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THE ROLE OF JESUITS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CROATIAN SCHOOL LIBRARIES

Libraries and education share a distinct commonality, as exemplified by the emergence of libraries in the first Jesuit grammar schools in Croatia during the early 17th century. The libraries formed an integral part of the educational work of the grammar schools. The growth and enrichment of these reference teachers' libraries resulted from numerous donations and legacies from supporters of the Society of Jesus, former professors, students, prominent individuals, and local government resources. This paper provides a historical overview of the founding and development of the first Jesuit college libraries, focusing specifically on the Osijek mission. It draws upon published scientific, professional research, and archival materials to increase understanding. Despite the founding of the Latin school in Osijek in 1729, the earliest record of books from the Grammar School Library only dates back to the Chronicles of parish priest Antun Turković (1798–1806). Before this, neither historical sources nor relevant literature provided concrete evidence of the Library's existence, nor could it be determined if books were systematically gathered for educational purposes. Consequently, this research asserts the thesis that Jesuit libraries, especially the one in Osijek, housed extensive book collections intended for educating both students and teachers, thereby serving as an indispensable catalyst for the development of grammar school education and overall education in Osijek.

Keywords: Jesuits, grammar schools, libraries, education, Osijek mission

1. INTRODUCTION

The first evidence of organized education in Croatia hails from the Middle Ages, when enlightenment and schooling existed primarily under the auspices of religious orders, starting with the Benedictines, and later encompassing the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Paulines. This initial schooling was conducted in parish, monastic, and cathedral¹ schools, which, due to their autonomy, provided elementary education for boys and further education for the priesthood, and eventually, secular individuals. Those church schools adhered to the curriculum of the *seven liberal arts* (Latin: *septem artes liberales*), divided into the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy), which, along with theology, constituted the pinnacle of education in the schools of the era (Zaninović, 1988: 52–53). Although the monastic, cathedral, and associated chapter schools provided their students with sufficient knowledge of the Latin language for further theological education, Hoško (2003: 352) has queried whether such acquired education could accurately be labeled as secondary education.

In due course, grammar schools (*gymnasium*) would emerge from these medieval church schools, the first of which is considered to be the one at the Pauline monastery in Lepoglava, founded in 1503, noted for its rich and valuable library of books and manuscripts (Cuvaj, 1910: 155). Initially intended only for the education of monks and priests, the Lepoglava Grammar School, after its reopening in 1582, opened its doors to the public, thus becoming accessible to secular individuals as well (Munjiza, 2009: 73).

A significant contribution to the advancement of education in humanities grammar schools would be made by the relatively new religious order of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), who arrived in Croatia in the early 17th century at the invitation of the city and church authorities of the time. In comparison to the previous religious orders, their pastoral work, strongly influenced by the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, was closely linked to the establishment of secondary, higher, and tertiary schools, ultimately earning them the status of founders of public education in the Catholic part of Europe. Contrary to earlier cathedral and monastic schools, Jesuit schools were intended for the education of secular individuals, instead of predominantly future clergy. This undeniably marked the commencement of a new epoch in the history of Croatian education (Stipanov, 2015: 75; Katičić, 2007: 11). By integrating humanities and theological education in the grammar school, the Jesuits established

¹ The monastic and cathedral schools are also called seminary schools because they both trained clergymen (Munjiza, 2009: 28).

the foundational model of secondary education (humanities, classical or general type of grammar school), which provided general education and practical Latin language skills, as well as the groundwork for further higher education (Sršan, 1996: 15). In all European countries, their schools were organized according to a unified school system as outlined in the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu* (more commonly known as the *Ratio Studiorum*), the first bona fide educational system aiming at „responding to the needs of the time and the Jesuit ideal of superior intellectual and spiritual formation“ (Korade, 1997: 21). Primarily oriented towards religion, Jesuit schools were divided into those similar to grammar schools, i.e. *lower* or Latin schools (*studia inferiora*) consisting of five grades (originally named *classis infima*, *media*, *suprema gramaticae*, *humanitatis*, and *rethoricae*, later *principistae*, *grammatica*, *syntaxis*, *poësis*, and *rhetorica*), and *higher* or academies (*studia superiora*) where philosophy and theology were taught. Latin was the language of instruction used throughout education, serving as the primary focus of instruction in the grammar school, with Greek also taught as an ancient language. Religious education was allocated half an hour per week, and students were taught the so-called real sciences including geography, history, natural sciences, economics, and similar subjects under the umbrella of scholarship (Cuvaj, 1910: 205).

After the suppression of the Jesuit order, the existing grammar schools briefly remained under the authority of religious orders, predominantly the Paulines, Piarists, diocesan clergy, and Franciscans (Hoško, 2003: 356–357), before being assumed by the state, specifically the Habsburg Monarchy.

2. THE FOUNDATION OF GRAMMAR SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN CROATIA

During the 17th and 18th centuries, as previously noted, the Jesuit religious order was the primary provider of secondary classical education in this region. Therefore, due to their widely recognized excellence in education and schooling, they came to Croatia upon the invitation of city and church authorities and started establishing the first public grammar schools (*gymnasium*) in Zagreb (1607), Dubrovnik (1658), Rijeka (1627), Varaždin (1636), Požega (1698), and Osijek (1729). Since grammar school education at the time, besides textbooks, required certain books „intended to reinforce and expand the knowledge of the members of the colleges and missions in theology and disciplines taught in the humanities classes, as well as in philosophy and theology“, the Society of Jesus founded libraries that were „an integral part and a reflection of the general cultural work that developed in Jesuit schools“ (Matić, 1940: 47).

