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**HISTORY EDUCATION ACCORDING TO THE 1849 ENTWURF AND HISTORY TEACHING AT THE FIRST SLOVAK GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN VEĽKÁ REVÚCA IN THE 1860S IN THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY<sup>1</sup>**

**ABSTRAKT:** Niniejszy tekst dotyczy nauczania historii według Entwurfu z 1849 roku i jego zastosowania w nauczaniu historii w pierwszym słowackim gimnazjum, które zostało założone w 1862 roku w Veľkej Revúcej (obecnie Revúcej). Autorka już we wstępie swojego tekstu podkreśla, że badanie i analiza edukacji historycznej na Słowacji w zmieniających się czasach stanowi, paradoksalnie, jeden z najbardziej zaniedbanych obszarów badawczych w słowackiej historiografii. Niniejsze opracowanie ma przyczynić się do wypełnienia tej pustej przestrzeni. Entwurf był ustawą wydaną przez ówczesnego Ministra Edukacji i Religii Leo Thuna krótko po rewolucji 1848/1849 i przyniósł ważną zmianę w edukacji historycznej w Królestwie Węgier. Wprowadził on nieznaną wcześniej przedmiot w węgierskim szkolnictwie średnim, integrując dwa dotychczas odrębne przedmioty: geografii i historię, co było sprzeczne ze zwyczajami i tradycjami węgierskiego szkolnictwa. Przyniósł on słowackim ewangelikom w Królestwie Węgier możliwość założenia po raz pierwszy gimnazjum ze słowackim językiem wykładowym. W drugiej części pracy autor zajmuje się powstaniem pierwszego słowackiego gimnazjum i nauczaniem historii.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** Entwurf, nauczanie historii, węgierskie szkolnictwo, pierwsze słowackie gimnazjum

**ABSTRACT:** The present text deals with history education according to the 1849 Entwurf and its application in history teaching at the first Slovak grammar school that was established in 1862 in Veľká Revúca (now Revúca). By way of introduction, the author emphasizes that, paradoxically, researching and analyzing history education in Slovakia throughout Slovak history remains one of the most neglected areas of Slovak historiography. The study aims to contribute to clarify this hitherto empty area. The Entwurf was a law passed by the Minister of Education and Religion, Leo Thun, shortly after the revolution of 1848/1849, that brought about an important change in the way history was taught in the

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Kingdom of Hungary. In fact, it introduced into the secondary education system of the kingdom a subject previously unseen, which integrated 2 hitherto separate subjects: geography and history, thus going against the customs and traditions of education in the Kingdom of Hungary. On the other hand, it was also the first time Slovak Evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession had the opportunity to establish a grammar school within the kingdom, at which Slovak was the language of instruction. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of this study, the author describes the origins of the first Slovak grammar school and discusses history teaching model in this establishment.

**KEYWORDS:** Entwurf, history teaching, Hungarian education, first Slovak grammar school

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Research and analysis of history education in Slovakia and its changes across time is paradoxically one of the most neglected areas in Slovak history. So far, only one academic article within Slovak historiography presenting history education in the Slovak settings in the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been published.<sup>2</sup> In Slovakia, there is no factual research on the reality of a purely “history” educational environment through detailed mapping of traditions and investigating the development of history teaching. According to the statement of D. Kodajová, a Slovak historian, research on education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Slovak historiography focused mainly on the development of education in the context of the Slovak national movement in the circumstances of the multinational Hungarian state, without any analysis of curricula or comparing the level of textbooks.<sup>3</sup> This means that history of history education seen from the point of view of the theory of historical cognition and practice is virtually unknown in Slovak research. So far, several monographs with a school theme have been published, but these have focused mainly on individual educational institutions and figures operating in the field of education.<sup>4</sup> The studies analyzing the development of the domestic education system have so far focused mainly on the institutional or political basis for its construction, especially for the

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<sup>2</sup> K. Wolfová, *Výučba dejepisu na Prvom slovenskom ev. a. v. gymnáziu v Revúcej*. [Teaching history at the First Slovak Grammar School of the Evangelical Augsburg Confession in Revúca.] In: “Obzor Gemera-Malohontu” 1994, vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 170–175.

<sup>3</sup> D. Kodajová, *Ľýššie vzdelávanie dievčat na Slovensku v 19. storočí* [Higher education of girls in Slovakia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century], In: “Človek a spoločnosť” 2006, vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Curricula of grammar schools in the Slovak milieu after 1850 are covered by the study: Žbirková V, *Slovenské stredoškolské vzdelávanie v 2. polovici 19. storočia* [Slovak secondary education in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.]; In: “Literánomúzejný letopis” 1998, vol. 28, pp. 92–117.

period after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918.<sup>5</sup> In these papers, only partial information on the issue can be found. However, detailed research that would reflect the history and history education in the school education system before 1918 is missing in Slovak historiography. In its first part, the study aims to approach history education according to the 1849 school reform in the Habsburg Monarchy known as the Entwurf, and to discuss the impact it had on the way history was taught at the first Slovak grammar school in Veľká Revúca (now Revúca).

