

UDK 271.3(497.5 Našice)"1786/1847"(093)

371(497.5 Slavonija)"1786/1847"(093)

Primljeno: 26. 4. 2017.

Prihvaćeno: 9. 10. 2017.

Izvorni znanstveni rad

DOI: 10.22586/pp.v53i2.13

Resistance, Conflicts and Contributions to Organising Education in Slavonia in the 18th and the First Decades of the 19th Century*

Milan Vrbanus

Croatian Institute of History

Department of History of Slavonia, Sylvania and Baranya

Ante Starčevića 8

35000 Slavonski Brod

Croatia

E-mail: mvrbanus@isp.hr

The author strove to present developments in education in the last decades of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century using data from canonical visitation reports of the Pécs and the Bosnian-Đakovo and Sylvania Dioceses, information from the archives of the Franciscan Monastery of St. Anthony of Padua in Našice, published archival minutes of Slavonian Franciscan and other monasteries, as well as information on educational institutions, teachers and teaching staff from schematisms published in Zagrabiense Calendarium from 1786 to 1847. Moreover, based on the sources mentioned, the author presented factors that positively or negatively influenced developments in education within the mentioned time frame.

Key words: education, Slavonia, Franciscan monasteries, canonical visitations, Zagrabiense Calendarium

Introduction

In the mid 18th century, education was not institutionally organized but rather depended on initiatives of local landowners, local clergy and religious orders.

* This research was supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project 4919 "From Proto-modernisation to Modernisation of the Croatian School System (18th and 19th Century)."

Conscious of the Habsburg Monarchy's inferiority to the Kingdom of Prussia, Queen Maria Theresa endeavoured to reform the Habsburg Monarchy. Working on the modernisation of society in various segments of social activities, she realised that education is one of the important segments of society, which needed modernisation to neutralize the backwardness of her kingdom. Therefore, towards the end of her reign, she introduced measures placing education under state control and organising the education system as a lever of government. The organisation of the education system resulted in conflicts, and understandably resistance was offered by individual categories of Croatian society of the time. Placing education under state control and creating an education system imposed new financial and work obligations on the population. This was a burden on them and they failed to see any purpose for the new levies. Moreover, an enlarged network of elementary schools generated problems (lack of qualified teachers, inadequate school facilities and teachers' lodgings, lack of funding for local teachers' salaries, poverty of the local population) arising from the unpreparedness of local surroundings for the opening of new schools. Problems, conflicts and resistance emerged out of a lack of adequate prerequisites for opening and the operation of elementary schools.

Problems in the process of establishing as well as in the operation of elementary schools in Slavonian Counties (resistances and conflicts) can be researched based on the canonical visitation reports published for the Slavonian part of the Diocese of Pécs and the Diocese of Bosnia-Đakovo and Sylvania. Moreover, I will also make use of the archival material from the archives of the Franciscan Monastery of St. Anthony of Padua in Našice, whose friars were headmasters of the *trivial school*¹ in Našice from the early 1820s to the mid 1870s. I will also use data from the published "chronicles" of Slavonian Franciscan monasteries and information on schools, teachers and teaching personnel in *Zagrabiense Calendarium* from 1786 to 1847. Based on these sources, I will present the contribution of individual social factors (estate owners, village commune, parish priests and members of the Slavonian Franciscan Province of St. John of Capistrano) to building a network of elementary schools in the second half of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th century.

Education System in the 18th and the First Half of the 19th Century

During the 18th century, Slavonia was divided into two parts: Civil Slavonia under civilian administration and the Slavonian General Command under military administration. The differences arising from Slavonia's administrative organisation reflected on the organisation structure of the education system. Since Civil Slavonia was divided into a number of larger or smaller estates, establishment of the education system depended on the interests and economic power of owners

¹ *Trivialschulen* (German) were 3-year elementary schools in villages. The name is derived from *trivium*, teaching the three Rs – reading, writing and arithmetic (translator's note).

of Slavonian land estates. On the other hand, the education system in the territory of the Military Frontier depended on the interests of military commanders, who, just as civilian administrators, were supposed to take action on the establishment of local trivial schools.²

In Slavonia, two *gymnasiums*³ were in operation until the adoption of *Ratio educationis*, located in the largest towns, Osijek and Požega, and administered by members of the Jesuit order. The Požega gymnasium was administered by the Jesuits who ran the estate of Kutjevo. In the late 17th century, this estate was given to them as a gift by Abbot Josip Babić, who had received it from Leopold I, confirming his deed of gift. The Kutjevo estate brought the Jesuits a considerable income enabling them to finance the operations of the Požega gymnasium. On the other hand, the Jesuits of Osijek possessed the estate of Aljmaš, which in turn enabled them to fund the Osijek gymnasium. After the abolishment of the Jesuit order, the Požega gymnasium was taken over by the Pauline Fathers, followed by the Franciscans, and the Osijek gymnasium was taken over by the Franciscans.⁴

In addition to the Jesuit gymnasiums in Osijek and Požega, the authorities of the Franciscan Province of *Bosna Argentina* began to open educational institutions in Franciscan monasteries of the Province in the early 18th century. Immediately upon their arrival in Slavonia, the Jesuits came into conflict with the local Franciscans. Since the Jesuits were focused on establishing educational institutions, the Franciscans decided to found philosophical and theological educational institutions at their Provincial Chapter held in the early 18th century. Therefore, by the time of Maria Theresa's education reforms, several philosophical and theological educational institutions had been established in Franciscan monasteries (Brod,

² For more details see several chapters in the synthesis of Croatian history published in the editions of Školska knjiga. See: *Povijest Hrvata – Druga knjiga – Od kraja 15. st. do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata*, eds. Mirko Valentić and Lovorka Čoralić (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005), 211-214, 218-227, 242-258, 269-287.

³ *Gymnasium* (German) was a type of secondary school preparing for university studies with a strong emphasis on classical languages (translator's note).

⁴ Antun Cuvaj, ed., *Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas sv. I. – Od najstarijih vremena do godine 1780.* (Zagreb: Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910), 444 (erroneous pagination – it should be p. 344); Tomo Matić, "Osječka humanistička gimnazija od osnutka do godine 1848. – Prilog za povijest srednjih škola u Hrvatskoj", *Rad JAZU* 257 (1937): 5-10; Josip Buturac, "Imovina požeških isusovaca", in: *Hrvatska prošlost* book 2, eds. Rudolf Horvat (Zagreb: Kulturno-historijsko društvo "Hrvatski rodoljub", 1942), 148-166; Dragutin Franković i dr., *Povijest školstva i pedagogije u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Pedagoško-književni zbor, 1958), 42; Filip Potrebica, "Gimnazija", in: *Požega 1227-1977*, ed. Marijan Strbašić (Slavonska Požega: Skupština općine Slavonska Požega – Odbor za proslavu 750-godišnjice grada Slavonske Požege, 1977), 448-449; Filip Potrebica, *Tri stoljeća požeške gimnazije* (Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 1994), 19-36; Stjepan Sršan, ed., *Povijest osječke kraljevske gimnazije – Historia Gymnasii regii Essekinensis* (Zagreb; Osijek: HAZU, Zavod za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku, 2001), 13, 15; Ivana Horbec, Vlasta Švoger, "Školstvo kao politicum: Opći školski red iz 1774.", *Analiza povijest odgoja* 9 (2010): 6-7; Paškal Cvekan, *Osječki Franjevci – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz boravljenja i djelovanja franjevac – Malobračana – prigodom jubileja tristote obljetnice njihova dolaska u staru, rimsku Mursu a današnji grad Osijek na Dravi (1687-1987) i na 50 godina boravka u današnjem samostanu (1938-1988)* (Osijek: Plamen, 1987), 123-127.

Požega, Vukovar, Ilok, Petrovaradin and occasionally Našice) as well as philosophical and theological courses of study at the General Institution of Learning of the 1st Class in Osijek.⁵ Indeed, Franciscan philosophical and theological educational institutions mainly educated young generations of friars. It was only in grammar schools that were occasionally in operation in individual monasteries, such as in Našice, that persons were educated who pursued their further education in some other educational (secular or spiritual) institutions. In this way, these schools were instrumental in spreading education among the local population. Admittedly, these schools did not exert strong influence on spreading literacy among the population, because they rarely sent their children to school.⁶

At the same time, only a few, mainly trivial schools, operated in Slavonia, in towns (Osijek, Požega and Petrovaradin), in individual seats of land estates (Vukovar, Đakovo, Ruma, Valpovo, Retfala, Pleternica, Pakrac, Kaptol, Požega and elsewhere) and military communities (Zemun). Indeed, there was no educated teacher in Valpovo in 1745, but a collector of tolls on the estate taught boys German and Latin. This is testified by canonical visitation reports from the Slavonian part of

⁵ Cuvaj ed., *Grada* vol. I, 335-338; Franković, *Povijest školstva*, 43; Horbec and Švoger, "Školstvo", 6-7. On Franciscan educational institutions in Slavonia in the 18th century see more extensively in: Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Dvije osječke visoke škole u 18. stoljeću (I. dio)", *Kačić – Zbornik Franjevačke provincije Presvetog Otkupitelja* 8 (1976): 135-191; Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Franjevačko visoko učilište u Požegi", *Nova et vetera – Revija za filozofsko-teološke i srodne discipline* year 27 (1977a), no. 1: 87-111; Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Franjevačka visoka filozofska škola u Slavonskom Brodu", *Nova et vetera – Revija za filozofsko-teološke i srodne discipline* year 27 (1977b), no. 2: 69-98; Paškal Cvekan, *Virovitica i Franjevci – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz sedam stoljetne povezanosti Virovitice s Franjevcima prigodom 200 godina posvećenja samostanske crkve Svetog Roka, jedinstveno vrijedna i sačuvana baroknog spomenika u Virovitici (Virovitica: Plamen, 1977)*, 139; Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Dvije osječke visoke škole u 18. stoljeću (II. dio)", *Kačić – Zbornik Franjevačke provincije Presvetog Otkupitelja* 10 (1978): 127-172; Paškal Cvekan, *Vukovar i Franjevci – Povijesno kulturni prikaz djelovanja Franjevaca u Vukovaru prigodom 760 godina prvog pismenog spominjanja Vukovske županije i 250 godina postojanja Franjevačkog samostana u Vukovaru* (Vukovar: Plamen, 1980), 113-116; Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Abinim Našicama – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz djelovanja Franjevaca kroz 700 godina postojanja samostana i crkve Svetog Antuna u Abinim Našicama* (Našice: Plamen, 1981), 151-155; Paškal Cvekan, *Požeški Franjevci i njihovo djelovanje – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz sedamsto godišnjeg dolaska i djelovanja Franjevaca u Slavonskoj Požegi* (Slavonska Požega: Plamen, 1983), 151-153; Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Brodu – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz prisutnosti i djelovanja franjevaca u Slavonskom Brodu prigodom 360 godina prvog zapisanog svjedočanstva o boravku franjevaca u Brodu (1623.-1983.)* (Slavonski Brod: Plamen, 1984), 148-153; Paškal Cvekan, *Franjevci u Iloku – Kulturno-povijesni prikaz djelotvorne prisutnosti Franjevaca u Iloku prigodom jubilarne 600. godine rođenja Svetog Ivana Kapistrana (1386-1986) i 530. godina njegove smrti u Iloku (1456-1986)* (Ilok: Plamen, 1986), 164-167; Cvekan, *Osječki* 116-120; Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Filozofsko učilište u Vukovaru (1733.-1783.)", *Anali za povijest odgoja* 1 (1992): 13-24; Franjo Emanuel Hoško, "Franjevačka bogoslovna škola u Petrovaradinu", *Diacovensia* 7 (1999), no. 1: 201-220; Franjo Emanuel Hoško, *Franjevačke visoke škole u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2002), 193-308, 333-350; Franjo Emanuel Hoško, *Slavonska franjevačka učilišta* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2011), 137-344.