Therefore, grammar school libraries, operating as teacher's reference libraries with dedicated rooms, began to be established and developed simultaneously with the establishment of Jesuit grammar schools. However, as Batinić points out, what is difficult to determine today is whether the books in the libraries were also accessible to students, or if students had their own separate library, similar to those in Jesuit seminaries for underprivileged students that contained the necessary student textbooks (Batinić, 2007: 43, 45; Erl Šafar et al., 2019: 58). Conversely, Aleksandar Stipčević asserts that all Jesuit libraries in Croatian lands primarily served the needs of their schools' students and teachers. The Jesuits maintained book collections in their residences, colleges, and missions from their inception, yet libraries are not mentioned in the written sources until the founding of the Jesuit schools, where professors required the books for lecture preparation and students for learning (Stipčević, 2007: 33, 36; Erl Šafar et al., 2019: 58).

According to the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and other regulations of the Society, all Jesuit residences and colleges were obligated to have libraries. These regulations provided comprehensive instructions on their establishment, funding, and operation, including securing funds for purchasing books, borrowing books within and outside library premises, cataloging and organizing books on shelves, the duties of librarians, and similar matters (Stipčević, 2007: 33; Erl Šafar et al., 2019: 58). Although book acquisition policy often depended on the specific financial abilities of each residence, books frequently found their way into Jesuit libraries through other means. The libraries were enriched by many donations and legacies from various supporters of the Society, donations from prominent individuals, former professors and students, and local authorities occasionally provided funds. In addition to the diverse valuable literature that comprised their collections, it is important to mention the rare collections of incunabula owned by the Jesuits in our regions. In this regard, Šime Jurić provides information on over 140 incunabula that are either preserved in Croatian Jesuit libraries today or were previously listed as their property. This material undoubtedly attests to the Jesuits' profound knowledge, appreciation, and collection of books on various topics, as well as the generosity of the prominent individuals of the time, who frequently donated valuable family books. Owing to this practice, the Dubrovnik residence library possessed the largest number of incunabula (Jurić, 1990/1991: 89–90).

Following the suppression of the Jesuit order, the need to house book collections and the textbooks prescribed to cover the curriculum of specific disciplines, the *Ratio educationis*² of 1777 only states that efforts should be

² Regulation on the organization of education (Code of Education) in Hungary and Croatia.

made to establish small libraries with necessary materials in grammar schools and gymnasiums (Matasović, 2017: 127; Erl Šafar et al., 2019: 58). Although this document prescribes no further provisions concerning libraries, their management or composition, these school textbooks, as suggested by museologist Vesna Burić, could have represented a basic initial collection characteristic of secondary school libraries at the time (Burić, 1991: 182; Erl Šafar et al., 2019: 58). Similarly, the *Ratio educationis* of 1806 does not mention anything about secondary school libraries other than the prescribed textbooks. In the section *De Bibliothecis* (Articles 267–270), it focuses only on university libraries (*Ratio educationis*, 1806: 283–285; Erl Šafar et al., 2019: 58).

However, following the dissolution of religious orders, modern state reforms in the mid-19th century facilitated the creation of a new type of grammar school (*gymnasium*), and, consequently, the institutionalization of secondary school libraries was made possible since they were envisaged to be established in the schools. This meant that the recommendations of Thun's *Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Oesterreich* (Draft of the Organisation of *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* in Austria) from 1849 were in effect. Article 55 of the *Entwurf*, titled „Collections of Teaching Materials“, stated: „It is urgently desirable that every grammar school (*gymnasium*) has a library and that it is regularly expanded. In it, two sections should be distinguished – a library for teachers and a library for students“ (Švoger, 2017: 228–229; Erl Šafar et al., 2019: 58–59). As a result of the influence of the Jesuits on the education system, Article 115 mentions the records that every grammar school is obliged to keep, including „complete inventories of existing teaching materials that need to be constantly supplemented“, and that all teachers have the right to access them (Švoger, 2017: 269). The paper will henceforth provide an overview of the influence of the Jesuits on the emergence of grammar school libraries in cities throughout Croatia.

2.1. Jesuit grammar school libraries in Zagreb, Rijeka, Varaždin, Dubrovnik, and Požega

When it comes to the most renowned Jesuit libraries in Croatia, it can be said that the one in Zagreb, established within the Grammar School, was undoubtedly the most prominent. Namely, after they established a college in the former Dominican monastery in *Gradec* (Upper Town) in 1606, the Jesuits founded a grammar school with a library the following year. Initially, the position of the *Library Prefect* was rotated among the professors of the College each school year. Until 1710, this responsibility was regularly given to one of the professors of the *lower schools* (*gymnasium* grades), and as of 1713,

it was mostly performed by a professor of the *higher schools* or the College Rector himself; only occasionally the librarian was someone whose sole duty was the Library. It was of great importance that all librarians adhered to the established regulations, applicable to all colleges, and took proper care of the overall operations of the Grammar School Library (Sečić, 2007: 3–4). Regarding the operations and organization of the Library, Tomo Matić mentioned that according to the inscriptions in the books (*Colleg. Zagr. S. J. inscriptus*) that have been preserved to this day, dating back to 1611, it is undeniable that the Zagreb College Library had been well-organized since its inception (Matić, 1940: 47).