The first Slovak grammar schools, established in the period of Matica slovenská of Slovak history, occupy a special place in the In historical research on the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> The constitution of grammar schools, where Slovak students had the opportunity to study in Slovak language for the first time in the history of Slovaks as a nation, was the result of a change in political circumstances at the turn of the 1850s and 1860s in the Habsburg Monarchy. After the abolition of neo-absolutism in 1859, Slovaks also took advantage of this new situation and intensified political efforts on a national level, the result of which was the establishment of the first Slovak grammar schools and Matica slovenská, the nationwide Slovak cultural institution. For the Slovak cultural and social elite, the need to teach Slovak youth in their mother tongue remained a priority because only in this way could a new national elite be formed, which was to become a supporting factor in the Slovak struggle against increasing Magyarization.

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<sup>5</sup> Of these, I want to mention studies such as: L. Kázmerová (ed.), *Výchova a vzdelávanie v siločiarach času* [Education in the force of time], Bratislava 2020; M. Bóbová, M. Danková (eds.), *Veda, školstvo a kultúra na Slovensku v rokoch 1918–1928* [Science, education and culture in Slovakia in the years 1918–1928], Banská Bystrica, 2020; L. Kázmerová, *Pribeh učiteľa: Jozef Sivák v školských službách 1918–1944* [Teacher's story: Jozef Sivák in school services 1918–1944], Bratislava 2019; B. Kudláčová (ed.), *Pedagogické myslenie, školstvo a vzdelávanie na Slovensku v rokoch 1918–1945* [Pedagogical thinking, school system and education in Slovakia in the years 1918–1945] Trnava, 2016; B. Kudláčová (ed.), *Pedagogické myslenie, školstvo a vzdelávanie na Slovensku v rokoch 1945–1989* [Pedagogical thinking, school system and education in Slovakia in the years 1918–1945], Trnava, 2019.

<sup>6</sup> On the issue of education at the first Slovak grammar schools, see e.g.: Z. Baďuriková, *Koncepcia vzdelávania na samostatnom kresťanskokatolíckom reálnom gymnáziu v Kláštore pod Znievom* [The concept of education at an independent Christian Catholic real grammar school in Kláštor pod Znievom], In: *Formy a obsahy vzdelanosti v historickom procese. Zborník materiálov z vedeckej konferencie v Smoleniciach 17.–19. novembra 1997* [Forms and contents of education in the historical process. Proceedings of the scientific conference in Smolenice on November 17–19, 1997], Bratislava 1999, pp. 166–172; D. Dubovský, *Svätyňa osvetý a vzdelanosti* [Sanctuary of enlightenment and education], Revúca 2012; D. Dubovský, *Prvé slovenské gymnázium* [The first Slovak grammar school], Revúca 2001.

In this period, history became an important tool in the process of forming the historical awareness of nations, leading to the creation of collective memory and identity, which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century could significantly help in the national emancipation efforts of Slovak intellectuals to gain equality for Slovaks in a multinational Kingdom of Hungary. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the issue of education, including history teaching, became an important part of political struggle and a tool of government policy for building a unified centralized state. This fact is attested by the steps taken by the government in the period of neo-absolutism, the provisional period and the period after the Austro-Hungarian settlement after 1867.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the education system in the Kingdom of Hungary followed 2 basic *Ratio educationis* documents (from 1777 and 1806), which comprehensively and uniformly regulated basic and secondary education. The aim of those documents was to strengthen the role of the state in the field of education. Those documents also redefined the way history was to be taught at grammar schools. History became one of the subjects considered to be of “general benefit” to contribute to achieving the goals defined in the *Ratio*. It was emphasized that schools were not only supposed to educate good and obedient citizens, but also humble Christians the state and society as a whole could profit from. History education focused mainly on teaching the history of the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>7</sup>

After the defeat of the 1848/1849 revolution, the main goal of the Austrian government was to restore the unity of the Habsburg Empire, which the ruling circles in Vienna wanted to achieve by strengthening centralism and introducing Germanization in the state administration. In line with the centralizing efforts of Habsburg policy, the idea of state supervision over education and upbringing was promoted. The organization of the school system in the Habsburg Monarchy was governed by the Law on Secondary Schools issued by Count Leo Thun, Minister of Education and Religion, in September 1849, entitled *Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Oesterreich*<sup>8</sup> and by Government Decree of

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<sup>7</sup> For more details on this issue, see: Z. Gözsy, A. Dévényi, *A történelem tanításának tartalmi és módszertani változásai: Történetirői irányzatok és hatásuk a történelemtanításra című kurzushoz*. Pécs; Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Történettudományi Intézet [online]. [http://janus.ttk.pte.hu/tamop/tananyagok/tort\\_tan\\_valt/index.html](http://janus.ttk.pte.hu/tamop/tananyagok/tort_tan_valt/index.html); *Ratio educationis 1777–1806*. Bratislava: SPN, 1988.

<sup>8</sup> *Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Oesterreich*. Wien 1849.