⁶ Hoško, *Slavonska franjevačka učilišta*, 29-52; Silvija Lučevnjak and Milan Vrbanus, "Kulturno-povijesna baština našičkih franjevaca", in: *Zapisnik franjevačkog samostana u Našicama knjiga I (1739.-1787.)*, eds. Tamara Tvrtković and Milan Vrbanus (Našice; Slavonski Brod; Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje; Zavičajni muzej Našice; Franjevački samostan sv. Antuna Padovanskog u Našicama; Grad Našice; Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010), XVIII-XIX; Cuvaj, ed., *Grada* vol. I, 335; Cvekan, *Franjevci u Abinim Našicama*, 150.

the Diocese of Pécs and the Diocese of Bosnia-Đakovo and Sylvania. A similar situation was in Pleternica, where notary Josip Balog acted as teacher. In Ruševo, notary Đuro Jagodić taught. Individual trivial schools were run by members of the Franciscan and the Jesuit orders (until 1773). The Franciscans ran schools in Ilok and Cernik. A friar keeping records in the Franciscan monastery in Našice wrote that in February 1778, a normal school began its operations in the manor of the Pejačević family in Našice, but did not note that members of his order taught there.⁷ Although it would be logical to assume that members of the local Franciscan community taught in this school, I do not think they did because the recording friar would have boasted about this and noted it in the minutes.

Before the proclamation of *Ratio educationis* in the Habsburg Monarchy, the education system was not organised according to some state school law or order. Therefore, the Court in Vienna proclaimed *Allgemeine Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-, Haupt- and Trivialschulen* in 1774, which Hungarian and Croatian nobility opposed. Therefore, Maria Theresa proclaimed *Ratio educationis* in 1777, drafted by Joseph Baron Urmény and Dane Tersztjanski.⁸ This act established an education system in Croatian-Slavonian Counties as well. This act created school districts which were supposed to care for the organisation of education. Thus, the Zagreb school district was established comprising all six Croatian-Slavonian Counties and headed by Nikola Škrlec Lomnički.⁹ He administered it as Supreme

⁷ Hrvatski državni arhiv, Požeška županija, *Protokol Požeške županije* book 6 (in the Archives, it was recorded as book 6 whereas it is really book 3), fol. 202-205; Stjepan Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga III – Valpovačko-miholjačko područje (1730.-1830.)* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Biskupija Đakovačka i Srijemska, 2005), 2-99; Stjepan Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knj. IV – Srijem 1735. – 1768.* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Biskupija Đakovačka i Srijemska, 2006), 2-633; Stjepan Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga V – Osijek i okolica 1732.-1833* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Biskupija Đakovačka i Srijemska, 2007), 3-95; Stjepan Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga VI – Srijem 1775.-1833.* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku ; Biskupija Đakovačka i Srijemska, 2008), 2-89; Stjepan Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga VIII – Vinkovačko-vukovarsko-iločko područje 1768.-1840.* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Đakovačko-osječka nadbiskupija i metropolija, 2010), 2-29; Stjepan Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga IX – Brodsko područje 1730.-1833.* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Đakovačko-osječka nadbiskupija i metropolija, 2010), 2-673; Stjepan Sršan ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga X – Đakovačko područje 1751.-1833.* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Đakovačko-osječka nadbiskupija i metropolija, 2011), 2-91; Cuvaj, ed., *Grada* vol. I, 466-467 (erroneous pagination – it should be pp. 366-367), 376-382, 396-397; Šime Demo et al., *Zapisnik franjevačkog samostana u Našicama knjiga I (1739.-1787.)*, eds. Tamara Tvrković and Milan Vrbanus (Našice; Slavonski Brod; Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje; Zavičajni muzej Našice; Franjevački samostan sv. Antuna Padovanskog u Našicama; Grad Našice; Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010), 83.

⁸ Franković i dr., *Povijest školstva*, 58-62; Cuvaj, ed., *Grada* vol. I, 446, 451-453.

⁹ *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXVII.*, Zagreb, 1777, 11; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXVIII.*, Zagreb, 1778, 13; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXX.*, Zagreb, 1780, 12; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXI.*, Zagreb, 1781, 11; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXII.*, Zagreb, 1782, 16; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXIII.*, Zagreb, 1783, 21; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXIV.*, Zagreb, 1784, 23; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXV.*, Zagreb, 1785, 24; *ZC MDCCLXXXVI., [23]*; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXVII.*, Zagreb, 1787, [21]; Jelja Dobronić,

Headmaster of Schools until his retirement. His task was the care for education in the territory of the school district. In addition to him, a National School Inspector was appointed, and this office was entrusted to Zagreb canon Antun Mandić,¹⁰ the prospective Bishop of Bosnia-Đakovo and Sylvania, who went about the entire region administered by the Zagreb school district endeavouring to ascertain the circumstances under which the existing schools operated, to encourage local administrative institutions to take more active care for existing schools, to establish new elementary schools, maintain existing and construct new school buildings, take care of the application of the prescribed teaching methods, the financial situation of teachers (salary and other benefits), their mutual relations and finding the necessary teachers who spoke Croatian.¹¹

His care for education was continued by his successors, Zagreb canons Filip Wohlgemuth and Mirko Vory, but their efforts to establish a network of elementary schools did not result in a significant increase in the number of elementary schools in Slavonian Counties.¹² After the adoption of *Ratio educationis*, more attention was paid to organise a network of elementary schools. This is testified by the data on the number of elementary schools in Slavonian Counties in *Zagrabiense Calendarium* from the period 1786-1847. According to this information, Slavonian Counties had only 19 trivial schools¹³ in 1786, and in 1847 there were 79 elementary schools (9 main schools¹⁴ and 70 lower primary schools)¹⁵ (table 1 and chart 1), which was an increase of more than four times. As evident in the data on the number of elementary schools, their numbers slowly increa-

Zagrebačka akademija – Academia Zagrabiensis – Visokoškolski studij u Zagrebu 1633.-1874. (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004), 181; Fran Plevnjak, *Prilozi za kulturnu povijest hrvatskog svećenstva (Rad svećenstva na školskom-prosvjetnom polju)* (Zagreb: Kr. zemaljska tiskara, 1910), 37; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. I, 446-448; Antun Cuvaj, ed., *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas sv. II. Od godine 1780. do 2. ožujka 1835.* (Zagreb: Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910), vol. 5.

¹⁰ *ZC MDCCLXXVII.*, 12; *ZC MDCCLXXVIII.*, 14; *ZC MDCCLXXX.*, 13; *ZC MDCCLXXXI.*, 12; *ZC MDCCLXXXII.*, 20; Plevnjak, *Prilozi za kulturnu povijest*, 37, 152; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. I, 449-450.

¹¹ Marin Srakić, "Antun Mandić, biskup, realizator školskih reforma u Hrvatskoj", in: *Zbornik radova o Marijanu Lanosoviću* (Osijek: JAZU, Zavod za znanstveni rad u Osijeku, 1985), 89; Franković i dr., *Povijest školstva*, 68; Plevnjak, *Prilozi za kulturnu povijest*, 37, 152; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. I, 454; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. II, 5.

¹² Plevnjak, *Prilozi za kulturnu povijest*, 49-50.

¹³ Among the elementary schools in Slavonian Counties, I included just schools with teachers, whereas schools having no teachers were not considered before teachers, priests or monks began to work in them (in Slavonia after 1773, those were Franciscans).

¹⁴ Main schools were four-year schools usually in towns (translator's note).

¹⁵ Jaroslav Šidak wrote that in 1834 there were 37 elementary schools in Slavonia, which, according to the data from schematism, was not correct. In 1834, there were 48 elementary schools in Slavonian counties. Jaroslav Šidak, "Hrvatske zemlje u razdoblju nastajanja preporodnog pokreta (1790-1827)", *Historijski zbornik* 33-34 (1980 – 1981), no. 1: 91; Jaroslav Šidak et al., *Hrvatski narodni preporod Ilirski pokret* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1990), 77; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCC-CXXXIV.* ..., Zagreb, 1834, ŠCS, 44-48.

sed during the six decades. This is particularly true of Požega County where the number of schools just doubled during six decades, whereas it increased more quickly in Syrmian, and most quickly in Virovitica County, where the number of elementary schools increased six times.¹⁶ Indeed, one should bear in mind that