Due to the fact that the materials were mostly obtained through donations and purchases, the Library holdings naturally experienced significant growth over time. In support of this, there is a record of book purchases for the Library dating back to 1619, which is one of the earliest known records for a library in Croatia. A little later, the first rules for library operations were introduced in the Jesuit order's regulation *Regulae praefecti Bibliothecae* (1635), which also represented a crucial step in the overall development of Croatian librarianship. These rules were followed by the Zagreb College Library and covered various aspects such as the role and position of the Library Prefect, arrangement of books by subject areas, cataloging within subject areas and alphabetical order, loaning books outside the college, book acquisition and preservation. In 1645, when a major fire devastated part of the monastery, along with the school and seminary, the Library and a portion of the rich collection left to the Jesuit college in 1615 by the Hungarian historian Nikola Istvánffy were also destroyed. However, the Library did not cease to exist, as preserved records attest to book acquisitions even after the fire. Additionally, evidence of donations from aristocrats indicates their contribution to the restoration and functioning of the Library. In 1669, when the Grammar School transformed into Academy, its library became the Academy Library (Stipanov, 2015: 76; Bratulić, 2007: 23; Stipčević, 2007: 34).

After the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773, the state authorities formed special three-member commissions for inventorying and confiscating the properties of their colleges, which included the creation of inventories for their libraries. Unfortunately, as mentioned by Matić, these inventories were created hastily and carelessly. For instance, books without a recorded year and place of print, incomplete titles, and missing author names were found. Some books were also of uncertain origin or Latin adaptations. Based on this, it can be presumed, as Matić himself resignedly noted, „that the people entrusted with the task of inventorying the books were not suited for the job, based on

their education“ (Matić, 1940: 48–50)³. However, despite these shortcomings and the unprofessional manner in which the inventories were prepared, they still serve as authentic witnesses to the foundation of the contemporary education system, which aimed to expand knowledge and the organization of that knowledge within the library. Besides providing direct insight into the materials used by the Jesuits in their teaching work, they also demonstrate a wide range of their interests and activities in literature, history, science, and various other fields (Lubina, 2019: 28).

Before the suppression of the Jesuit order, the Zagreb Library counted around 6,000 volumes, however, this number was drastically halved later. According to the 1773 inventory, it had only 3,000 volumes. This occurred because, according to the decree of the Hungarian Vice-Regal Council, some books were transferred to the University Library in Pest, a smaller number was given to Bishop Vrhovac, and the remaining books were moved to the Library of the Royal Academy of Sciences (established in 1776), which also received a significant number of valuable books from the libraries of other dissolved colleges. The Zagreb College Library was seriously endangered after the suppression of the Jesuit order and faced a fate similar to the other libraries. However, owing to the dedicated efforts of protonotary Nikola Škrlec (1729–1799), all the saved and recovered materials from the confiscated Library ended up in the Royal Academy of Sciences. Škrlec aimed not only to preserve the Jesuit library but also to expand it, making it the core of a large public library (Katičić, 2007: 12). However, despite bequeathing his collection of 677 printed works and 50 manuscript items to the Academy in his will in 1777, the Library holdings began to recover and grow more systematically only in later periods, mostly through valuable donations. In 1818, Countess Eleonora Patačić donated 675 works in 932 volumes to the Library, and after her death in 1835, the remaining materials were also bequeathed. In the same year (1818), Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac donated 707 works in 825 volumes, and in 1837, Count Aleksandar Drašković donated 400 volumes. At that time, the Library already had around 10,000 books and was open to the public. As of 1837, it was also receiving legal deposit copies from Croatia and Slavonia.⁴ However, not until 1857 did the state provide a regular allocation for book purchases. In 1850, the Royal Academy of Sciences changed its name to the Royal Law Academy and operated as such until the establishment of the University in 1874, when its library became the University Library (Pelc, 2002: 284–285; Sečić, 2011: 4–7; Stipanov, 2015: 77; Tomečak, 2007: 70–75).

³ For example, Matić notes that in the Zagreb inventory list, Ariosto's Orlando is recorded twice in two different ways: as „*Orlando furiosum*“ and „*Ariosto Forlando furioso*“.

⁴ It kept receiving copies of works printed at the University Press in Pest as early as 1816.

Following the opening of the Zagreb College, the Jesuits established a college in Rijeka in 1627, followed by a grammar school with a library the following year, which eventually became the foundation of the Rijeka University. The Library primarily served the professors, students, and all educated inhabitants of the city, demonstrating that the Jesuits were instrumental in fostering and developing the culture of Rijeka. Not much is known about the Library's operations or book acquisitions, but it is known that in 1640, the Jesuits purchased books worth 100 forints for the Grammar School Library. Since there were no bookstores in Rijeka at the time, books were often ordered directly from the booksellers in other cities. For example, historical books were ordered from Udine in 1736 for the purposes of the Grammar School, as recorded in the College annals. When the Jesuit order was suppressed, the existing studies and the Grammar School came under the ownership of the city of Rijeka, and the premises of the college and the seminary, where the books were housed, remained sealed. Inventories were created, revealing that at the time of the suppression of the Society, the Library contained 1,644 titles in 2,570 volumes, including Croatian books, which was a considerable number for Rijeka at the time. Part of the holdings was transferred to the library of the newly established Zagreb Academy of Sciences, and the remaining books were combined with those from the Nautical Academy in Trieste and the Jesuit College in Trieste. The merging of these holdings, along with the addition of valuable private libraries donated to the city by the Benzoni and Marotti families in the late 18th century, finally enabled the opening of the first public library in Rijeka, namely the Grammar School City Library, which later became the Scientific and University Library (Stipanov, 2015: 80–81; Blažeković, 1954: 2–3; Stipčević, 2007: 35).

