decision and that "*for all defects in that regard the director is responsible to this government*" (Akt od 29.08.1881., Zemaljske vlade br. 2415). This complex period in the work of grammar school lasted until the end of World War I, i.e. until it was nationalized.²¹

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The research of available sources showed that roughly speaking, the work of the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School for the first thirteen decades of its existence, when monitored from the view of philosophical subjects or the ones with a philosophical connotation, can be divided into three periods.

In the first 60 years of work (the period from 1791-1852) of the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School, the titles of the philosophical subjects were changed (Logic was also *Ars cogitandi*, and Ethics was Moral Science, even though there were elements of it in Morals), the number of philosophical subjects were changed (one, two or none), the volume of classes in philosophical subjects was changed (one or two classes per week), the way of processing philosophical subjects was changed (in the first period they were done in both final grades of the school, and for the other periods only in the last one), probably the works used to teach philosophical subjects changed (considering that besides textbooks, notes, i.e. scripts of the professors themselves were used). Nevertheless, all these changes

21 On April 24th 1921 (ON br. 15559), the minister of education made a decision by which the school became nationalized. Even though it was transformed into a realistic grammar school, it still operated, as much as it was possible, in the spirit and tradition of the old Grammar School.

which went on to philosophical subjects in the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School did not always coincide with the changes in syllabi, science orientation, and the affiliations of the grammar school director, as well as the laws, regulations, and orders which were brought.

In the second period (from 1853-1856), i.e. in the four years of work, several characteristics which were established with the previous studies stages of its development were now gone. For instance, as it was in the period from 1791-1852, dark phases in the history of the school were established, i.e. years for which there is no reliable data. This primarily pertains to 1853, i.e. the fact that in the year when the "First programme" of the grammar school appeared, it was not ascertained whether there was a philosophical subject in teaching or not. Secondly, it could not be reliably said whether Philosophical Propaedeutic in the following year 1854 was taught in only one grade of school.²² Thirdly, Philosophical Propaedeutic was, for the three discussed years (1854, 1855 and 1856), taught in the final grade of the school,²³ which coincides with several earlier sub-stages (four, to be precise: 1798-1825, 1825-1846/7, 1847/8-1848/9 and 1849/50-1850/51). Fourthly, Logic was taught in this period (1853-1856) the same as in all the stages of the previously researched period. Fifthly, the names of philosophical subjects were often changed (now Logic became "Pure Logic", and Psychology became "General Psychology", "Personal Psychology", "Empirical Psychology", "Soul Science"; Philosophical Propaedeutic had different spellings – "Filozofska propedevtika", "Filosofiiska propedevtika", "Filosofsko predugotovlenie" and „Filosofičeska propedevtika"). Sixthly, the number of philosophical subjects which were taught changed (before, the number varied between one and two, and now it shifted from two and three up to four different subjects taught in one school year). Seventhly, the number of classes in philosophical subjects (two per week) was identical for the majority of the years of the previous period.

Besides the similarities, there are also significant differences between the two compared periods in the work of the grammar school. Firstly, starting only from 1853, grammar school started giving out special books, i.e. reports on its work. Secondly, the teaching for this period (1853-1856) excluded Ethics, which was very represented in the previously analyzed six decades of the school's existence.

22 The author, because of the scheme under which classes in Philosophical Propaedeutic were organized for this school year (1854) and based on the "Overview" from the book by Petrović, believes that it was taught only for one grade of the school.

23 In the "looser" interpretation, the same connotation may also be stretched to the first school year (1853) analysed in this period.

Thirdly, Psychology was introduced for the first time in these four years in the teaching of philosophical subjects, which would be represented in all the latter “Programmes” and “Reports”. Fourthly, only since 1853 or perhaps 1854, the subject got the name Philosophical Propaedeutic and, within its framework, different subjects were taught in courses, most frequently Logic and Psychology. Fifthly, Metaphysics and History of Logic are two subjects which appear only in this period of teaching in the grammar school, in two successive years (1854 and 1855). Furthermore, sixthly, there were no more classes done according to notes, i.e. scripts made by professors, rather books by renowned authors were used (Lichtenfelz, Mattio, Zimmerman,²⁴ and Beck²⁵).

Generally speaking, philosophical subjects in the third period (from 1857-1921/22) were taught two classes per week. In the data for Logic for the school year 1872, it is stated that it was taught two classes per week in the first course of the eighth grade of the grammar school, and only one class per week in the second course. There is no particular explanation for this reduction in the volume of teaching Logic, given that it is unique in all the “Programmes” and “Reports” of the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School in this period (1857-1921/22).²⁶

Classes in Logic and Psychology, within the framework of Philosophical Propaedeutic, were held within the period as mentioned earlier in the two final grades of the grammar school. There were further changes in the names of these subjects (Philosophical Propaedeutic was also, in “Programmes” and “Reports”,

24 The Austrian philosopher R. v Zimmermann (1824-1898) was a Herbart advocate and, as some call him, the creator of philosophical propaedeutic. Herbart's formal-notion cognition of philosophy, with the mediation of Zimmerman, became the school pedagogical paradigm at high schools and universities in Germany and Austro-Hungary. He wrote the following works: *Philosophische Propaedeutik. Prolegomena. - Logik. - Empirische Psychologie. - Zur Einleitung in die Philosophie*, Wien, 1867; *Philosophie und Erfahrung. Eine Antrittsrede*, Wien, 1861; *Leibnitz' Monadologie. Deutsch mit einer Abhandlung über Leibnitz' und Herbart's Theorie des wirklichen Geschehens*, Wien, 1847.