¹⁶ ZC MDCCCXXXIV., ŠCS, 44-48; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCLXXX.* ..., Zagreb, 1786, [28]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCLXXXIX.* ..., Zagreb, 1789, [27]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXC.* ..., Zagreb, 1790, [22]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCI.* ..., Zagreb, 1791, [21]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCII.* ..., Zagreb, 1792, [25]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1793, [37]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCIV.* ..., Zagreb, 1794, [38]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCV.* ..., Zagreb, 1795, [38]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCVI.* ..., Zagreb, 1796, [28]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCVII.* ..., Zagreb, 1797, [37]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCVIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1798, [39]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCIX.* ..., Zagreb, 1799, [40]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCC.* ..., Zagreb, 1800, [24]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCI.* ..., Zagreb, 1801, [40]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCII.* ..., Zagreb, 1802, [24]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1803, [24]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCIV.* ..., Zagreb, 1804, [27]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCIV.* ..., Zagreb, 1805, [45]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCVI.* ..., Zagreb, 1806, [32-33]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCVII.* ..., Zagreb, 1807, [35-36]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCVIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1808, [46-47]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCIX.* ..., Zagreb, 1809, [23-24]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCX.* ..., Zagreb, 1810, ŠCS, [17-18]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXI.* ..., Zagreb, 1811, ŠCS, [11-12]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXII.* ..., Zagreb, 1812, ŠCS, [11-12]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1813, ŠCS, [12]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXIV.* ..., Zagreb, 1814, ŠCS, [12]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXV.* ..., Zagreb, 1815, ŠCS, [12]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXVI.* ..., Zagreb, 1816, ŠCS, [11-12]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXVII.* ..., Zagreb, 1817, ŠCS, [11-12]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXVIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1818, ŠCS, [10-11]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXIX.* ..., Zagreb, 1819, ŠCS, [10-11]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXX.* ..., Zagreb, 1820, ŠCS, [10-11]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXI.* ..., Zagreb, 1821, ŠCS, [10-11]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXII.* ..., Zagreb, 1822, ŠCS, [10-11]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1823, ŠCS, [10-12]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXIV.* ..., Zagreb, 1824, ŠCS, [12-13]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXV.* ..., Zagreb, 1825, ŠCS, [32-36]; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXVI.* ..., Zagreb, 1826, ŠCS, 32-36; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXVII.* ..., Zagreb, 1827, ŠCS, 41-45; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXVIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1828, ŠCS, 41-45; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXIX.* ..., Zagreb, 1829, ŠCS, 41-45; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXX.* ..., Zagreb, 1830, ŠCS, 43-47; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXI.* ..., Zagreb, 1831, ŠCS, 43-47; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXII.* ..., Zagreb, 1832, ŠCS, 43-47; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1833, ŠCS, 43-47; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXIV.* ..., Zagreb, 1834, ŠCS, 44-48; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXV.* ..., Zagreb, 1835, ŠCS, 44-48; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXVI.* ..., Zagreb, 1836, ŠCS, 45-49; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXVII.* ..., Zagreb, 1837, ŠCS, 47-51; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXVIII.* ..., Zagreb, 1838, ŠCS, 51-55; *Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXIX.* ..., Zagreb, 1839, ŠCS, 51-55; *Zagrabiense Calendarium pro anno bissextili 1840.* ..., Zagreb, 1840, ŠCS, 52-60; *Zagrabiense Calendarium pro anno bissextili 1841.* ..., Zagreb, 1841, ŠCS, 53-61; *Zagrabiense Calendarium pro anno bissextili 1842.* ..., Zagreb, 1842, ŠCS, 45-49, 60-62, 65-70; *Zagrabiense Calendarium pro anno bissextili 1843.* ..., Zagreb, 1843, ŠCS, 48-52, 66-69, 72-76; *Zagrabi-*

Virovitica County was the largest at the time, both in terms of area and number of settlements, and therefore, it is understandable that the increase in the number of elementary schools in relation to 1786 is more significant. The number of schools would have been higher had Slavonia had enough teachers. There were schools in Požega and Virovitica Counties that were not operating because there were no teachers. Schematisms published in *Zagrabiense Calendarium* indicated that individual schools were understaffed.

Table 1. Number of elementary schools in Slavonian Counties from 1786 to 1847.

YEAR	NO. OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS				INDEX			
	POŽEGA COUNTY	VIROVITICA COUNTY	SYRMIAN COUNTY	TOTAL	POŽEGA COUNTY	VIROVITICA COUNTY	SYRMIAN COUNTY	TOTAL
1786	6	6	7	19	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
1787								
1788								
1789	13	10	9	32	216.67	166.67	128.57	168.42
1790	13	11	9	33	216.67	183.33	128.57	173.68
1791	13	11	9	33	216.67	183.33	128.57	173.68
1792	13	10	9	32	216.67	166.67	128.57	168.42
1793	13	10	9	32	216.67	166.67	128.57	168.42
1794	13	10	9	32	216.67	166.67	128.57	168.42
1795	13	10	9	32	216.67	166.67	128.57	168.42
1796	10	6	9	25	166.67	100.00	128.57	131.58
1797	10	7	9	26	166.67	116.67	128.57	136.84
1798	10	7	9	26	166.67	116.67	128.57	136.84
1799	10	8	11	29	166.67	133.33	157.14	152.63
1800	10	8	11	29	166.67	133.33	157.14	152.63
1801	10	8	11	29	166.67	133.33	157.14	152.63
1802	10	8	11	29	166.67	133.33	157.14	152.63
1803	10	8	11	29	166.67	133.33	157.14	152.63
1804	10	9	11	30	166.67	150.00	157.14	157.89
1805	10	9	11	30	166.67	150.00	157.14	157.89
1806	10	10	11	31	166.67	166.67	157.14	163.16
1807	10	10	11	31	166.67	166.67	157.14	163.16
1808	10	11	10	31	166.67	183.33	142.86	163.16
1809	10	10	11	31	166.67	166.67	157.14	163.16
1810	10	10	11	31	166.67	166.67	157.14	163.16

ense Calendarium pro anno bissextili 1844. ..., Zagreb, 1844, ŠCS, 47-50, 63-65, 68-72; *Zagrabiense Calendarium pro anno bissextili 1845. ...*, Zagreb, 1845, ŠCS, 50-53, 65-68, 70-75; *Zagrabiense Calendarium pro anno bissextili 1846. ...*, Zagreb, 1846, ŠCS, 54-57, 70-73, 75-80; *Zagrabiense Calendarium pro anno bissextili 1847. ...*, Zagreb, 1847, ŠCS, 54-55, 69-72, 75-80.

YEAR	NO. OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS				INDEX			
	POŽEGA COUNTY	VIROVITICA COUNTY	SYRMIAN COUNTY	TOTAL	POŽEGA COUNTY	VIROVITICA COUNTY	SYRMIAN COUNTY	TOTAL
1811	10	10	11	31	166.67	166.67	157.14	163.16
1812	10	10	11	31	166.67	166.67	157.14	163.16
1813	10	12	11	33	166.67	200.00	157.14	173.68
1814	10	12	11	33	166.67	200.00	157.14	173.68
1815	10	12	11	33	166.67	200.00	157.14	173.68
1816	10	14	11	35	166.67	233.33	157.14	184.21
1817	10	14	11	35	166.67	233.33	157.14	184.21
1818	10	14	10	34	166.67	233.33	142.86	178.95
1819	10	13	10	33	166.67	216.67	142.86	173.68
1820	10	15	9	34	166.67	250.00	128.57	178.95
1821	9	14	9	32	150.00	233.33	128.57	168.42
1822	10	14	11	35	166.67	233.33	157.14	184.21
1823	10	13	11	34	166.67	216.67	157.14	178.95
1824	10	18	11	39	166.67	300.00	157.14	205.26
1825	10	24	10	44	166.67	400.00	142.86	231.58
1826	10	24	10	44	166.67	400.00	142.86	231.58
1827	10	25	11	46	166.67	416.67	157.14	242.11
1828	10	26	11	47	166.67	433.33	157.14	247.37
1829	10	25	10	45	166.67	416.67	142.86	236.84
1830	10	25	11	46	166.67	416.67	157.14	242.11
1831	10	25	11	46	166.67	416.67	157.14	242.11
1832	10	25	12	47	166.67	416.67	171.43	247.37
1833	10	25	12	47	166.67	416.67	171.43	247.37
1834	10	25	13	48	166.67	416.67	185.71	252.63
1835	10	27	13	50	166.67	450.00	185.71	263.16
1836	10	31	13	54	166.67	516.67	185.71	284.21
1837	10	33	13	56	166.67	550.00	185.71	294.74
1838	10	35	13	58	166.67	583.33	185.71	305.26
1839	10	36	13	59	166.67	600.00	185.71	310.53
1840	10	38	14	62	166.67	633.33	200.00	326.32
1841	10	38	14	62	166.67	633.33	200.00	326.32
1842	12	45	15	72	200.00	750.00	214.29	378.95
1843	12	46	16	74	200.00	766.67	228.57	389.47
1844	12	46	17	75	200.00	766.67	242.86	394.74
1845	11	45	18	74	183.33	750.00	257.14	389.47
1846	12	45	18	75	200.00	750.00	257.14	394.74
1847	12	45	22	79	200.00	750.00	314.29	415.79

SOURCE: *ZC MDCCLXXXVI.*, [28]; *ZC MDCCLXXXIX.*, [27]; *ZC MDCCXC.*, [22]; *ZC MDCCXCI.*, [21]; *ZC MDCCXCII.*, [25]; *ZC MDCCXCIII.*, [37]; *ZC MDCCXCIV.*, [38]; *ZC MDCCXCV.*, [38]; *ZC MDCCXCVI.*, [28]; *ZC MDCCXCVII.*, [37]; *ZC MDCCXCVIII.*, [39]; *ZC MDCCXCIX.*, [40]; *ZC MDCCC.*, [24]; *ZC MDCCCI.*, [40]; *ZC MDCCCII.*, [24]; *ZC MDCCCIII.*, [24]; *ZC MDCCCIV.*, [27]; *ZC MDCCCIV.*, [45]; *ZC MDCCCVI.*, [32-33]; *ZC MDCCCVII.*, [35-36]; *ZC MDCCCVIII.*, [46-47]; *ZC MDCCCIX.*, [23-24]; *ZC MDCCCX.*, ŠCS, [17-18]; *ZC MDCCCXI.*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXII.*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXIII.*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXIV.*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXV.*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXVI.*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXVII.*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXVIII.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXIX.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXX.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXI.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXII.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXIII.*, ŠCS, [10-12]; *ZC MDCCCXXIV.*, ŠCS, [12-13]; *ZC MDCCCXXV.*, ŠCS, [32-36]; *ZC MDCCCXXVI.*, ŠCS, 32-36; *ZC MDCCCXXVII.*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXVIII.*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXIX.*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXX.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXI.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXII.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXIII.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXIV.*, ŠCS, 44-48; *ZC MDCCCXXXV.*, ŠCS, 44-48; *ZC MDCCCXXXVI.*, ŠCS, 45-49; *ZC MDCCCXXXVII.*, ŠCS, 47-51; *ZC MDCCCXXXVIII.*, ŠCS, 51-55; *ZC MDCCCXXXIX.*, ŠCS, 51-55; *ZC, 1840.*, ŠCS, 52-60; *ZC, 1841.*, ŠCS, 53-61; *ZC, 1842.*, ŠCS, 45-49, 60-62, 65-70; *ZC, 1843.*, ŠCS, 48-52, 66-69, 72-76; *ZC, 1844.*, ŠCS, 47-50, 63-65, 68-72; *ZC, 1845.*, ŠCS, 50-53, 65-68, 70-75; *ZC, 1846.*, ŠCS, 54-57, 70-73, 75-80; *ZC, 1847.*, ŠCS, 54-55, 69-72, 75-80.

The number of elementary schools began to increase significantly as late as the 1820s leading to the conclusion that the efforts of Vory's successor in the office of the National School Inspector, secular officer Tomo Košćak then bore fruit. The number of elementary schools between 1786 and 1823 did not significantly increase, but remained the same. It was only after 1823 that their number began to increase, especially in Virovitica and much less in Syrmian and Požega Counties¹⁷ (table 1 and chart 1).