Not much is known about the Varaždin Grammar School Library (1636) due to the loss of the house chronicles and registers maintained by the Jesuits themselves (*Historia domestica in folio*, *Darium*, *Matricula studiosorum*), after the confiscation, although they were undeniably recorded and registered by the Commission. However, it is known that the Library was housed in a separate room and, although smaller than other college libraries, it was quite suitable for the needs of the Grammar School, which did not have higher levels beyond grammar and humanities. Over time, the sources indicate that the Library was continuously replenished, as evidenced by an inventory indicating that, at the time of the suppression of the Society, it had over 1,000 books. Additionally, there were 16 books on Protestantism listed separately under the title *Sub titulo haereticorum*, as well as a small collection of physical apparatus most probably used for teaching purposes. Alongside the books on Protestantism, theological works, and manuals, the Library also contain-

ned works by ancient church writers, Latin classics, and renowned humanists and historians. Unfortunately, this exceptionally valuable and rich collection was mostly taken from Varaždin or even sold at auction, leaving only few remaining copies. Eventually, the Library was reestablished, with significant contributions made by diligent and enterprising directors Antun Rajšp and Josip Paszthory, as well as numerous professors who served as librarians over the time (Matić, 1940: 52–53; Matić, Filić, 1938: 171; Horvat, 2011: 234). After the suppression of the Society, the active property of the College was transferred to the central school fund, and besides former Jesuits, members of other orders receiving salaries from the state could also teach at the Grammar School. With the approval of Empress Maria Theresa, the Jesuit complex was handed over to the Piarists in 1776, and after a devastating fire in Varaždin, they rebuilt it and continued operating the Grammar School and the church. After the suppression of the Piarist order in 1789, according to the catalog (now prepared more accurately), the Library had only 120 books as of 20 April 1786. The reason for the small number of recorded books was probably because the monks often kept books in their rooms (around 530), and were not listed, thus remaining unknown in terms of their titles (Puškadija-Ribkin, 2001: 197, 208).

Regarding the establishment and operation of the Library at the Jesuit College in Dubrovnik, similar to the previous libraries, there are not many written sources available. However, although the exact year of its founding cannot be determined with certainty, the Library must have existed immediately after the establishment of the College itself in 1658. The core of the College Library was the collection of books left by its founder and benefactor, Father Marin Gundulić, who bequeathed his rich book collection, which was then located in Ancona, to the future College. The book collection was very rich as books were regularly acquired through their own means, as well as numerous donations and bequests of entire private collections. In addition to a large number of textbooks, the Library contained works on philosophy and theology that were taught in the humanities classes at the time, as well as other literature important for pastoral and missionary work. When the Jesuit order was suppressed, some of the books were sold at auctions in Italy, while others remained in the School that continued to be run by the Piarist monks until 1854. Despite this, a considerable number of valuable manuscripts and autographs were preserved and transferred to the Library of the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik, where they are still kept today. Although the Jesuits briefly took over the Grammar School after the departure of the Piarists, this arrangement lasted only until 1868 when the Grammar School, along with the Library, finally came under the ownership of the state. As the Library

expanded with new donations, it was divided into the Old Library (consisting mostly of books from the former Jesuit college - around 5,300 volumes) and the New Teachers' Library, eventually becoming part of the City Library and the core of the Scientific Library in Dubrovnik (Šapro-Ficović, 2007: 21–24).

Finally, the Požega College, with its Grammar School, had a significant influence and made a deep impact on the educational, social, and cultural life of Slavonia ever since its establishment in the late 17th century. In 1735, a rich library with a reading room was established alongside the Grammar School, providing students with a peaceful environment for learning and work. This dedicated library space housed a large number of systematically acquired books collected over the years, and after the suppression of the Jesuit order, it contained as many as 1,141 titles with approximately 2,000 volumes (Potrebica, 2005: 113). The library holdings were enriched with valuable literature primarily acquired through their own means, special school funds, and donations. The first mention of book purchases dates back to 1725 when works by church teachers and writers such as St. Bernard, Lorenzo Giustiniani, Optatus, St. Leo the Great, and Cornelius a Lapide were acquired in Venice for 88 forints. By 1735, when the Library was established, a considerable number of books had already been collected, including the well-known work „*Istoria del Concilio di Trento*“ by Sforza Pallavicini. The regular purchase of books was recorded in subsequent years as well, such as the acquisition of the first two volumes of the monumental work „*Illyricum sacrum*“ in 1755 (Stipanov, 2015: 82; Matić, 1940: 48). As of 1761, when the philosophy program was introduced in the Grammar School building, followed by moral theology studies in 1761/62, books were acquired for the professors, and the Library was rearranged on the first floor. The books were listed in the inventory according to their placement on shelves (A–H) and in specific rows within those shelves. Since the suppression of the Society, three books from the Jesuit house diaries („*Historia domestica cum Diariis, libri tres*“) that were listed in the inventory in 1773 have been preserved, along with the *Matricula studiosorum* (1725), which was not recorded in that particular inventory. After the closure of the College, most of the books ended up in the Professors' Library of the Grammar School, while 115 valuable works (in 142 volumes), including a Glagolitic missal and Jakov Mikalja's „*Blago jezika slovinskoga*“, were transferred to the Academy Library in Zagreb (Matić, 1940: 51–53). The Požega College Library is rightfully considered one of the richest Jesuit libraries, as evidenced by its extensive collection of Glagolitic books, presumably due to the presence of clergy and priests from the Senj Diocese who were associated with the School at that time (Stipanov, 2015: 84). Based on the above, it can be confirmed that the Jesuits had a significant and undeniable influence on the

educational system and cultural heritage of the residents in Zagreb, Rijeka, Varaždin, Dubrovnik, and Požega.