25 The German philosopher J. S. Beck (1761-1840) is famous as the opponent of Reinhold, but even more so as a follower of Kant. Beck, with the intention of defending a “true” Kantian position from the wrong “dogmatic” interpretations, dedicated special attention to the problems relating to the role of things as themselves in Kant's philosophical reception. He is the author of following works: *Grundriss der kritischen Philosophie*, Halle, 1796; *Kommentar über Kants Metaphysik der Sitten*, Halle, 1798; *Lehrbuch der Logik*. Rostock, 1820; *Lehrbuch des Naturrechts*. Jena, 1820.

26 Only in one other place in all the “Programmes” and “Reports” of the Sremski Karlovci Grammar School is it stated that Logic was taught for one class per week. It is the schedule for the period 1792-1798, during which it is stated that *Ars cogitandi* was taught only on Mondays from 8 to 9 AM (see: Petrović, 1991: 62). Already in 1798 Logic was held two classes per week, more precisely, it was taught in the first semester of the second *Humanitatis classe* on Fridays from 9 to 10 AM and on Saturdays from 8 to 9 AM (see: Petrović, 1939: 154).

called „Filosofska propedeutika“, „Filozofska propedeutika“, „Filosofična propedeutika“, „Filozofijska propedeutika“ i „Filosofijska propedeutika“. Psychology was, apart from being called “Soul Science”, marked as „Psihologia“ and „Psiholodija“, while Logic, apart from its title “mind science” was also called „Lođika“), the volume of classes (truth be told, only for one school year – 1872, as was stated in the previous paragraph), the order of presentation (Logic was significantly more taught in the seventh, and Psychology in the eighth grade of the grammar school. Psychology was taught in the seventh grade only in the following school years: 1857, 1858, 1859, 1871, 1872 and 1873) and the works used in teaching were those by Zimmerman, Beck, Lindner,²⁷ Arnold²⁸ or different professors’ own manuscripts), but the fact is that classes in philosophical subjects in the Sremski Karlovci Grammar school, in the decades following its nationalization,²⁹ had a personal, and that evolution was, to a degree, independent of the implemented changes.

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²⁸ Đuro Arnold (1853-1941), Croatian pedagogist and philosopher. In pedagogy, he was formed under the influences of Ziller, Rein, and Willman, even though there are clear signs and significant influences in his papers by Herbart and Locke. Arnold’s philosophical position was generally determined as a neo-scholastic one. He is the other of, among others, the following books: *Etika i poviest*, Zagreb, 1879; *Logika za srednja učilišta*, Zagreb, 1888; *Zadnja bića. Metafizična rasprava*, Zagreb, 1888; *Psihologija za srednja učilišta*, Zagreb, 1893; *Umjetnost prema znanosti*, Glas M. Hrvat. I, 1906; *Vjera, filozofija i umjetnost*, Glas Koncila, Zagreb 2007 (see also: Pavlović: 2011: 258-322).

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ARCHE NASTAVE FILOZOFIJE U VOJVODINI

Sažetak

Autor u radu pokušava utvrditi razinu autonomije Gimnazije u Srijemskim Karlovcima u kreiranju vlastitih programa i nastavnih planova, posebno iz filozofskih predmeta, u periodu od njena osnivanja 1791. godine pa sve do 1921. godine. Iako bi se moglo pomisliti da je nastava iz filozofskih predmeta u prvih 130 godina postojanja Gimnazije automatski slijedila promijene nastavnih planova, u stvarnosti se to nije događalo. Štoviše, čini se da je nastava iz filozofskih predmeta u Gimnaziji u Srijemskim Karlovcima imala posebnu evoluciju, relativno nezavisnu od implementiranih promjena, što potvrđuje i analiza njenih „Programa” i „Izveštaja”. Na primjer, bez obzira što su u periodu od 1792. godine pa do 1825. godine bila u primjeni dva različita nastavna plana u Gimnaziji, predavani su isti filozofski predmeti: Logika i Etika (oni su predavani i po planu za školsku 1849/50 i 1850/51 godinu). Od 1825. godine pa do školske 1847/8 godine, Logika je vjerojatno bila jedini filozofski predmet u nastavi u Gimnaziji, iako su i u ovom periodu takođe primjenjivana dva plana. Školske 1853/54 godine u Karlovačkoj gimnaziji uveden je novi nastavni plan, po kome je nastava iz filozofije sublimirana u jednom predmetu, Filozofskoj propedeutici. U okviru tog predmeta u naredne dvije školske godine (1854. i 1855.), držana su predavanja iz Logike, Psihologije, Metafizike i Povijesti logike. Od školske 1856. godine pa sve do kraja promatranog perioda, samo dva tečaja su održavana iz Filozofske propedeutike: Logika i Psihologija. U tih 65 godina događale su se promjene naziva ovih predmeta, opsega nastave iz njih, redoslijeda izlaganja i korištene literature, ali one su rijetko koincidirale s izmjenama nastavnih planova i programa, kao i donijetim zakonima, propisima i naredbama.

Ključne reči: Gimnazija u Srijemskim Karlovcima, analiza, „Programi” „Izveštaji”, zastupljenost, filozofski predmeti, filozofske teme