¹⁷ *ZC MDCCLXXXVI.*, [28]; *ZC MDCCLXXXIX.*, [27]; *ZC MDCCXC.*, [22]; *ZC MDCCXCI.*, [21]; *ZC MDCCXCII.*, [25]; *ZC MDCCXCIII.*, [37]; *ZC MDCCXCIV.*, [38]; *ZC MDCCXCV.*, [38]; *ZC MDCCXCVI.*, [28]; *ZC MDCCXCVII.*, [37]; *ZC MDCCXCVIII.*, [39]; *ZC MDCCXCIX.*, [40]; *ZC MDCCC.*, [24]; *ZC MDCCCI.*, [40]; *ZC MDCCCII.*, [24]; *ZC MDCCCIII.*, [24]; *ZC MDCCCIV.*, [27]; *ZC MDCCCIV.*, [45]; *ZC MDCCCVI.*, [32-33]; *ZC MDCCCVII.*, [35-36]; *ZC MDCCCVIII.*, [46-47]; *ZC MDCCCIX.*, [23-24]; *ZC MDCCCX.*, ŠCS, [17-18]; *ZC MDCCCXI.*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXII.*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXIII.*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXIV.*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXV.*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXVI.*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXVII.*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXVIII.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXIX.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXX.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXI.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXII.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXIII.*, ŠCS, [10-12]; *ZC MDCCCXXIV.*, ŠCS, [12-13]; *ZC MDCCCXXV.*, ŠCS, [32-36]; *ZC MDCCCXXVI.*, ŠCS, 32-36; *ZC MDCCCXXVII.*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXVIII.*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXIX.*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXX.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXI.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXII.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXIII.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXIV.*, ŠCS, 44-48; *ZC MDCCCXXXV.*, ŠCS, 44-48; *ZC MDCCCXXXVI.*, ŠCS, 45-49; *ZC MDCCCXXXVII.*, ŠCS, 47-51; *ZC MDCC-*

Enlargement of the elementary school network in Slavonian Counties during the 1820s coincided with social and economic changes in Civil Croatia. At the time, the majority of the population in Croatian-Slavonian Counties continued to work on the land. At the time, the economy started to develop driven by traffic reconnection of the Danube region with the Adriatic ports and disablement of Russian wheat exports from Ukraine due to the closure of the maritime route through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, caused by the war between the Ottoman and Russian Empires. This spurred demand on the European market for Croatian, in other words Slavonian and Hungarian cereals, which had a positive impact on intensifying agricultural production, trade and other economic activities. Moreover, French and German capital encouraged production of oak staves and an accelerated exploitation of rich oak forests in Croatian-Slavonian Counties and the Military Frontier. Simultaneously with the development of oak stave production, glass manufacture as well as potash production increased, based on the exploitation of the forests' wealth. In this period, glassworks in Jankovci and Ivanovo Polje operated and in 1825 Antun IV Pejačević Virovitički opened new glassworks in Marienthal (Marin-Dolac) near Gornja Motičina.¹⁸

Intensification of trade and other economic activities in the 1820s enabled the rise of an affluent class of craftsmen and merchants, who could send their children to educational centres of the Habsburg Monarchy (Pressburg (Bratislava), Pest, Vienna, Graz etc.), where they came into contact with the ideas of influential Slavic leaders, such as Ján Kollár. In this way, an intellectual circle emerged made up of middle-class intelligentsia and representatives of middle and high nobility, higher and lower clergy as well as merchants and craftsmen. They realised the advantage

CXXXVIII., ŠCS, 51-55; ZC MDCCCXXXIX., ŠCS, 51-55; ZC, 1840, ŠCS, 52-60; ZC, 1841, ŠCS, 53-61; ZC, 1842, ŠCS, 45-49, 60-62, 65-70; ZC, 1843, ŠCS, 48-52, 66-69, 72-76; ZC, 1844, ŠCS, 47-50, 63-65, 68-72; ZC, 1845, ŠCS, 50-53, 65-68, 70-75; ZC, 1846, ŠCS, 54-57, 70-73, 75-80; ZC, 1847, ŠCS, 54-55, 69-72, 75-80.

¹⁸ The Archives of the Franciscan Monastery in Našice, *Protocollum antiqui conventus divi Antonii Thaumaturgi Nassicis*, fol. 351 and 356; Mira Kolar, "Osnovni elementi razvoja gospodarstva Hrvatske u XIX. stoljeću", in: *Hrvatska i Europa – kultura, znanost i umjetnost – sv. IV. Moderna hrvatska kultura – od preporoda do moderne (XIX. stoljeće)*, edited by Ivan Golub (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2009), 181; Rudolf Bičanić, "Oslobođenje kmetova u Hrvatskoj godine 1848.", in: *Počeci kapitalizma u hrvatskoj ekonomici i politici* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1952), 71-73; Igor Karaman, "Privredni život Banske Hrvatske u doba ilirskog pokreta", *Acta historico-oeconomica Iugoslaviae* 13 (1986): 92-94, 96-97; Igor Karaman, "Ekonomске prilike u vrijeme hrvatskog narodnog preporoda", *Kolo IV (CXXIV) no. 8/9/10 (1966)*: 181-183, 187-188, 190-192; Vasilije Krestić, "Stanje saobraćaja u Hrvatskoj u vreme ilirskog pokreta", *Kolo IV (CXXIV) no. 8/9/10 (1966)*: 197; Mira Kolar-Dimitrijević, "Gospodarski razvoj u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća (1800.-1848.)", in: *Povijest Hrvata – Druga knjiga: Od kraja 15. st. do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata*, edited by Mirko Valentić and Lovorka Čoralić (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005), 413-418; Miroslava Despot, "Ekonomsko-historijski razvoj Slavonije unutar njenog manufakturnog i industrijsko proizvodnog procesa u XVIII. i XIX. stoljeću", *Zbornik radova Prvog znanstvenog sabora Slavonije i Baranje* (Osijek, 1970), 256-260; Miroslava Despot, "Staklana Zvečevo, njen postanak i razvoj", *Zbornik Muzeja primjenjene umjetnosti 2* (1956): 101; Josip Patajac, *Naši korijeni – Motički kraj i obitelji* (Donja Motičina: Općina Donja Motičina, 2012), 66, 179, 301-302, 307, 310-312, 325-326, 367; Jaroslav Šidak et al., *Hrvatski narodni preporod*, 58-72, 113-114; Jaroslav Šidak, "Hrvatske zemlje", 86.

of raising the educational level of the local population, which could be achieved only through expanding the elementary school network. Upon their return to Croatia, they strove to encourage estate owners to open new schools, and the local population to accept financial obligations (accepting teachers and erecting school buildings and teachers' lodgings) as well as explain to them the benefits of sending their children to school. In 1848, intensified care for the expansion of the education system resulted in the formation of the fifth Section within the Ban's Council, which was in charge of education (religion, education and culture).¹⁹

Stimulators of Elementary School Development

The 1777 *Ratio educationis* did not result in enlarging the elementary school network as expected by the Court in Vienna. Therefore, the common Hungarian-Croatian Diet set up a commission which drafted a new *Ratio educationis* in 1806 that was adopted at the session of the joint Diet. This new act attempted to advance the education system in this area. Since in Croatian-Slavonian Counties there was not sufficient staff skilled for administering elementary schools or for teaching in them, the education system in Slavonian Counties was handed over to local secular and religious clergy.²⁰

Incentives for establishing an education system in Slavonian Counties came from individual civil servants, owners of Slavonian estates, higher and lower clergy, and military commanders in the Slavonian Military Frontier. Higher and, particularly, lower secular and religious priests cared for the organisation and progress of education before the adoption of the 1806 *Ratio educationis*. Following adoption of this act, higher and lower secular and religious clergy (bishops, canons, archdeacons, vice-deacons, priests, chaplains and provincial superiors, guardians and monks) became even more active in setting up an education system in Slavonian Counties. However, their activities did not bear significant results at the beginning, but only after the mid 1820s when the number of elementary schools increased. This process continued in the next twenty or so years.

As early as the late 18th and the early 19th century, the Bishop of Zagreb Maksimilijan Vrhovac supported the work of schools in his diocese. Therefore, in 1787 he assumed the obligation of financing a girls' school in Zagreb. During his bishopric, he co-financed the salaries of teachers in Dubrava, Gradec, Cerje, Sv. Ivan

¹⁹ Rudolf Bičanić, "Ilirski pokret i kapitalizam", in: *Počeci kapitalizma u hrvatskoj ekonomici i politici*, ed. Miroslav Brandt (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1952), 132-137; Mirjana Gross, "O integraciji hrvatske nacije", in: *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća*, ed. Mirjana Gross (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1981), 183-186; Jaroslav Šidak, "Ilirski pokret", in: *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća*, ed. Mirjana Gross (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1981) 192-197; Iskra Iveljić, "Kulturna politika u Banskoj Hrvatskoj 19. stoljeća", *Historijski zbornik LXIX* (2016), no. 2: 339, 348-351; Šidak et al., *Hrvatski narodni preporod*, 70-72, 82.

²⁰ Franković i dr., *Povijest školstva*, 63-64.

Zelina and Ivanec. Furthermore, he cared for the education of the clergy in his diocese and of poor students regardless of their origin. His successors in the bishopric, Aleksandar Alagović and Juraj Haulik, continued to care for education. Bishop Alagović cared for the education of needy children, like his predecessor, and established an orphanage in Požega, which was popularly called "college." In 1839, Bishop Haulik issued an epistle to the clergy in his diocese ordering them to care for elementary schools in their parishes. Admittedly, Alagović's and especially Haulik's activities evolved in parallel with positive socio-economic changes, resulting in enlarging the elementary school network, which is evident in the development of the number of elementary schools in Slavonian Counties.²¹

Simultaneously with Vrhovac's care for the advancement of education, the same activities in the Bosnia-Đakovo and Sarmian Diocese were undertaken by Bishop Antun Mandić. In his former capacity as National School Inspector, Mandić persuaded the steward of the estate of Đakovo, the head of Đakovo Municipality and the local national school inspectorate to conclude a contract about elevating the two-year school in Đakovo to a three-year school. The contract, however, was implemented only during Mandić's service as bishop (1813). Furthermore, he managed to establish elementary schools in Piškorevci, Trnava, Semeljci, Gornji and Vrbica, thus opening elementary schools in all parish centres of his diocese. Mandić's activities dedicated to the advancement of education in Slavonia were continued by his successor in the bishop's office Josip Kuković, who in 1842 issued an epistle to his priests ordering them to establish new schools in the parishes in which there were none, local chaplains to take over teachers' services in schools where there were no teachers, promising them a reward of 40 guildens and a certain amount of wood fuel. The bishop of Pécs, János Scitovsky, also cared for the opening of new schools. In the Slavonian part of the Diocese of Pécs, he made great efforts to establish a school in the village of Harkanovci.²²

Among the priests most deserving for the development of education in Croatian-Slavonian Counties was Zagreb canon Josip Sermage Susedgradski, who in March 1812 was appointed Supreme Headmaster of Schools of the Zagreb school district. He performed this service for the next two decades until his death in 1833. During this time, he toured areas under his jurisdiction, supervised the

²¹ Maja Matasović, "U ime Božje" – život i djelovanje Maksimilijana Vrhovca (1752.-1827.), in: *Ljudi 18. stoljeća na hrvatskom prostoru – Od plemića i crkvenih dostojanstvenika do težaka i ribara* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2016), 198-207; Andrija Lukinović, *Zagreb – devetstoljetna biskupija* (Zagreb: Glas Koncila, 1995), 298, 308-309; Juraj Batelja i dr., *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995), 443, 455, 464-465; Plevnjak, *Prilozi za kulturnu povijest*, 134, 152-157, 163-165, 169-179; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. II, 352-353, 356-359; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. III, 59-61, 196.