3. JESUIT GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN OSIJEK

Concerning the origins of classical education in the city of Osijek itself, the initiative to establish a Latin school dates back as early as 1728. The Jesuits, with the full support of the citizens, sent a request to the commander of the Osijek Fortress and the General of Slavonia, Count d'Oduyer, seeking permission to build a school. In the response received by the City Magistrate on 13 March 1729, it was specifically stated that the purchase or construction of a building was not possible, but the establishment of the school within the premises of the Jesuit residence was allowed (Matić, 1937: 5). Subsequently, upon obtaining this permission, the Jesuits opened the first Latin school or *lower gymnasium (grammar school)* with four grades – *parva, principia, grammatica media, grammatica suprema il syntaxis* – in their residence in *Tvrđa* (the Fortress) in 1729. The teaching was organized according to the Jesuit education system, *Ratio studiorum*, and to support the two professors, each teaching two grades, the three municipal councils committed to providing an annual sum of 300 forints. Due to the insufficient number of Jesuits, a layperson taught in the first two grades during the initial years, but as of the school year 1733/34, both professors were Jesuits, initially one priest and one master, and later only masters. The principals of the Grammar School were Jesuit superiors who, as parish priests of Osijek and members of the county assembly, were well informed about political, religious, military, and urban issues (Vanino, 2005: 366). The majority of the Grammar School students resided in *Tvrđa* (the Fortress), including a certain number of sons of Slavonian nobles, while there were generally fewer students from the Upper and Lower Towns, often due to poor roads and the distance. By the way, it is worth noting that in 1735, a total of 51 regular students attended the Grammar School, which was not a small number considering that the city had only about 5,000 inhabitants at the time (Povijest osječke Kraljevske gimnazije, 2001: 7).

However, in addition to all of the above, the Upper and Lower Towns once withheld the agreed amount for the salaries of the professors, citing that there were too few of their children attending the School, which led to the Grammar School ceasing its operations in 1737. Nevertheless, as the population of Osijek continued to grow, the need for a grammar school became increasingly apparent, and over the following years, the question of reopening it was revisited. In May, a new agreement was signed with the Jesuits, and the Osijek Grammar School finally commenced its operations on 15 November

1765. Classes were held in the city house, or town hall, in the Fortress (*Tvrđa*) every day except Thursdays, which were designated as a day off, Sundays and holidays (*Povijest osječke Kraljevske gimnazije*, 2001: 7, 8; Sršan, 1993: 239–240).

After the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773, the Grammar School's administration was taken over by the Franciscans and continued to operate until the mid-19th century, when calls for secular educators began to emerge. However, interest in this form of classical education gradually diminished in the years following World War I, culminating in the school's closure in 1927 due to a limited number of students. It was supplanted by a Lower *Realgymnasium*. This alternative model, however, also proved short-lived, closing merely two years later (Lubina, 2022: 122).⁵

3.1. Grammar School Library⁶ up to the school year 1851/52

The establishment of the Jesuit Grammar School in Osijek in 1729 leaves scant concrete information about the Library in historical sources and literature. This paucity of data makes it challenging to ascertain whether books were systematically collected for educational purposes (Lubina, 2022: 122). Since only a small portion of the Osijek Mission Diary (1763–1771), preserved in the University Library in Budapest, exists today, Tomo Matić provides no information about the founding year or the development of the Osijek Mission Library until the suppression of the Society in his research on Jesuit libraries, titled „*Knjižnice zagrebačkoga, varaždinskoga, i požeškoga kolegija i osječke misije*“ (The libraries of the Zagreb, Varaždin, and Požega colleges and the Osijek mission) (1940). Likewise, museum curator Vesna Burić, due to the lack of data, can only speculate about the existence of the old Grammar School Library. She emphasizes the fact that the Jesuits were known to establish libraries alongside their schools. Burić mentions a book titled „*Kratka abekavica i kratak krstjanski katoličanski nauk poštovanog oca Petra Kanizija...*“, Trnava, 1696, arguing that it must have been part of the Library's collection since it was the first book printed for Slavonia (Burić, 1991: 180). The staff of the Royal Grammar School in Osijek, in their 1905 response to a questionnaire about secondary school libraries and collections in

⁵ The official name *Velika gimnazija* (1862–1925) was retained for the longest time, and the archival material, now kept in the State Archives in Osijek, was filed under that name (Radman, 2001: 9).

⁶ During the war in 1943, the Library holdings were successfully stored in the Library of the Museum of Slavonia. Today, it is part of its holdings and is filed under the name Grammar School Collection.

the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, assumed the year 1766 to be the establishment year of the Teachers' Library. This assumption likely stems from the fact that the Grammar School was reopened for the second time that year. The same year is proposed for the Student Library, but with a question mark in the parentheses, denoting uncertainty.⁷

The first specific information about the existence of books from the old Jesuit Library can be found in the Chronicle (*Ljetopis*) compiled by Antun Josip Turković, the first secular parish priest of the Inner City of Osijek, from 1798 to 1806. Until 1797, the books were kept in the sacristy of the Church of St. Michael. Turković noted that he had transferred and arranged „the remaining books – which had not been destroyed by decay and moisture or stolen by evil hands – in the parish residence, after they were discarded and dispersed in another sacristy of the Church following the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, and sorted them in a room previously prepared as a library, providing them with covers and labels“ (Sršan, 1993: 259). This account was later confirmed by Josip Bösendorfer when he discovered a bound folio manuscript, in the former Jesuit Library, which was saved by Josip Antun Turković, and it turned out to be the *Urbarium* (*Rent Roll*) of the Jesuits of Osijek (Bösendorfer, 1935: 67–68).