October 9, 1849, published under the title *Grundsätze für die provisorische Organisation des Unterrichtswesens in dem Kronlande Ungarn*.<sup>9</sup>

Both documents also dealt with the teaching of history, while in times after the revolution this issue became extremely topical and frequently discussed, even controversial.<sup>10</sup> Geography and history were presented in the proposal as inseparable fields of knowledge. In the context of history teaching at secondary and grammar schools according to the Entwurf, the biggest change was that history did not become a separate subject, but was associated with geography and thus included in curricula together with the latter. This integration was inspired by the system used in Prussian schools. The Prussian influence in the Entwurf was conditioned on the one hand by the work of the Prussian geographer Ernst Kapp, who promoted the idea that "*historical knowledge goes hand in hand with geographical and complementary ones*".<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the Prussian influence in the Entwurf was also clear because its authors were Franz Exner, a German philosopher and pedagogue, professor at the University of Prague, member of the Austrian Study Commission and Ministerial Adviser of the Austrian Ministry of Education, and Hermann Bonitz, Prussian professor of classical philology, who commenced his function at the University of Vienna in 1849.

The Entwurf included a new structure of grammar schools, according to which the existing 6-year grammar schools were to be extended to 8-year schools by adding 2 compulsory philosophical subjects, and these new grammar schools were subsequently divided into lower 4-year or higher 8-year (4 + 4) grammar schools.<sup>12</sup> The methodology for teaching the combined subject of geography and history is then presented separately in the Entwurf for both levels of the grammar school. In lower grammar schools, the main goal of this integrated subject was to acquire a general knowledge of the Earth's surface according to its natural and

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<sup>9</sup> *Grundsätze für die provisorische Organisation des Unterrichtswesens in dem Kronlande Ungarn*. Published in e.g.: *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*, vol. 1, 1850, pp. 119–123.

<sup>10</sup> Gözsy Z., Dévényi A., *A történelem tanításának tartalmi és módszertani változásai: Történetírói irányzatok és hatásuk a történelemtanításra című kurzushoz*. Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Történettudományi Intézet [online]. [http://janus.ttk.pte.hu/tanop/tananyagok/tort\\_tan\\_valt/index.html](http://janus.ttk.pte.hu/tanop/tananyagok/tort_tan_valt/index.html).

<sup>11</sup> „Die geschichtliche Unterricht geht mit den geographischen Hand in Hand, und beide ergänzen einander.“ Ernst Kapp published a work on the connection between geography and history in 1845: *Leitfaden beim ersten Schulunterricht in der Geschichte und Geographie*. Cited by: Z. Gözsy, A. Dévényi, *A történelem tanításának*.

<sup>12</sup> *Entwurf*, p. 2.

political divisions, gain an overview of figures and events from national history, specifically Austrian history, and their role in the chronological context of world history.<sup>13</sup> The combined geography-history subject was to be taught from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> grade, while the curriculum for this subject provided 3 hours per week in the schedule in all grades.

During the 1<sup>st</sup> grade of lower grammar school, the study focused on geography within the combined subject geography-history. Students were to acquire knowledge about the natural division of the Earth's surface, to be knowledgeable in geographical nomenclature, which meant concepts such as sea and land, mountains and river basins, highlands, lowlands, etc. In addition to knowledge of geography, students had to gain an overview of the most important historical figures and events, especially from the history of the Habsburg Monarchy, through biographical sketches, as well as to learn about the political division of the world into states and nations and their history in chronological contexts; all of the above was to form the basis for history teaching in the subsequent grades of grammar school.<sup>14</sup>

Separate history teaching began in the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade by studying the oldest history up to 476 AD. The history of the Jewish people and the geographical context of Palestine remained the exclusive competence of the religion teacher. The history of each nation was preceded by knowledge of the geography of the country in which the nation lived, and this information was to be known to the students from the 1<sup>st</sup> grade.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, the teaching of history continued with more recent history from 476 AD until 1648, i.e., to the end of the Thirty Years' War. As in the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade, the history curriculum was associated with the geography one, when the history of each state or nation was lectured in relation to its geographical environment. In the 1<sup>st</sup> semester of the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, the curriculum covered European medieval history; in the 2<sup>nd</sup> semester, it focused on the history of the union system of the Habsburg Monarchy, with an emphasis on events specific to the students' home country in the context of the most important events in world history. In the 1<sup>st</sup> semester of the last (4<sup>th</sup> grade) of the lower grammar school, history course focused on the latest/modern events in Austrian history<sup>15</sup>; in the 2<sup>nd</sup> semester, the study of history included the so-called „Popular patriotic studies“,<sup>16</sup> which meant bringing together the

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> „... als Vorbereitung des historischen Unterrichtes“. *Ibidem*, p. 31.

<sup>15</sup> Schluss der österreichischen Geschichte. *Entwurf*, p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Populäre Vaterlandskunde. *Ibidem*, p. 31.

main aspects of the present-day Habsburg Empire, so we can also talk about some kind of patriotism. The conclusion of the 4-year study was intended for a comprehensive summary and repetition of knowledge on the geography and history of other nations and states.<sup>17</sup> From the curriculum presented in this way, it is clear that recent history at the lower secondary school level focused mainly on the history of the Habsburg Monarchy, whilst students could learn about the history of other states and nations only if it was related to the history of the Habsburg state.