²² Antun Cuvaj, ed., *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas* vol. III – *Od 2. ožujka 1835. do 31. prosinca 1851.* (Zagreb: Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910), 157, 160; Plevnjak, *Prilozi za kulturnu povijest*, 182, 238; Srakić, "Antun Mandić", 94.

work of existing schools and gave instructions to advance education in those areas. Another person distinguishing himself in the advancement of education was Josip Schrott who cared for the advancement of education as a Deputy in the Diet and even more so as the Supreme Headmaster of Schools in the Zagreb school district from 1844 and 1853. During this time, he cared for the progress of education in the areas under his jurisdiction visiting schools and sending circular letters with instructions about the work of schools and school staff.²³

Arch-deacons and vice-archdeacons who were National School District Inspectors also engaged in the process of organising education and establishing new schools. After the death of Tomo Koščak († 20. 1. 1831), a new National School Inspector was not elected but his authorities were transferred to arch-deacons and vice-archdeacons who supervised existing schools and undertook steps to establish new ones. According to schematisms from the period 1840-1847, the following vice-archdeacons cared for schools: Franjo Sviranić in the Požega district, Stanislav Babić in the Pakrac district, Josip Maurović in the Našice district, Josip Tušak in the Virovitica district, Matija Mihaljević in the Đakovo district, Ivan Rastović and Adam Sukić in the Osijek district, Pavao Gotlibović in the Valpovo district, Ivan Lauš in the Vinkovci district, Ivan Kalasancije Mihalić in the Tovarnik district, Josip Celčić in the Mitrovica district and Ivan Filipan in the Petrovaradin district.²⁴

Given the enlargement of the elementary school network, the need emerged for an increasing number of teachers. Thus, local priests, chaplains, guardians and friars of Slavonian Franciscan monasteries took over the duties of teachers and religion teachers in addition to their service as headmasters. The Franciscans from the Province of St. John of Capistrano took over the administration and teaching in Osijek and Požega gymnasiums. In addition, they administered, lectured and gave religious instruction in elementary schools in Našice, Požega, Cernik, Ilok, Vukovar and Osijek. At the current state of research, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty the share of priests (secular and religious) in the teaching staff in schools in Slavonian and Croatian Counties. Schematisms from 1786 to 1834 were not kept consistently, which renders impossible ascertaining the share of clergy in the teaching staff of the time. Schematisms enable to determine the clergy share among the teaching staff just for the period from 1835 to 1847.²⁵

²³ Vlasta Švoger, "Biskup Josip Schrott - čovjek izvan struje", *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 70 (2012): 105-116; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. II, 218-220, 337, 443; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. III, 13-15, 46-47, 147; Plevnjak, *Prilozi za kulturnu povijest*, 53-56, 61-62.

²⁴ *ZC*, 1840, ŠCS, 52-60; *ZC*, 1841, ŠCS, p53-61; *ZC*, 1842, ŠCS, 45-49, 60-62, 65-70; *ZC*, 1843, ŠCS, 48-52, 66-69, 72-76; *ZC*, 1844, ŠCS, 47-50, 63-65, 68-72; *ZC*, 1845, ŠCS, 50-53, 65-68, 70-75; *ZC*, 1846, ŠCS, 54-57, 70-73, 75-80; *ZC*, 1847, ŠCS, 54-55, 69-72, 75-80.

²⁵ Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. III, 209-211, 476-477; Josip Barbarić, ed., *Kronika franjevačkog samostana u Brodu na Savi III (1834-1878)* (Slavonski Brod: Matica hrvatska, Ogranak Slavonski Brod; Franjevački samostan Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Odjel za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baran-

Part of the costs for the operation of elementary schools was supposed to be covered by the owners of Slavonian estates. Canonical visitors and local priests also encouraged them to contribute. Some estate owners opened elementary schools in the centres of their own estates. For example, Count Žigmund (Sigmund) I Pejačević (Pejácsevich) Virovitički opened an elementary school in his manor in Našice in 1778, which soon ceased to operate because, according to schematism, there were no teachers until 1824, when Antun Janković was mentioned as a teacher. Admittedly, the minutes of the Franciscan monastery in Našice record that in 1822 the guardian of the Našice monastery, Ignacije Lovrić, was at the same time headmaster of trivial school. According to a contract from 1822 between the steward of the Našice estate and representatives of village municipalities on the estate, it was determined that the local population would annually pay 200 gulden in money, 30 measures of wheat, 12 measures of maize, 400 portions of hay and 24 wagons of wood fuel for the support of the teacher in the Našice school.²⁶

Similarly, according to the 1829 visitation report, the population of Valpovo parish had to pay support for the teacher 150 gulden, 100 measures of wheat, 25 measures of maize kernel, 500 portions of hay and 24 cords of wood fuel. According to information on the Catholic population in Valpovo parish, they had to annually pay 14 denars, 0.09 measures of wheat, 0.02 measures of maize kernel, 0.47 portions of hay and 0.02 cords of wood fuel on average per married couple, which is much less than the inhabitants of Kopanica parish in 1761. Parishioners

je; Državni arhiv SlavonSKI Brod, 1998), 9, 27, 47, 63, 79, 97, 103, 111, 121, 131, 135, 137, 149; Josip Barbarić, ed., *Ljetopis franjevačkog samostana u Šaregradu I (1683-1853)* (Šaregrad: Franjevački samostan Šaregrad, 2002), 237, 263, 275, 281, 303, 311, 313, 315, 319, 327, 337, 345, 347, 349, 353, 355, 361, 367, 373, 375, 383, 389, 393, 401, 407, 409, 411, 413, 415, 417, 421, 423, 427, 431, 433, 439, 445, 455, 461, 467, 469, 471; *ZC MDCCCXX.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXI.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXII.*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXIII.*, ŠCS, [10-12]; *ZC MDCCCXXIV.*, ŠCS, [12-13]; *ZC MDCCCXXV.*, ŠCS, [32-36]; *ZC MDCCCXXVI.*, ŠCS, 32-36; *ZC MDCCCXXVII.*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXVIII.*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXIX.*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXX.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXI.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXII.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXIII.*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXIV.*, ŠCS, 44-48; *ZC MDCCCXXXV.*, ŠCS, 44-48; *ZC MDCCCXXXVI.*, ŠCS, 45-49; *ZC MDCCCXXXVII.*, ŠCS, 47-51; *ZC MDCCCXXXVIII.*, ŠCS, 51-55; *ZC MDCCCXXXIX.*, ŠCS, 51-55; *ZC, 1840*, ŠCS, 52-60; *ZC, 1841*, ŠCS, 53-61; *ZC, 1842*, ŠCS, 45-49, 60-62, 65-70; *ZC, 1843*, ŠCS, 48-52, 66-69, 72-76; *ZC, 1844*, ŠCS, 47-50, 63-65, 68-72; *ZC, 1845*, ŠCS, 50-53, 65-68, 70-75; *ZC, 1846*, ŠCS, 54-57, 70-73, 75-80; *ZC, 1847*, ŠCS, 54-55, 69-72, 75-80; Plevnjak, *Prilozi za kulturnu povijest*, 234-235, 238, 245; Cvekan, *Virovitica i franjevci*, 140; Cvekan, *Vukovar i franjevci*, 112-113; Cvekan, *Franjevci u Brodu*, 158; Cvekan, *Franjevci u Iloku*, 170-172; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. II, 79, 345-346; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Osijek i okolica*, 135, 341; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Srijem 1775.-1833.*, 129; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Vinkovačko-vukovarsko-iločko područje*, 31, 367, 513.

²⁶ In his *Građa*, vol. II, Antun Cuvaj writes that the children of Našice were educated in the Franciscan monastery, where the local Franciscans taught until 1815, when a public school was built by the local estate owner Count Vincent Pejačević Virovitički. However, there are no entries about this in the Franciscan minutes *Protocollum*, which would confirm Cuvaj's statement. Schematisms do not contain data on teachers in Našice until 1824 but rather state that the post of the teacher was vacant. (The Archives of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, box. A-I-1; Demo et al., ed., *Zapisnik knjiga I (1739.-1787.)*, 83; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. II, 24.

of Marijanci had to pay 120 guildens, 60 measures of wheat, 30 measures of maize, 600 portions of hay and 17 cords of wood fuel; the teacher in Donji Miholjac received 100 guildens in money, 70 measures of wheat, 8 cords of wood fuel and 500 portions of hay; and the teacher in Petrijevcu 140 guildens in money, 40 measures of wheat, 20 measures of maize, 500 portions of hay and 18 cords of wood fuel. This difference was possible because part of the costs for the teacher in Valpovo was covered by the owners of the local estate, brothers Karlo and Gustav Hillebrandt von Prandau (part of the salary, timber for the construction of the school building and working hours of their subjects on the construction and maintenance of the school building).²⁷ At the current level of research, it is impossible to state that other Slavonian estates and their owners also took over part of the costs for the operation of elementary schools. It is possible that other owners of Slavonian estates covered part of the costs of elementary schools' operations and their teachers.

Resistance and Conflicts during the Expansion of the Education System

The foundation of new elementary schools and their operation was followed by conflicts, resistance and dissatisfaction of the local population, as well as parish priests and teachers. The population had to fulfil their obligations towards the teacher and school. They had to pay in money, cereals, give a certain quantity of wood fuel and provide for the maintenance of the school building and the teacher's residence. The population's obligations were governed by contracts concluded between representatives of village municipalities and teachers in the presence of the parish priest, the estate and public servant. The contracts contained provisions on deadlines for payments and compliance with their formerly mentioned contractual obligations in the parishes stated (Našice, Marijanci and Valpovo).²⁸

In the canonical visitation reports, there are no data on the response of the local population to the imposition of these new obligations. However, it can be assumed that the local population perceived these new obligations as unnecessary and offering no benefit whatsoever. In addition to these obligations, parents had to send their children to school. They did it regularly during winter months, but evaded to do so in the spring months justifying this with the need to work on the farm or in the household (for example, tending cattle). The visitation reports suggest that local parish priests blamed the parents for obstructing school attendance of their children, declaring them to be negligent, irresponsible and, at times, poor and evil.²⁹

²⁷ Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Valpovačko-miholjačko područje*, 389, 495, 501, 533, 611; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Brodsko područje*, 281.