In his work „*Isusovačka biblioteka u starom Osijeku*“ (The Jesuit Library in Old Osijek) (1942), Professor Ivan Medved provided an analysis of the material in the old Jesuit Library located in the parish residence in the Fortress (*Tvrđa*). He determined that certain books had inscriptions in ink stating „Missioni S. I. Essekinensi inscriptus“ along with the year of their entry into the Library. The years most frequently mentioned were 1759 and 1710, with the earliest recorded acquisition in 1703, a book with the signature III B 11. Some books also indicated that they were listed in the catalog, such as the entry „Catalogo Missionis Essekinensis Soc. Jesu inscriptus Anno 1729.“ found in the book with the signature III A 17. Evidence of a catalog predating 1729 can be seen in the aforementioned book from 1703 with the signature III B 11, where the inscription „Catal. Miss. Soctis Jesu 1703. inscriptus Essek“ is clearly inscribed in ink. Despite these indications, the catalog referred to has been irrevocably lost (Medved, 1942: 54).

Analyzing other holdings of Jesuit grammar school libraries based on library inventories compiled by a special commission, Tomo Matić indicated Požega as an important center of Jesuit educational work in Slavonia at the time. He noted that the *Elenchus librorum* of the Osijek mission, though comparatively sparse, reflected the true character of the Osijek Latin school. Like

⁷ HR-DAOS-157 Royal Grammar School Osijek, file no. 155/1905, box no. 51.

in other Jesuit libraries, after the suppression of the Society, an inventory was made, listing the books in groups according to how the State Commission had allocated them for further use to Croatian and German preachers in Osijek and the syntax professor. At that time, slightly more than 230 works were recorded: The note added at the end of the inventory: „*In bibliotheca diversorum gradualium libellorum manent frustra seu tomuli 226*“, suggests that the Osijek Library had not even reached half the total number of works listed in the inventories of the Varaždin and Požega colleges (Matić, 1940: 53–54). Within the relatively modest number of works listed in the Osijek mission inventory, as mentioned by Matić, several representative examples warrant highlighting, such as the Glagolitic missal *Liber missalis illyricus*, the Catechism of the Eastern Church *Liber symbolicus Russorum*, the Latin work by Spanish Jesuit T. González de Santalla *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, Pallavicini's work *Historia Concilii Tridentini*, and a work published by Zagreb Bishop Tausi in 1754 without the author's name, recorded under the name of Kanižlić–*Obilato duhovno mliko Kanislich S. J.* (Matić, 1940: 54–55, 58–59).

Without analyzing each book individually, but merely enumerating the oldest editions ending with those printed in 1773, Professor Ivan Medved, based on later inventories from the parish residence in the Fortress, lists a total of 560 books. However, since it is certain that not all of these enumerated books necessarily belonged to the Jesuits, such as the one with the signature I C 54a from 1767, which is labeled as „*Ex Bibliotheca Ioannis Jozepacs*“, Medved estimates that about 500 books can be considered the initial holdings of the Jesuit Library. Ultimately, according to his opinion, this Library undoubtedly represents the „beginning of librarianship in the city of Osijek after the liberation from the Turks“ (Medved, 1942: 54–55).

Following the suppression of the Jesuit order, the Grammar School was entrusted to the Franciscans from the school year 1778/79, and the arrival of the first Franciscan, Marijan Lanosović, who served as the *principia* and *parva* professor was recorded in 1774. That year, the Franciscan chronicles mentioned for the first time the name of the Franciscan responsible for librarian duties: „The roster of this community was announced: Ladislav Jezik, guardian, general lecturer and examiner, (...) Josip Pavišević, general lecturer, examiner, librarian, and protocolist...“ (Sršan, 1993: 73). Pavišević is subsequently mentioned multiple times in the role of librarian, particularly in 1778 when Count Teleki from Transylvania visited the monastery. Pavišević introduced him to the Library: „He pulled out one book after another and examined them. He then asked if we had old manuscripts, referring to those that were brought here during the tumult of the Temeswar wars. Books were brought from the Library to his room. The Count sat here and read *Catalogus de ordinibus religiosorum*

et sanctimonialium (List of monks and nuns) by Bonan...“ (Sršan, 1993: 85). Even the limited available data, Vesna Burić suggests that students or possibly only Grammar School professors might have occasionally used the Franciscan Monastery Library for educational purposes, provided there wasn't a separate school library. This suggestion is based solely on the fact that both Pavišević and Lanosović resided in the same monastery (Burić, 1991: 182; Lubina, 2022: 122).