Lower grammar school	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Hours per week	3	3	3	3
Theme	geography – general overview history – the main events and personalities in the history of the Habsburg Monarchy	ancient history up to 476 AD	The Middle Ages and modern history in Europe 476 – 1648 history of the Austrian Empire until 1648	the latest history of the Austrian Empire

The aim of history as a subject in higher grammar schools according to the Entwurf was to provide an overview of the most important events and contexts of world history, and to explain the historical development of ancient Greece and Rome, and the Habsburgs, i.e., the Habsburg Empire including its geographical context, of which students already had “some knowledge” from previous grades.<sup>18</sup> Compared to the curriculum of the lower grammar school, there was a slight increase in the number of teaching hours of the combined geography-history subject at a higher level; in the 1<sup>st</sup> grade this number increased from 3 hours to 4 hours per week. There were no changes in other grades, so 3 hours a week were still stipulated for teaching geography-history from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> grade. Although history education at higher grammar schools covered the same topics as curricula at lower grammar schools, the Entwurf emphasized that history education should not only be a repetition of what was taught at lower levels of education, but that knowledge from lower grades should form a basis for building, i.e. expanding the knowledge of history.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31.

<sup>19</sup> „Der Geschichtunterricht im Obergymnasium darf nichts weniger sein, als eine Wiederholung des im Untergymnasium Vorgetragenen und Gelernten, vielmehr hat er das Gebäude der Geschichte auf den dort gelegten Grundlagen weiter auf- und auszubauen.“ *Entwurf*, p. 158.



History teaching in the 1<sup>st</sup> grade explained history from the earliest times – from antiquity to the Migration Period. In the 1<sup>st</sup> semester, the curriculum included Greek history, and Roman history in the 2<sup>nd</sup> semester. The political history of the 2 ancient nations – Greeks and Romans – was not the sole direction of teaching; special emphasis was also placed on the development of their religion, art and literature. The 2<sup>nd</sup> grade was to deepen the knowledge of the European Middle Ages from the Migration Period to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; the curriculum of the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade brought about topics from more recent history to contemporary history at that time. In the last (4<sup>th</sup>) grade students were to get acquainted with the history of the Austrian Empire with regard to the history of its individual areas, especially with an emphasis on their own Austrian territories (Vaterlandes). In addition, statistics became a part of the combined subject of geography-history in this grade, when the most important information from the statistics for the states that were part of the Habsburg Monarchy was to be covered during classes.<sup>20</sup>

Higher grammar school	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Hours per week	4	3	3	3
Theme	ancient history – up to the migration period	The Middle Ages in Europe	modern history in Europe	history of the Austrian Empire statistics for the countries forming the Austrian Empire

The combined subject of geography-history was not the only course covering historical topics. As mentioned above, according to the Entwurf, the history of the Jewish people and the geography of Palestine were to be taught by the religion teacher, so church history became part of the subject of religion. Particular attention was also paid to the period of antiquity. Not only was the ancient history of Greece and Rome taught separately throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the 1<sup>st</sup> grade of lower and higher grammar school studies within the subject of geography-history, but students also encountered historical ancient texts during classical languages lessons – Latin and Greek. In the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> grade of higher grammar school, the history of the Roman Empire was followed chronologically as a part of teaching Latin; in the following grades, 3 hours a week were reserved for reading ancient texts. Based

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 32.



on these classes, students had the opportunity to learn more thoroughly about the period of antiquity until the fall of the Western Roman Empire.<sup>21</sup>

The Entwurf included separate instructions (methodologies in modern terms) for teaching specific subjects; the new proposal emphasized interdisciplinary teaching and interdisciplinary relations, as it stressed the importance of different topics taught within more than one subject, with an appropriate teaching methodology taking into account the age and level of education of each student.<sup>22</sup> In the instructions for history teaching, the reasons that led the authors of the Entwurf to combine the subjects of history and geography into one subject were specified in more detail. History teaching at the lower level of grammar school education was to be preceded by a presentation of the geographical environment because the students had to be sufficiently familiar with the main outlines of the “scene” against which historical events take place to make history easier for them to understand. This theory was based on the assumption that a student of the 1<sup>st</sup> grade of lower grammar school education already had a certain knowledge and natural interest in the geographical and natural environment. Therefore, for a given age category, information from geography was seen as much easier to understand than the history curriculum.<sup>23</sup> History becomes more complicated when it ceases to be just an isolated story about events and figures, because in upper grades it is necessary to place them chronologically in a certain historical context, often abstract for most students. Perception of history is therefore much more complex than the description of the real geographical space in which students live and where historical events also took place.

According to the Entwurf, the geographical division of the country into river basins, mountains, highlands and lowlands had its place in the history of teaching, because these natural formations often, in the past and present, created the natural borders of states inhabited by different nations. Therefore, wall maps providing a sufficiently “vivid and sharply drawn” image of the Earth’s surface, became an essential tool during the first classes of geography and history.<sup>24</sup> For further history teaching, which, according to the Entwurf, was to take place in the upper grades of higher grammar school education, it was necessary to bring history and geography into a close relationship. In geography, man’s relationship to the Earth becomes

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<sup>21</sup> *Entwurf*, pp. 27–28.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 152.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 153.

<sup>24</sup> *Entwurf*, p. 153.

the main starting point for a better understanding of the relationship between people and the Earth, but this relationship cannot be better understood without a closer examination of history. On the other hand, history requires a more specific picture of individual countries than what the first sketch of the Earth's surface description can provide during geography classes in the 1<sup>st</sup> grade.<sup>25</sup> This means that knowledge of geography will form a basis for further teaching of history. Geography provides a description of the Earth's surface – the landscape – but history teaching is used to capture the story of human society taking place in this area at various times. The authors of the Entwurf assumed that history cannot be understood without knowing the geographical area in which historical events took place.