²⁸ The Archives of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, box A-I-1; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Valpovačko-miholjačko područje*, 493, 501, 533.

²⁹ Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Valpovačko područje*, 11, 531; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Srijem 1735.-1768.*, 173, 305, 321, 361, 391, 433; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Osijek i okolica*, 265, 405, 449; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Srijem 1775.-1833.*, 519; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Vinkovačko-*

For example, the parish priest of Gorjani, Nikola Pinterović, indicated in the 1811 canonical visitation report that parents did not send their children to school because they had no decent and clean clothing and footwear and were not prepared to set aside money for this purpose. In addition, the priest and the canonical visitor noticed that the school-aged children were starved. According to the visitation report, the school mentioned was attended by just two pupils. The situation did not improve in any respect according to the 1819 visitation report because even then the school was attended by two pupils only. A similar situation occurred in the village of Semeljci where the population did not send their children to school out of indolence.³⁰

Parish priests could try to persuade their parishioners to send their children regularly to school. However, these activities did not produce significant results, and parish priests in Slavonian Counties turned to estate servants and estate owners, and in the Military Frontier to companies' commanders demanding them to force their subjects to send their children to school by using threats and punishments. For example, the bishop of Bosnia-Đakovo and Syrmia, Antun Mandić, ordered the parish priest in Semeljci Ivan Juraj Hartmann to visit his parishioners' houses together with the steward of the Đakovo estate, make a list of all children of both sexes, especially in large households, and order the parents on behalf of the bishop, who was also the owner of the Đakovo estate, to send their children to school. For those who would fail to comply with the order, the bishop ordered imprisonment using his authorities as estate owner. This order and threat had a positive effect and the number of pupils increased more than four times. While in 1812 the school in Semeljci was attended by just 12 pupils, in 1813 there were as many as 53 pupils.³¹

Poverty affected not only school attendance, but also the elementary school network because, as already stated, the local population was obliged to cover part of the costs arising from the operations of these educational institutions. The local, mainly poor population found it difficult to comply with the new obligations and hence tried to avoid them. Thus, for example, the population of Kopanica parish, according to the 1761 canonical visitation report, refused, for reasons of poverty, to accept to cover the salary of the local teacher, which was a prerequisite for opening a new school. A similar situation happened also six decades later when the population of Viljevo parish, according to the 1829 canonical visitation report, declined, for reasons of poverty, to cover costs of the teacher's salary in the local elementary school.³²

vukovarsko-iločko područje, 261, 417, 609, 703, 787; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Brodsko područje*, 293, 1161, 1187, 1189; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Đakovačko područje*, 109, 111, 237, 395, 405, 555, 595, 613, 655.

³⁰ Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Đakovačko područje*, 109, 111, 237, 555.

³¹ Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Đakovačko područje*, 237, 241.

³² Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Valpovačko područje*, 373, 375; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije - Brodsko područje*, 281.

Whereas persuasions of the parish priest in Kopanica and the canonical visitor in the early 1760s did not result in opening an elementary school, the persuasions of the parish priest in Viljevo, Alojz Šarić, in the late 1820s and during the 1830s finally did bear fruit and an elementary school was opened in Viljevo in 1834. According to schematism, the first teacher began to teach there in 1836.³³

During the operation of elementary schools, conflicts broke out between parish priests and individual teachers. Parish priests complained about individual teachers accusing them of living immoral, objectionable and scandalous lives and carelessly exercising their duties as teachers. Since parish priests were headmasters of elementary schools in the areas under their jurisdiction, they supervised both the professional and private lives of teachers working in local schools. In the process of doing so, they cared for the quality of teaching as well as teachers' moral behaviour in their private lives. The canonical visitation reports from the 18th and first decades of the 19th century do not contain much criticism of teachers' professional and private lives. There are just a few negative remarks on their work and lives. The most striking were teachers in Jarmina Ivan Trenker and his successor Tadej Maksimilijan Rösler. According to Jarmina parish priest, Franjo Salesije Sebastijan Ruscheg, Jarmina teacher Ivan Trenker did not meet the priest's expectations professionally or privately. According to a visitation report, he was indulgent towards children and did not teach regularly his private life being the reason. In his spare time, he did not live an exemplary life, but would go to dances, take part in quarrels, fights and drinking bouts. The Jarmina parish priest wrote in the visitation report that nobody was able to do anything to the local teacher since his superiors were in Zagreb. Although the local priest complained about Trenker, he managed to retain his post until 1818 when he was succeeded by Tadej Maksimilijan Rösler.³⁴

Trenker's successor Rösler did not live an exemplary life either because, rumour had it, he ate meat on Fridays during Lent and sang and danced during Lent. Moreover, he encouraged children to resist the local parish priest. Of course, there were also teachers who performed well but did not distinguish themselves with an exemplary life. The complaints of the Jarmina parish priest bore fruit because teacher Rösler was not mentioned in schematisms anymore.³⁵ According to canonical visitation reports, the teacher in Kopanica, Petar Šianić, worked well but

³³ According to schematism records, several years after the visitation, the parish priest managed to convince the local population to agree to pay for the teacher's salary. According to schematism, the school began to operate in 1836, when Antun Spornar was the teacher in Viljevo. *ZC MDCCCXXXVI.*, ŠCS 48; Cuvaj, ed., *Građa* vol. II, 253.

³⁴ Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Vinkovačko-vukovarsko-iločko područje*, 261, 263, 387; *ZC MDCCXCVII.*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXVIII.*, ŠCS, [11].

³⁵ The complaints of the Jarmina parish priest Franjo Salesije Sebastijan Ruscheg obviously bore fruit since Tadej Maksimilijan Rösler was not mentioned as a teacher in schematisms after 1819. The teacher's post in Jarmina was vacant in 1820 and 1821. *ZC MDCCCXIX.*, ŠCS, [11]; *ZC MDCCCXX.*, ŠCS, [11]; *ZC MDCCCXXI.*, ŠCS, [11].

lived a scandalous life because he first had an affair with a girl who got pregnant and then, although he was married, lived with another girl. Similarly, according to the 1763 canonical visitation report, the Petrovaradin teacher, Johann Illichmann, worked well and even lived a virtuous life, but had a drinking problem, which the local parish priest also held against him. According to the 1813 canonical visitation report, teacher Ivan Vajczer's work in Osijek's Upper Town, was described as moderate due to frequent controls by the parish priest. Due to these controls, his frequent late night socialising and drinking did not have significant influence on his carrying out his teaching duties.

There were of course teachers whose teaching was poor, but also teachers who were presented as poor teachers by parish priests because they were not on good terms. For example, the Kapanica teacher Franjo Kluho was a poor teacher, according to the 1769 visitation report. Admittedly, he and the Kapanica parish priest, Ivan Radinović, were not on good terms, they often had conflicts and it is possible that the priest's poor opinion of his work was a consequence of such relations. The canonical visitor, Zagreb canon and Brod archdeacon Josip Werneck, severely reprimanded both because of their conflicts.³⁶

It is of course possible that other poor evaluations of teachers' work in visitation reports were a result of poor mutual relations between the local teacher and the parish priest. Admittedly, the 1811 canonical visitation report on Jarmina parish does not contain any complaint against the local priest, whereas teacher Tadej Maksimilijan Rösler complained that the local priest accused him unjustly in the 1819 canonical visitation report for the same parish. The priest tried to justify himself referring to an investigation by the Cerna arch-deacon,³⁷ who took minutes about the teacher's work and included also insights of the then National School Inspector Tomo Koščak about his previous work in other elementary schools. The fact is that schematism from 1820 no longer mentions him in Jarmina school or in any other school (trivial, main, main national, gymnasium or archgymnasium) in the territory of the Zagreb school district.³⁸

Individual teachers came into conflict with parish priests because, in addition to teaching, they had to carry out many other functions in parishes (serve at the altar, play the organ and sing during the liturgy, serve at funerals and sing requiem).³⁹

³⁶ Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Brodsko područje*, 451.

³⁷ This is most probably vice-archdeacon of Vinkovci District and Cerna parish priest Adam Vukasović. *Schematismus venerabilis cleri diaecesium Bosnensis seu Diakovariensis et Syrmienensis canonice unitarum pro anno MDCCCXVIII*, Osijek, 1818., 3).

³⁸ Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Brodsko područje*, 385, 387; *ZC MDCCCXX*, ŠCS, [11].

³⁹ The *Ratio educationis* from 1777 (§ LXXXVI) ordered the parishioners not to burden the teachers with various parish services. Obviously, the Court was aware that some parishioners overburdened them with various responsibilities, taking them away from their basic tasks, the education of school children. However, it turned out to be fruitless decision, because parishioners still burdened the teachers with different tasks, which sometimes resulted in mutual conflicts. *Ratio educationis totiusque*

The fact that these activities earned them money from school revenues did not motivate them. Admittedly, some teachers were not organists because they could not play the organ, or cantors because they did not have ear for music or were ill. For example, Jarmina teacher Tadej Maksimilijan Rösler was no organist or cantor since he could not play and did not have ear for music. For this reason, former teacher Ivan Trenker was an organist and cantor in Jarmina parish. Similarly, Lovro Došen, teacher in Kamenica, was no organist or cantor either. He could not be a cantor given his poor health since he suffered from lung disease, according to the 1822 visitation report.⁴⁰

Since teachers were among the few literate persons in Slavonia, they had to carry out various administrative duties on Slavonian land estates and play the organ in their chapels. For example, according to the 1810 visitation report, Valpovo teacher Mihael Schönhoff had to play the organ in the chapel of the count family Hilleprandt von Prandau on Sundays and holidays. For this, he annually received 30 guldens, 20 measures of wheat, one pig and two wagons of hay, and in 1829, 100 guldens of Vienna value, 24 measures of wheat, 12 wagons of wood fuel and one pig. According to visitation reports, more teachers had to perform various duties on the estate in the course of the 18th and less in the first decades of the 19th century.⁴¹

Conclusion

The organisation of the elementary school network in the late 18th and first decades of the 19th century in the Slavonian part of the Diocese of Pécs and the Diocese of Bosnia-Đakovo and Syrmia resulted in various problems that local parish priests strove to resolve. However, the lack of interest of Slavonian estate owners as well as of military commanders in the Slavonian Military Frontier did not enable enlargement of the elementary school network or an increase in elementary school attendance during the 18th century. Also, ignorance, indolence and lack of insight into the benefits of children's education, as well as poverty of most of the families were also factors that hampered the enlargement of the

rei literariae per Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas, Tomus I., Vindobonae: Joan. Thom. nob. de Trattnern, MDCCLXXVII, 124-126; Ivana Horbec, Maja Matasović and Vlasta Švoger, eds., *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj – Knjiga I – Zakonodavni okvir* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017), 106 (e-book available at: <http://histedu.isp.hr/histedu/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Institut-MODERNIZACIJA-SKOLSTVA.pdf>).