Subsequent school laws (1777, 1806) advocated the establishment of libraries within secondary schools. Unfortunately, there were no specific instructions or provisions regarding their management or the nature of the library holdings, except for a list of mandatory textbooks. Nevertheless, according to Burić, a copy of *Ratio educationis* from 1777, undoubtedly intended for the Osijek Grammar School, was discovered in its library holdings, and can also serve as evidence of book collection from at least that year. Specifically, Burić notes that the copy was stamped upon receipt and somewhat inventoried, as indicated by the ink-inscribed information „Gymnasii Regii Essekiniensis 1777“, along with the type of the oldest signature and the oval-shaped oldest German stamp (Burić, 1991: 182; Lubina, 2022: 122). However, the title page itself is defective, as the lower third of the page has been cut off, so it remains unknown whether it possibly contained the signature of the original owner or any other relevant information. As for the prescribed school textbooks, there is no trace of them in the Library, leading Burić to speculate that they may have been worn off, discarded due to wear and tear, or simply not included in the holdings due to their perishability or obsolescence. Conversely, the Library housed a significant number of Latin classics prescribed by *Ratio*, but it remains unknown whether they were acquired before, after, or during the enactment of the aforementioned law. Therefore, in addition to numerous works by Latin authors (Plautus, Terence, Ovid, Cicero, etc.), Burić highlights several examples that originate before *Ratio educationis* (1777), suggesting that they may have been on the shelves of the Grammar School Library since then: *M. T. Ciceronis Opera rhetorica et orationes...* I–III, Berolini, 1748 (G-236); *M. T. Ciceronis Orationes selectae...* I–III, Tyrnaviae, 1775–1776 (G-203); *Quinti Horatii Flacii Opera*, Tyrnaviae, 1757 (G-224); *P. Terentii Carthaginiensis Afri Comoediae...* I, II, Lipsiae, 1774 (G-174) (Burić, 1991: 182–183).

When the new *Ratio educationis* was published in 1806, one copy was sent to the Principal and another to the teachers of Osijek Grammar School at the start of the school year 1806/07 (Streer, 1872: 8). Only one copy has been preserved to this day, and it is presumed to have been included in the holdings once it

became outdated, or rather when the teachers ceased to use it.⁸ Emphasizing the practical use of the Latin language in public life, the then *Ratio* permitted teachers to prioritize the selection of Latin authors the students showed the greatest interest in, according to Matić. The scientific material reviews preserved in the *Ratio Classificationes* for the school years 1802/03 and 1803/04, list Chompré's chrestomathy⁹ as the prescribed textbook for Latin literature, and it is mentioned again in the 1806 *Ratio*. It should be noted that this chrestomathy, *Selecta latini sermonis exemplaria e scriptoribus probatissimis a P. Chompré, juris utriusque licentiatu. In usum juventutis provinciarum Hungariae recusa* (Vol. I 1799, Vol. II 1806, Vol. III 1798, Vol. IV 1798, Vol. V 1789, Vol. VI 1798), a copy from the Grammar School Library, has been fully preserved in the Franciscan monastery. The first three volumes of this content-rich chrestomathy were used in the first three grades of grammar classes. The excerpts, primarily from Latin historical works, also familiarized students with Roman history, which was not a separate subject at the time. The fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes were dedicated to the theory of rhetoric and Latin poetry and were intended for students in the humanities classes. Although to a lesser extent, these excerpts were also read in Osijek Grammar School, starting from the first grade grammar class for the practice of Latin writing and speaking. The included works comprised Aesop's and Phaedrus' fables, Roman history by the late Latin writer Eutropius, Sulpicius Severus and Qu. C. Rufus, works by Caesar, Livy, and Tacitus, Cicero's speeches and letters, Pliny the Younger's letters, Ovid's elegies, Horace's satires, epistles, and odes, and Vergil's Eclogues and Georgics. However, the curriculum of the Osijek Grammar School for the school years 1814/15 and 1815/16, expanded the circle of Latin authors to include later writers, as well as Latin works by late 16th-century humanists, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Joannes Stobaeus, Cornelius Nepos, Lucius Annaeus Florus, Sallust, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, M. F. Quintilianus, Tibullus, and Propertius (Matić, 1397: 43–46, 58–59).

From the aforementioned prescribed literature, Burić found only few works in the Grammar School Library that were printed before 1815: L. Annaei Flori Epitome Rerum romanorum... Lugduni Batavorum, 1722 (G-262); L. Annaei Senecae Opera... Tomus I–III, Amstelodami, 1672 (G-227); L. Annaei Senecae philosophi, Lipsiae, 1702 (G-206); Albii Tibulli equitis rom. quae extant... Amstelaedami, 1708 (G-532); Sex. Aurel Propertius varietate lectionis... Lipsiae, 1777 (G-165) (Burić, 1991: 184).

⁸ Burić finds that there is no old signature on the preserved copy, but only the label „Teacher's Library Royal Grammar School Osijek“, and then the later trademark „Professor's Library of the Women's *Realgymnasium*“ (1991: 183).

⁹ Of the other prescribed manuals, apart from the one in question, Burić can no longer find a single copy in the Grammar School collection.

Finally, according to the *Draft Organization of Austrian Gymnasiums and Realschulen* (1849), as previously mentioned, recommendations for establishing libraries for teachers and libraries for students were to be implemented in secondary schools. Same as the grammar schools in Austria, the Osijek Grammar School was also expected to restructure according to this new program. Therefore, on 16 October 1851, the Ministry of Worship and Education stipulated the conditions it was required to fulfill. Regarding this, on 19 October, a letter was sent on behalf of the Ministry by the Virovitica County Prefect, Count Petar Pejačević, requesting a description of the Grammar School Library and other scientific collections, aids, and the foundation established for the acquisition of those collections or any other purposes. The then Principal, Ernest Benišić, provided the requested information but also stated „the Osijek Grammar School has not had a library until now because it has not received the necessary funds for that purpose“,¹⁰ and for the same reason, there was also a lack of educational collections in the Grammar School (Sršan, 2007: 363–364, 370).

However, this situation would soon undergo a radical change with the donation made on 11 December 1852, which would become the foundation for the establishment of a new library. Bishop J. J. Strossmayer generously donated books he had purchased specifically for the puposes of the Grammar School Library:

Glorious City Council! Attached herewith is a list of those books that I purchased for the Royal Grammar School in Osijek and two remaining books. By establishing thereby the foundation of the Grammar School Library, I donate all these books to the institution and wish that the youth who are educated from them bear fruit in a hundredfold from diverse sciences and be useful to the law and the homeland.¹¹

However, since there was no suitable space designated for the library in the Grammar School building at the time, the books, together with the inventory, were transferred from the Rectorate to the Grammar School Library in the Franciscan monastery on 26 February 1853 (Streer, 1872: 13; Sršan, 2007: 393; Lubina, 2022: 122).