Compared to the situation before 1850 in the Kingdom of Hungary, the Entwurf, and especially its design of new curricula for history, was a radical change. Until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, In Hungarian schools, almost exclusively Hungarian history was taught. The new proposal pushed it out and focused on the history of the entire Austrian Empire, with an emphasis on the history of the Austrian crown lands. This was the main reason why the ethnic groups inhabiting the Hungarian state took a different position on the new school proposal. The Hungarians rejected its implementation. Despite the fact that the new school plan brought several significant conceptual changes in secondary education positively perceived by the teachers themselves, most Hungarian teachers opposed the proposal. The subject of their criticism was mainly the disrespect of the well-established traditions in Hungarian education, especially in regards to religion and history teaching; predominantly, the connection of history with geography described above was disputed. The Hungarian teachers saw the proposal as a political tool of Germanization, as a manifestation of absolutism and a document with an “imperial spirit” designed to eliminate any anti-Austrian ideas and suppressing any Hungarian independence ideas.<sup>26</sup>

The Entwurf introduced also important changes in the field of language teaching. For Slovaks, the new document, accepting the mother tongue as the main language of secondary education, for the first time brought the possibility of achieving education in the Slovak language at secondary schools. According to the

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 154.

<sup>26</sup> Horánsky N., *150 éves az Organisationsentwurf – A dokumentum és hatása gimnáziumi oktatásunkra*. In: “Új Pedagógiai Szemle” 1999, vol. 49, No. 9. <https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00035/00030/1999-09-mk-Horanszky-150.html>.

Entwurf, there was no need to justify why the students should be educated in their mother tongue and have knowledge of the literature written therein. In addition to their mother tongue, each grammar school had to include in its program German classes, as it was the main language of the Habsburg Empire. The Entwurf also enabled the study of the so-called country or national languages<sup>27</sup> spoken in the given part of the Habsburg Monarchy in addition to the mother tongue. The teaching of other languages of minorities living within the Monarchy was depended on the free choice of students and their parents, as well as on the needs and financial means of each particular grammar school. As such, it was upon the administrators of grammar schools to decide about additional language teaching. It is clear from the above that German was supposed to become an integral part of the curriculum and a *de facto* compulsory official language, especially as a language of all the inhabitants of Habsburg Monarchy. The Entwurf justified this move because it was in the very interest of the Habsburg Empire that „at least educated people from all parts of it would be able to communicate with each other“ and that all officials could speak the most widespread language used in the Empire.<sup>28</sup> Ultimately, although the Entwurf provided education in the mother tongue – the living (modern) language of the region, its use as a language of instruction was linked to the nationality composition of the students' body in a particular school or the decision of the school's founder or sponsor which languages would be taught in a particular establishment. The Entwurf specifically mentioned the curriculum for Slavic languages as mother tongues,<sup>29</sup> which provides basic instructions for teaching the Slovak language. Schools with Slovak as the language of instruction in the Kingdom of Hungary were to be governed by the provisions applicable to the Czech language. Peculiarities resulting from the difference between Slovak and Czech were to be addressed later.<sup>30</sup>

Although this new regulation in the Kingdom of Hungary applied only to Catholic education, Slovak Evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession also placed great hopes in the new school rules, as the Entwurf aimed to eliminate Magyar hegemony in Hungarian secondary education. Hungarian Evangelicals of the

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<sup>27</sup> „Landessprachen, welche im Kronlande des Gymnasiums neben der Muttersprache gangbar sind“, *Entwurf*, p. 20.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 6–7.

<sup>29</sup> Lehrplan für die slavischen Sprachen als Muttersprachen, *Ibidem*, p. 145 et seq.

<sup>30</sup> *Entwurf*, p. 152.

Augsburg Confession were allowed by existing Hungarian religious laws<sup>31</sup> to establish schools autonomously, according to their ecclesiastical administration. They had the capacity to employ their own priests and teachers in their schools; in religious and educational matters, those teachers depended only on their own superiors, and the language of instruction was to be decided exclusively by the founders of educational institutions. According to the above, it may seem that Slovak Evangelicals were allowed to establish their own schools in the Kingdom of Hungary. However, the opposite was true. Although most Evangelicals of Augsburg Confession living in the Kingdom of Hungary in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were of Slovak mother tongue,<sup>32</sup> the church leadership was in the hands of the most radical supporters of Magyarization, who strived to create a unified, indivisible Hungarian state with a single indivisible Hungarian nation. The escalating Magyarization already manifested itself in the pre-revolutionary period in the Hungarian Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, mainly through the introduction of the Hungarian language as the main worship, church, official and instruction language, making it difficult for Slovak Evangelicals to have any schools in their administration and to teach in Slovak. Changes were brought about only by the post-revolutionary neo-absolutist period and Thun's abovementioned regulations, which allowed private school founders to decide on the language of instruction. However, it took more than 10 years from the publication of the Entwurf and related regulations concerning Hungarian education for Slovak Evangelicals to be able to establish exclusively Slovak grammar schools with Slovak as the language of instruction.