⁴⁰ Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Valpovačko područje*, 51, 129, 271, 343, 345, 391, 523, 611, 623; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Srijem 1735.-1768.*, 19, 21, 49, 59, 135, 137, 139, 155, 173, 207, 209, 223, 297, 305, 327, 343, 345, 355, 361; *Kanonske vizitacije – Osijek i okolica*, 13, 17, 21, 23, 27, 39, 51, 61, 135, 137, 195, 241, 341, 343, 383, 389, 415, 447; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Srijem 1775.-1833.*, 379, 381, 407, 409, 451, 495, 549, 747, 763; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Vinkovačko-vukovarsko-iločko područje*, 107, 125, 175, 177, 263, 347, 417, 445, 513, 515, 607, 675, 701, 735, 785, 787, 789, 809; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Brodsko područje*, 437, 609, 749, 989, 1061, 1119, 1137; Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Đakovačko područje*, 111, 235, 237, 367, 403, 555, 593, 603, 611.

⁴¹ Sršan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije – Valpovačko područje*, 271, 523.

elementary school network at the time. Moreover, the unpreparedness of central state or local authorities (county and municipal) to financially support the local population in covering the costs of elementary schools' operation was not conducive to quicker spread of the elementary school network in Slavonia. Admittedly, in the first decades of the 19th century, socio-economic circumstances improved and this resulted in the creation of an intellectual circle in society in the territory of Croatian-Slavonian Counties, which enabled an increase in the number of elementary school institutions in Slavonian Counties.

This process continued to be slowed down by the local population's poverty, as well as their ignorance, indolence and lack of responsibility. During the first decades of the 19th century, the population did not see the purpose of sending their children to school. Moreover, they needed children to do different house chores or work on farms (tending cattle) and therefore did not send their children to school in the spring but sent them regularly in the winter.

Individual parish priests and bishops (especially the Bishop of Bosnia-Đakovo and Syrmia) endeavoured to convince the population of the benefits of educating their children, but with no major success. Admittedly, the Bishop of Bosnia-Đakovo and Syrmia ordered his parish priests to make a list of children in households and to threaten parents failing to send their children to school with different forms of punishment. Such activities had a positive outcome because, when threatened, the population sent their children to school much more regularly than before.

To be sure, the local population was not enthusiastic about such actions of local parish priests. They did not resist openly, at least there is no note of it in visitation reports, but resisted by justifying themselves with poverty and their inability to purchase clothes and footwear for school-aged children.

A shortage of qualified teachers also slowed down the spread of the elementary school network. In addition to a small salary, which was most likely not sufficient for teachers' higher standards of living, teachers were forced to do different jobs in their parishes (play the organ and sing during liturgy, participate at funerals and various other obligations), or were in the service of local estate owners, which most likely made them discontent. Therefore, individual teachers resisted and declined to do these imposed jobs. Moreover, teachers were supervised by local parish priests who were also headmasters of local schools and local national school inspectors, who were occasionally dissatisfied with the way they performed their service, and even more so with the immoral life of individual teachers. Admittedly, individual canonical visitors reprimanded both local teachers and parish priests that their conflict was inappropriate and ordered them to put an end to it. Enlargement of the elementary school network resulted in many problems in the process of opening new schools during the second half of the 19th century as well.

Bibliography

Barbarić, Josip, ed. *Kronika franjevačkog samostana u Brodu na Savi III (1834-1878)*. Slavonski Brod: Matica hrvatska, Ogranak Slavonski Brod; Franjevački samostan Slavonski Brod; Hrvatski institut za povijest – Odjel za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje; Državni arhiv Slavonski Brod, 1998.

Barbarić, Josip, ed. *Ljetopis franjevačkog samostana u Šarengradu I (1683-1853)*. Šarengrad: Franjevački samostan Šarengrad, 2002.

Batelja, Juraj i dr. *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995.

Bićanić, Rudolf. "Ilirski pokret i kapitalizam". In: *Počeci kapitalizma u hrvatskoj ekonomici i politici*. ed. Miroslav Brandt, 127-140. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1952.

Bićanić, Rudolf. "Oslobođenje kmetova u Hrvatskoj godine 1848.". In: *Počeci kapitalizma u hrvatskoj ekonomici i politici*, ed. Miroslav Brandt, 65-126. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1952.

Buturac, Josip. "Imovina požeških isusovaca". In: *Hrvatska prošlost* book 2, ed. Rudolf Horvat, 148-166. Zagreb: Kulturno-historijsko društvo "Hrvatski rodoljub", 1942.

Cuvaj, Antun, ed. *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas* vol. I – *Od najstarijih vremena do godine 1780.*. Zagreb: Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910.

Cuvaj, Antun, ed. *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas* vol. II – *Od godine 1780. do 2. ožujka 1835.* Zagreb: Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910.

Cuvaj, Antun, ed. *Građa za povijest školstva Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas* vol. III - *Od 2. ožujka 1835. do 31. prosinca 1851.* Zagreb: Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910.

Cvekan, Paškal. *Franjevci u Abinim Našicama – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz djelovanja Franjevaca kroz 700 godina postojanja samostana i crkve Svetog Antuna u Abinim Našicama*. Našice: Plamen, 1981.

Cvekan, Paškal. *Franjevci u Brodu – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz prisutnosti i djelovanja franjevaca u Slavonskom Brodu prigodom 360 godina prvog zapisanog svjedočanstva o boravku franjevaca u Brodu (1623.-1983.)*. Slavonski Brod: Plamen, 1984.

Cvekan, Paškal. *Franjevci u Iloku – Kulturno-povijesni prikaz djelotvorne prisutnosti Franjevaca u Iloku prigodom jubilarne 600. godine rođenja Svetog Ivana Kapistrana (1386-1986) i 530. godina njegove smrti u Iloku (1456-1986)*. Ilok: Plamen, 1986.

Cvekan, Paškal. *Osječki Franjevci – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz boravljenja i djelovanja franjevacu – Malobraćana – prigodom jubileja tristote obljetnice njihova dolaska u staru, rimsku Mursu a današnji grad Osijek na Dravi (1687-1987) i na 50 godina boravka u današnjem samostanu (1938-1988)*. Osijek: Plamen, 1987.

Cvekan, Paškal. *Požeški Franjevci i njihovo djelovanje – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz sedamsto godišnjeg dolaska i djelovanja Franjevacu u Slavonskoj Požegi*. Slavenska Požega: Plamen, 1983.

Cvekan, Paškal. *Virovitica i Franjevci – Povijesno-kulturni prikaz sedam stoljetne povezanosti Virovitice s Franjevcima prigodom 200 godina posvećenja samostanske crkve Svetog Roka, jedinstveno vrijedna i sačuvana baroknog spomenika u Virovitici*. Virovitica: Plamen, 1977.

Cvekan, Paškal. *Vukovar i Franjevci – Povijesno kulturni prikaz djelovanja Franjevacu u Vukovaru prigodom 760 godina prvog pismenog spominjanja Vukovske županije i 250 godina postojanja Franjevačkog samostana u Vukovaru*. Vukovar: Plamen, 1980.

Demo, Šime et al., ed., *Zapisnik franjevačkog samostana u Našicama knjiga I (1739.-1787.)*, edited by Tamara Tvrtković and Milan Vrbanus. Našice-Slavonski Brod; Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje; Zavičajni muzej Našice; Franjevački samostan sv. Antuna Padovanskog u Našicama; Grad Našice; Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010.

Despot, Miroslava. “Ekonomsko-historijski razvoj Slavonije unutar njenog manufakturnog i industrijsko proizvodnog procesa u XVIII. i XIX. stoljeću”. In: *Zbornik radova Prvog znanstvenog sabora Slavonije i Baranje*, 245-282. Osijek: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1970.

Despot, Miroslava. “Staklana Zvečevo, njen postanak i razvoj”. *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* 2 (1956): 99-109.

Dobronić, Lelja. *Zagrebačka akademija – Academia Zagrabiensis – Visokoškolski studij u Zagrebu 1633.-1874*. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004.

Franković, Dragutin i dr. *Povijest školstva i pedagogije u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Pedagoško-književni zbor, 1958.

Gross, Mirjana. “O integraciji hrvatske nacije”. In: *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća*, edited by Mirjana Gross, 175-190. Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1981.

Horbec, Ivana; **Švoger**, Vlasta. “Školstvo kao politicum: Opći školski red iz 1774.”. *Anali za povijest odgoja* 9 (2010): 5-47.

Hoško, Franjo Emanuel. “Dvije osječke visoke škole u 18. stoljeću (I. dio)”. *Kačić – Zbornik Franjevačke provincije Presvetog Otkupitelja* 8 (1976): 135-191.

Hoško, Franjo Emanuel. “Dvije osječke visoke škole u 18. stoljeću (II. dio)”. *Kačić – Zbornik Franjevačke provincije Presvetog Otkupitelja* 10 (1978): 127-172.

- Hoško**, Franjo Emanuel. "Filozofsko učilište u Vukovaru (1733.-1783.)." *Anali za povijest odgoja* 1 (1992): 13-24.
- Hoško**, Franjo Emanuel. "Franjevačka bogoslovna škola u Petrovaradinu". *Diacovensia* 7 (1999), no. 1: 201-220.
- Hoško**, Franjo Emanuel. "Franjevačko visoko učilište u Požegi". *Nova et vetera – Revija za filozofsko-teološke i srodne discipline* 27 (1977a), no. 1: 87-111.
- Hoško**, Franjo Emanuel. "Franjevačka visoka filozofska škola u Slavonskom Brodu". *Nova et vetera – Revija za filozofsko-teološke i srodne discipline* year 27 (1977b), no. 2: 69-98.
- Hoško**, Franjo Emanuel. *Franjevačke visoke škole u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2002.
- Hoško**, Franjo Emanuel. *Slavonska franjevačka učilišta*. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2011.
- Iveljić**, Iskra. "Kulturna politika u Banskoj Hrvatskoj 19. stoljeća". *Historijski zbornik LXIX* (2016), no. 2: 335-370.
- Karaman**, Igor. "Ekonomske prilike u vrijeme hrvatskog narodnog preporoda". *Kolo IV (CXXIV)* (1966), no. 8/9/10: 180-193.
- Karaman**, Igor, "Privredni život Banske Hrvatske u doba ilirskog pokreta". *Acta historico-oeconomica Iugoslaviae* 13 (1986): 87-114.
- Kolar-Dimitrijević**, Mira. "Gospodarski razvoj u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća (1800.-1848.)." In: *Povijest Hrvata – Druga knjiga: Od kraja 15. st. do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata*, edited by Mirko Valentić and Lovorka Čoralić. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005, 413-418.
- Kolar**, Mira. "Osnovni elementi razvoja gospodarstva Hrvatske u XIX. stoljeću". In: *Hrvatska i Europa – kultura, znanost i umjetnost – sv. IV. Moderna hrvatska kultura – od preporoda do moderne (XIX. stoljeće)*, edited by Ivan Golub, 177-193. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2009.
- Krestić**, Vasilije. "Stanje saobraćaja u Hrvatskoj u vreme ilirskog pokreta", *Kolo IV (CXXIV)* (1966), no. 8/9/10: 194-199.
- Lučevnjak**, Silvija; **Vrbanus**, Milan. "Kulturno-povijesna baština našičkih franjevača". In: Šime Demo et al., *Zapisnik franjevačkog samostana u Našicama knjiga I (1739.-1787.)*, edited by Tamara Tvrtković and Milan Vrbanus, XI-XX. Našice; Slavonski Brod; Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje; Zavičajni muzej Našice; Franjevački samostan sv. Antuna Padovanskog u Našicama; Grad Našice; Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010.
- Lukinović**, Andrija. *Zagreb – devetstoljetna biskupija*. Zagreb: Glas Koncila, 1995.
- Matasović**, Maja. "U ime Božje" - život i djelovanje Maksimilijana Vrhovca (1752.-1827.)." In: *Ljudi 18. stoljeća na hrvatskom prostoru – Od plemića i crkvenih dostojanstvenika do težaka i ribara*, edited by Lovorka Čoralić, Ivana Horbec,

Maja Katušić, Vedran Klaužer, Filip Novosel and Ruža Radoš, 198-207. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2016.