The activities and development of the Library have been systematically documented since that time, mainly owing to the school reports that were regularly published from 1851/52 to 1876/77, which are now part of the documentation of the Grammar School collection in the library department of the

¹⁰ HR-DAOS-157 Royal Grammar School Osijek, file no. 26/1851., box. no. 1.

¹¹ HR-DAOS-157 Royal Grammar School Osijek, file no. 1/1852, box. no. 1.

Museum of Slavonia. In addition to the annual school reports of the former Royal Grammar School, the library department of the Museum of Slavonia also possesses two inventory books that were started by Danica Pinterović and Marija Malbaša and which contain records of the existing Grammar School book collection along with other materials in the Museum library. The content-rich collection of old and rare books of exceptional value has been preserved as a whole and incorporated into the Museum's collection since 1943, making it a closed monument collection with almost 11,138 volumes of books¹² (Burić, 1979: 226–228; Lubina, 2019: 96, 131; Lubina, 2022: 122, 133).

4. CONCLUSION

The examination of the development and activities of grammar school education in Croatia has confirmed the significant influence and contribution of the Jesuits to its evolution. They initiated the founding of the first public grammar schools in this region, having established them in Zagreb, Dubrovnik, Rijeka, Varaždin, Požega, and Osijek in the early 17th century. These schools were divided into *lower* or Latin schools (*studia inferiora*) with five grades, and *higher* or academies (*studia superiora*) where philosophy and theology were taught. What made them particularly renowned was the unique school system known as *Ratio Studiorum*. Libraries were also established within Jesuit colleges and grammar schools, being mandatory according to the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and other regulations of the Society, primarily serving the needs of the students and teachers. The operation and funding of these libraries were governed by clear and strict rules, and they grew and were enriched through numerous donations and legacies. Owing to the inventories compiled after the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773, it is now known that the libraries of these Jesuit grammar schools contained a wealth of valuable domestic and foreign works on various topics. In addition to textbooks and manuals, they housed theological, philosophical, and scientific works, as well as works by heretics, ancient and medieval writers, renowned lexicographers, and many others. Such a representative and impressive selection of books was the result of a very effective acquisition policy, as the Jesuits in our region had to carefully select only the highest quality books they needed for their work due to limited financial resources.

¹² The collection is registered (Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Osijek. Reg. No. 108 – Decision 03.284/1-81, 1981).

Particularly noteworthy in terms of cultural and historical significance is the Library of the Jesuit Grammar School in Osijek, information about which is only available through the Chronicles of the first secular parish priest Antun Josip Turković, and later from Bösendorfer and Medved. However, since there is no mention of the Library after the Grammar School came under the administration of the Franciscans, museologist Vesna Burić has previously suggested the hypothesis or possibility that the students or teachers of the School might have been able to use the Library of the Franciscan Monastery. Nevertheless, research has revealed that systematic book collection can only be traced back to 1777, the year when the only surviving copy of *Ratio educationis* was found, with a clear indication that it was intended for the Osijek Grammar School, as it was stamped and inventoried upon receipt. According to later data from archival records and historical accounts by Eduard Streer, it is also known that the books donated to the school by Bishop Strossmayer in 1852 were housed in the Franciscan Monastery. At that time, the Grammar School Library was located there, and it was precisely this donation from Strossmayer that laid the foundation for the formation of the new, future Grammar School Library.

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ULOGA ISUSOVACA U RAZVOJU HRVATSKIH ŠKOLSKIH BIBLIOTEKA

Ono što je zajedničko bibliotekama i obrazovanju je činjenica da se radi o dva usko povezana fenomena, a o čemu svjedoče upravo biblioteke koje se javljaju još početkom 17. vijeka uz prve isusovačke gimnazije u Hrvatskoj kao integralni dio njihovog obrazovnog rada. Takve priručne učiteljske biblioteke rasle su i bogatile se poklonima i legatima mnogih simpatizera Reda, bivših profesora, učenika, istaknutih ličnosti, kao i sredstvima lokalnih vlasti. Rad se temelji na istraživačkom istorijskom pregledu objavljenih naučnih i stručnih istraživanja, kao i arhivske građe s ciljem produbljivanja znanja o osnivanju i razvoju fondova prvih biblioteka isusovačkih kolegijuma, s posebnim akcentom na osječku misiju. Iako isusovci u Osijeku utemeljuju latinsku školu 1729., prve podatke o postojanju knjiga iz gimnazijske biblioteke ipak saznajemo tek iz Ljetopisa župnika Antuna Turkovića (1798-1806). Do tada, istorijski izvori i relevantna literatura ne pružaju nikakve konkretne odgovore o postojanju same biblioteke, pa se ne može pouzdano utvrditi jesu li se knjige sistematično prikupljale za potrebe obrazovnog rada. Zato se ovim istraživanjem nameće teza da su isusovačke biblioteke, s posebnim naglaskom na osječku, bile bogate knjigama namijenjenim školovanju učenika i nastavnika, pa su kao takve bile neizostavni činilac koji je pridonio razvoju gimnazijskog obrazovanja i obrazovanja u Osijeku uopšte.

Ključne riječi: *isusovci, gimnazije, biblioteke, obrazovanje, osječka misija*