The culmination of several years of efforts undertaken in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the activists of the Slovak national movement to establish Slovak secondary schools was the founding of the first Slovak grammar schools, where Slovak became the main language of instruction. The first Slovak grammar school, with the Evangelical Church of Augsburg Confession patronage, was established

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<sup>31</sup> It was a legal article 26 of 1791, which regulated the relationship between the state and the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession by confirming its autonomy and religious freedom, statutory Article 3 of 1843/1844 and statutory Article 20 of 1848 guaranteeing full equality to all religions recognized by the state.

<sup>32</sup> According to then-actual statistics, there were about 830,000 Evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession in the Kingdom of Hungary in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, of whom approx. 180,000 were Hungarians, 200,000 were Germans and 450,000 were Slovaks. See more: M. Viršínská, *Evangelická cirkev a. v. v Uhorsku a Slováci v druhej polovici 19. storočia* [Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Hungarian Kingdom and Slovaks in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century] Martin: Matica slovenská, 2011, p. 27.

in 1862 in Veľká Revúca, becoming a higher grammar school in 1868; another lower grammar school, also with the Evangelical Church of Augsburg Confession patronage, was established in 1867 in Turčianske Svätý Martin, and the last one opened in 1869 as a lower grammar school with Catholic patronage in Kláštor pod Znievom. In the following paragraphs, we will focus on history teaching at the first Slovak grammar school in Revúca, where the curriculum was based on the Entwurf.

The already mentioned decree of minister Leo Thun played an important role in the establishment of the Revúca grammar school, as it allowed private school founders to determine the language of instruction and to independently manage their own funds. This law „due to the doctrinal language immediately caused considerable disturbance even among Evangelical Slovaks“.<sup>33</sup> The issuance of this law was the impetus on the basis of which the first preparations for the establishment of the first secondary school in Revúca with the Slovak language of instruction began.<sup>34</sup>

Schedule of subjects – the curricula of the Revúca grammar school – were published annually in the school reports for the relevant school year. In the schedule, we find brief information about the content of individual subjects, including the names of teachers who taught those subjects. Based those documents, we can create a basic picture of the content of history education at the first Slovak grammar school, and complete it based on notes and memories of students who studied in Revúca.

The concept and structure of history teaching was based on the Entwurf, which is evident from the curriculum. History was not taught at the Revúca grammar school as a separate subject, but as a part of the combined geography-history subject. It was divided into 2 learning cycles; geography-history teaching in lower grammar schools from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> grade, and geography-history teaching from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> grade of higher grammar schools. In each grade, from the lowest to the highest, a subsidy of 3 hours per week was allotted for this geography-history subject, but the exact number of teaching hours often changed – decreased and increased during the existence of the grammar school, which was mainly related to the school's staffing capabilities.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> A.H. Škultéty, *Pamäti slov. ev. a. v. gymnasia a s nim spojeného učiteľského semeniska vo Veľkej Revúci*. Ružomberok: Tlačou Karola Salvu, 1889, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> For the first attempts to establish a Slovak secondary school in Revúca, see: M. Viršínská, *Snahy o založenie slovenskej strednej školy v Revúcej v polovici 19. Storočia* [Efforts to establish a Slovak secondary school in Revúca in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century], In: “Verbum historiae” 2017, vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 46–58.

<sup>35</sup> Information on the number of hours is based on individual school reports for the relevant school years.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> grade, according to the Entwurf structure of teaching, geography was included in the curricula only separately, and the geography curriculum focused on the interpretation of geographical terms and the general topography of the Earth's surface. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade, where the emphasis was put on geography teaching and the “drawing of the history of ancient, more educated nations with regard to the geography of countries“, this subject was taught by Gustáv Schmidt and the students used his manuscript instead of a textbook.<sup>36</sup> Due to the fact that it was the first grammar school teaching in Slovak, most subjects were taught according to manuscripts, as there were no textbooks in Slovak for several subjects during this period. Therefore, history teachers were also forced to write manuscripts instead of textbooks. Part of the geography teaching was also the creation of the so-called “zemevids“, i.e. maps or globes,<sup>37</sup> which was probably related to the lack of educational aids that the grammar school has been struggling with since its establishment. Teacher G. Schmidt developed the “zemevid of the old age“, which became part of the grammar school library.<sup>38</sup> As a teacher, Schmidt was extremely popular among students. He came to Revúca from Hodruša as a “mining school drop-out“,<sup>39</sup> who quit school after the first year at the Mining and Forestry Academy in Banská Štiavnica. He was an excellent map maker; he taught his students how to make maps and they learned about geography mainly through these maps; so that “we had geography in our heads“.<sup>40</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade of grammar school, the combined geography-history subject with an emphasis on history began to be taught by the grammar school administrator August Horislav Škultéty himself. In his history teaching, he focused on the general Middle Ages and the modern age, and taught according to his own manuscript.<sup>41</sup> In the 4<sup>th</sup> grade, history classes were taught again by G. Schmidt. The study of history was devoted to the oldest Hungarian history according to the textbook<sup>42</sup> of J.L. Štěpán, with a focus mainly

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<sup>36</sup> A.H. Škultéty, *Zpráva o slovenskom evanjelickom a. v. gymnasiu veľko-revúckom na rok školský 1864/5*. Rožnava: Tiskom Michala Kováč, 1865, p. 20.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 19.

<sup>38</sup> A.H. Škultéty, *Pamäti* [Recollections], p. 137.

<sup>39</sup> M. Bodický, *Rozpomienky a pamäti* [Thoughts and memories], Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1933, p. 20.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>41</sup> A.H. Škultéty, *Zpráva o slovenskom evanjelickom*, p. 20.

<sup>42</sup> An analysis of the history textbooks and a discussion on history education in line with the Entwurf law can be found in the monograph: M. Tonková, M. Viršínská, *Slovenské dejiny moderného dejepisu: Formovanie a vývoj dejepisného vzdelávania na Slovensku* [The history of modern

on the geographical context of the Kingdom of Hungary<sup>43</sup> and according to the manuscript on „the History of the Kingdom of Hungary“.<sup>44</sup> From the school year 1866/1867, the history curriculum of the 4<sup>th</sup> grade was extended with a geographical overview of the Austrian Empire. Gustáv H. Lojko was appointed to teach the new subject.<sup>45</sup> Most teachers at the Revúca grammar school had very little teaching experience and many even lacked the necessary education.<sup>46</sup> History teachers were no exception to this rule. From 1839 to 1841, August Horislav Škultéty studied theology at the Evangelical Lyceum in Bratislava and was a pastor in Rozložná before joining the Revúcka grammar school in 1862. Besides his pedagogical activities, Škultéty also worked as a folklorist and his activities in this field significantly contributed to developing the Slovak national movement and to shaping the national awareness of Slovaks. As already mentioned, Gustáv Schmidt came to Revúca to teach after studying for one year at the Mining and Forestry Academy. Since he did not have the necessary qualifications, he could only work as an assistant professor. Gustáv H. Lojko became a teacher at the Revúca grammar school following theology and philology studies at the University of Vienna.

History teaching continued with various variations into the next, higher level of grammar school education, from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> grade. In the 5<sup>th</sup> grade, students expanded their knowledge of “the history of the old age”, which was re-taught by A.H. Škultéty according to his own manuscript. However, we find it peculiar that history was not a part of the curriculum of the 6<sup>th</sup> as well as the 7<sup>th</sup> grade in 1866/1867. Students of this grade became acquainted with history at the religion classes, where the ecclesiastical history was taught from “the beginning of the Christian church until the new age, with a special attention to the history of the Evangelical Church in the Kingdom of Hungary“.<sup>47</sup> More detailed information on the content

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Slovak history teaching: The formation and development of history education in Slovakia], Bratislava: Publishing House UK, 2022 (in press).

<sup>43</sup> J.L. Štěpán, *Zemepis královstva Uhorského, veľkokniežatstva Sedmohradského, kráľovstva Chorvatského, Slavosnkého, Dalmatského a Vojanskej hranice* [Geography of the Kingdom of Hungary, the Grand Duchy of Transylvania, the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatian and Vojany border], Pešť: Tiskom Gustáva Emicha, 1864.

<sup>44</sup> A.H. Škultéty, *Zpráva o slovenskom evanjelickom*, p. 21.

<sup>45</sup> R. Homla, *Zpráva o slovenskom evanjelickom a. v. gymnásium Veľko-revúckom na rok školský 1865/66*. Rožnava: Tiskom Michala Kovács, 1867, p. 14.

<sup>46</sup> The biographical data of the different teachers have been taken from: J. Gallo, *Pedagogické portréty profesorov revúckeho gymnázia* [Pedagogical portraits of professors of the Revúca grammar school]. Bratislava: CVTI, 2018.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 16.



of the history curriculum is provided in the report for the school year 1868/1869. In the 4<sup>th</sup> grade during that school year, history was taught by a new teacher, Mieroslav Kovalevský. The History of Kingdom of Hungary dominated the history teaching, covering the earliest times up to the last rulers of the Habsburg-Lorraine family. Students were to gain knowledge of all the kings of the Kingdom of Hungary since its foundation.<sup>48</sup> During that school year, history teaching continued in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade, focusing on expanding knowledge about antiquity. History was also taught in the 6<sup>th</sup> grade, unlike in previous school years. A.H. Škultéty lectured on the general history of the Middle Ages, based on his manuscript. Although independent history teaching was absent in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade, religion classes were devoted to religious history from the founding of the Church to the Reformation development in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>49</sup> The history teaching continued into the 8<sup>th</sup> grade with the history and statistics for the Kingdom of Hungary classes.<sup>50</sup>

The curtailment of history teaching at the higher level of the grammar school probably also resulted from the fact that history at the Revúca grammar school did not stand as a separate school-leaving subject.<sup>51</sup> However, this does not mean that students did not need to prove their knowledge of history at the school-leaving examination. The students used their history knowledge, especially in written graduation theses from the Hungarian language, when in the school year 1868/1869 the topic were: 1) The Battle of Mohács and its influence on the spiritual development of the Kingdom of Hungary<sup>52</sup>; and 2) An overview of national economic ideas that were relevant in the time of Charles V, Louis XIV and George Washington.<sup>53</sup>

With the following school years and the growing number of students at the Revúca grammar school, the number of teachers who taught history gradually increased, and the number of history lessons in the schedule for individual classes

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<sup>48</sup> A.H. Škultéty, *Zpráva o slovenskom evanj. A. v. vyššom gymnasiu Veľko-revúckom a s ním dočasne spojenom semenisku učiteľskom na rok školský 1868/69*. Rožnava: Tiskom Michala Kovács, 1869, p. 17.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 19.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20.

<sup>51</sup> For more on the first school-leaving examination at the Revúca grammar school, see: M. Viršínská, *Maturitná skúška v slovenskom jazyku na 1. slovenskom evanjelickom a. v. gymnázii vo Veľkej Revúcej* [The Slovak school-leaving exam at the first Slovak Evangelical grammar school of the Augsburg Confession in Veľká Revúca]; In: "Verbum historiae" 2013, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 91–98.

<sup>52</sup> A mohácsi vész hatása Magyarországon szellemi fejlődésére. A.H. Škultéty, *Pamäti* [Recollections], p. 82.

<sup>53</sup> A.H. Škultéty, *Zpráva o slovenskom evanj. A. v. vyššom gymnasiu Veľko-revúckom a s ním dočasne spojenom semenisku učiteľskom na rok školský 1868/69*, p. 25.

also increased. According to the school report from the school year 1872/1873, among history teachers were Slovaks Samuel Ormis, Mieroslav Kovalevský, Július Botto, and Ľudovít Čulík; and in this school year, history was taught as part of the subject of geography in every grade of lower and upper grammar school, from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> grade. In the 1<sup>st</sup> grade of the lower grammar school, 2 hours were reserved for teaching history; in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, the number increased to 4 hours, and from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> grade, history was a permanent part of the schedule at 3 hours per week.<sup>54</sup> Among the history teachers in this period are both unexperienced and experienced educators who also engaged in public, social and cultural life. One of the most seasoned teachers at the Revúca Grammar School was Samuel Ormis, who taught Hungarian, German, Latin, mathematics, natural history, geography, and history. Ormis studied theology and was a professor at the grammar school in Rožňava from 1853 to 1855. In addition to his pedagogical work, he held several positions in the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in the Kingdom of Hungary. Another history teacher was Evangelical priest and writer Mieroslav Kovalevský. He studied theology and philosophy at the Bratislava Evangelical Lyceum and began working in Revúca in 1867. As part of his teaching activities, he wrote several textbooks on history, church history and history of Hungarian literature. Another important personality teaching history at the Revúca Grammar School was Július Botto. He became an assistant professor at this school already as a law student. Later on, Botto would become one of the leading representatives of Revúca's national and cultural life, as well as an important official of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in the Kingdom of Hungary. In 1871, after studying theology in Vienna, Ľudovít V. Čulík also worked briefly at the grammar school as a history teacher.

After Latin and physical education, history became the subject with the 3<sup>rd</sup>-highest hourly allotment during the entire study, and was one of the most important subjects at the first Slovak grammar school in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and a fixed part of the Slovak secondary grammar school education of that period. The first Slovak grammar school in Veľká Revúca existed only for 13 years – it was closed by the Hungarian government in 1875. Nevertheless, the vision of administrators and teachers to form a new generation of Slovak intellectual elite

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<sup>54</sup> S. Ormis, *Zpráva o slovenskom ev. a. v. vyššom gymnásiume Veľko-Revúckom a s ním dočasne spojenom Semenisku učiteľskom na školský rok 1872/73*. Turč. Sv. Martin: Knih tlačiarско-účastinársky spolok, p. 15.

at the grammar school in Revúca and also to contribute to improving the position of the Slovak nation in the Kingdom of Hungary through knowledge from history has been fulfilled; best described by words of pastor Samuel Tomášik from Chyžné on the event of the dedication of the new grammar school building on February 4, 1873: “After all, history teaches us that art and science have lifted ancient nations to the level of glory and power. – And in history, we see as in a mirror the life of the nations that were here long before us and lived, acted and passed away from the scene of this world. – We know from history that relatively small, insignificant nations, through art and science, rose to a high degree of glory and overshadowed those larger in numbers, yet also in ignorance, as if in dreams and the sleep of death buried nations...”<sup>55</sup>.

The revolutionary years of 1848/1849 in the Kingdom of Hungary brought revolutionary changes in several areas. One of them was the school reform, which significantly affected the way history was taught at secondary schools throughout the state. While in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, history was a separate subject focused on teaching the history of the Kingdom of Hungary, the Education Act or Entwurf Law from 1849 reformed the school curriculum, resulting in history losing its status of a separate subject. It became a part of a new subject integrating geography and history, with a new thematic plan. In history, emphasis was placed on teaching the history of the Austrian Empire from the earliest times to the present, as well as on teaching general history. The study plan according to the new school reform was also implemented at the first Slovak Grammar School in Veľká Revúca, established in 1862. At his grammar school, history was taught together with geography within a common subject and became one of the most important subjects at this school.

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<sup>55</sup> S. Ormis, *Zpráva o slovenskom ev. a. v. vyššom gymnásiume Veľko-Revúckom a s ním dočasne spojenom Semenisku učiteľskom na školský rok 1872/73*. Turč. Sv. Martin: Kníhtlačiar-sko-účastinársky spolok, p. 23.

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