Matić, Tomo. "Osječka humanistička gimnazija od osnutka do godine 1848. – Prilog za povijest srednjih škola u Hrvatskoj". *Rad JAZU* 257 (1937): 1-82.

Patajac, Josip. *Naši korijeni – Motički kraj i obitelji*. Donja Motičina: Općina Donja Motičina, 2012.

Plevnjak, Fran. *Prilozi za kulturnu povijest hrvatskog svećenstva (Rad svećenstva na školskom-prosvjetnom polju)*. Zagreb: Kr. zemaljska tiskara, 1910.

Potrebica, Filip. "Gimnazija". In: *Požega 1227-1977*, edited by Marijan Strbašić, 448-452. Slavonska Požega: Skupština općine Slavonska Požega – Odbor za proslavu 750-godišnjice grada Slavonske Požege, 1977.

Potrebica, Filip. *Tri stoljeća požeške gimnazije*. Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 1994. *Schematismus venerabilis cleri diaecesium Bosnensis seu Diakovariensis et Syrmienensis canonice unitarum pro anno MDCCCXVIII*, Osijek, 1818.

Srakić, Marin. "Antun Mandić, biskup, realizator školskih reforma u Hrvatskoj". In: *Zbornik radova o Marijanu Lanosoviću*, 89-97. Osijek: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Zavod za znanstveni rad u Osijeku, 1985.

Sršan, Stjepan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knj. IV – Srijem 1735. - 1768.* Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Biskupija Đakovačka i Srijemska, 2006.

Sršan, Stjepan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga III – Valpovačko-miholjačko područje (1730.-1830.)*. Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Biskupija Đakovačka i Srijemska, 2005.

Sršan, Stjepan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga IX – Brodsko područje 1730.-1833.* Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Đakovačko-osječka nadbiskupija i metropolija, 2010.

Sršan, Stjepan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga V – Osijek i okolica 1732.-1833.* Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Biskupija Đakovačka i Srijemska, 2007.

Sršan, Stjepan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga VI – Srijem 1775.-1833.* Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Biskupija Đakovačka i Srijemska, 2008.

Sršan, Stjepan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga VIII – Vinkovačko-vukovarsko-iločko područje 1768.-1840.* Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Đakovačko-osječka nadbiskupija i metropolija, 2010.

Sršan, Stjepan, ed., *Kanonske vizitacije knjiga X – Đakovačko područje 1751.-1833.* Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku; Đakovačko-osječka nadbiskupija i metropolija, 2011.

Sršan, Stjepan, ed., *Povijest osječke kraljevske gimnazije – Historia Gymnasii regii Essekinensis*, edited by Julijo Martinčić. Zagreb; Osijek: HAZU – Zavod za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku, 2001.

Šidak, Jaroslav. "Ilirski pokret". In: *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća*, edited by Mirjana Gross, 191-215. Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1981.

Šidak, Jaroslav et al. *Hrvatski narodni preporod Ilirski pokret*. Zagreb. Školska knjiga, 1990.

Šidak, Jaroslav. "Hrvatske zemlje u razdoblju nastajanja preporodnog pokreta (1790-1827)". *Historijski zbornik* 33-34 (1980-81), no. 1: 51-98.

Švoger, Vlasta. "Biskup Josip Schrott - čovjek izvan struje". *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 70 (2012): 105-116.

Valentić, Mirko; **Čoralić**, Lovorka. *Povijest Hrvata – Druga knjiga – Od kraja 15. st. do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXVII. ..., Zagreb, 1777.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXVIII. ..., Zagreb, 1778.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXX. ..., Zagreb, 1780.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXI. ..., Zagreb, 1781.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXII. ..., Zagreb, 1782.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXIII. ..., Zagreb, 1783.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXV. ..., Zagreb, 1785.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCLXXXIX. ..., Zagreb, 1789.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCI. ..., Zagreb, 1791.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCII. ..., Zagreb, 1792.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCIII. ..., Zagreb, 1793.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCIV. ..., Zagreb, 1794.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCV. ..., Zagreb, 1795.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCVI. ..., Zagreb, 1796.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCVII. ..., Zagreb, 1797.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCVIII. ..., Zagreb, 1798.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCXCIX. ..., Zagreb, 1799.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCC. ..., Zagreb, 1800.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCI. ..., Zagreb, 1801.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCII. ..., Zagreb, 1802.

Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCIII. ..., Zagreb, 1803.

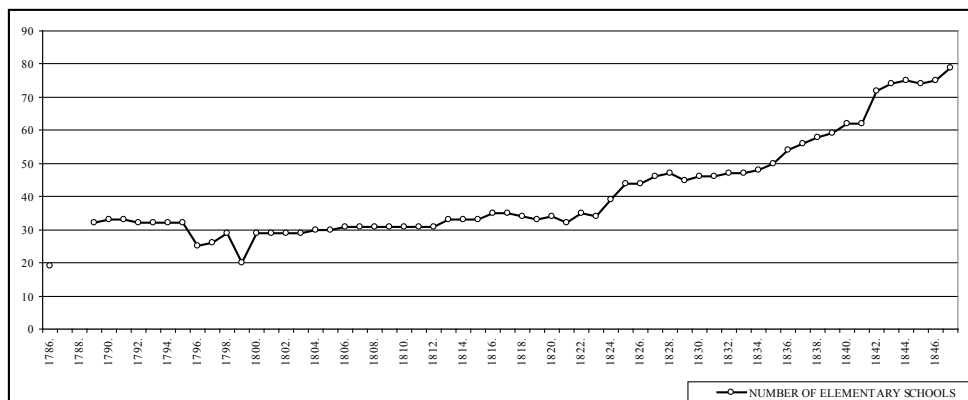
Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCIV. ..., Zagreb, 1804.

- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCIV. ...*, Zagreb, 1805.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCVI. ...*, Zagreb, 1806.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCVII. ...*, Zagreb, 1807.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum Jesu Christi MDCCCVIII. ...*, Zagreb, 1808.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCIX. ...*, Zagreb, 1809.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCX. ...*, Zagreb, 1810.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXI. ...*, Zagreb, 1811.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum bissextilem Jesu Christi MDCCCXII. ...*, Zagreb, 1812.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXIII. ...*, Zagreb, 1813.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXIV. ...*, Zagreb, 1814.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXV. ...*, Zagreb, 1815.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum bissextilem Jesu Christi MDCCCXVI. ...*, Zagreb, 1816.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXVII. ...*, Zagreb, 1817.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXVIII. ...*, Zagreb, 1818.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXIX. ...*, Zagreb, 1819.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum bissextilem Jesu Christi MDCCCXX. ...*, Zagreb, 1820.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXI. ...*, Zagreb, 1821.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXII. ...*, Zagreb, 1822.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXIII. ...*, Zagreb, 1823.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum bissextilem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXIV. ...*, Zagreb, 1824.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXVI. ...* (without frontpage), Zagreb, 1826.

- Zagrabiense Calendarium d annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXVII.*, Zagreb, 1827.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium d annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXVIII.*, Zagreb, 1828.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXIX.*, Zagreb, 1829.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXX.*, Zagreb, 1830.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXI.*, Zagreb, 1831.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum bissextilem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXII.*, Zagreb, 1832.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXIII.*, Zagreb, 1833.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXIV.*, Zagreb, 1834.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXV.*, Zagreb, 1835.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum bissextilem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXVI.*, Zagreb, 1836.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXVII.*, Zagreb, 1837.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXVIII.*, Zagreb, 1838.
- Zagrabiense Calendarium ad annum communem Jesu Christi MDCCCXXXIX.*, Zagreb, 1839.
- Zagrabiense calendarium pro anno bissextili 1840.*, Zagreb, 1840.
- Zagrabiense calendarium pro anno communi 1841.*, Zagreb, 1841.
- Zagrabiense calendarium pro anno communi 1842.*, Zagreb, 1842.
- Zagrabiense calendarium pro anno communi 1843.*, Zagreb, 1843.
- Zagrabiense calendarium pro anno bissextili 1844.*, Zagreb, 1844.
- Zagrabiense calendarium pro anno primo post bissextilem 1845.*, Zagreb, 1845.
- Zagrabiense calendarium pro anno primo post bissextilem 1846.*, Zagreb, 1846.
- Zagrabiense calendarium pro anno tertio post bissextilem 1847.*, Zagreb, 1847.

APPENDIX

Chart 1: Number of elementary schools in Slavonian Counties from 1786 to 1847



SOURCE: *ZC MDCCLXXXVI*, [28]; *ZC MDCCLXXXIX*, [27]; *ZC MDCCXC*, [22]; *ZC MDCCXCI*, [21]; *ZC MDCCXCII*, [25]; *ZC MDCCXCIII*, [37]; *ZC MDCCXCIV*, [38]; *ZC MDCCXCV*, [38]; *ZC MDCCXCVI*, [28]; *ZC MDCCXCVII*, [37]; *ZC MDCCXCVIII*, [39]; *ZC MDCCXCIX*, [40]; *ZC MDCCC*, [24]; *ZC MDCCCI*, [40]; *ZC MDCCCII*, [24]; *ZC MDCCCIII*, [24]; *ZC MDCCCIV*, [27]; *ZC MDCCCIV*, [45]; *ZC MDCCCVI*, [32-33]; *ZC MDCCCVII*, [35-36]; *ZC MDCCCVIII*, [46-47]; *ZC MDCCCIX*, [23-24]; *ZC MDCCCX*, ŠCS, [17-18]; *ZC MDCCCXI*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXII*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXIII*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXIV*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXV*, ŠCS, [12]; *ZC MDCCCXVI*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXVII*, ŠCS, [11-12]; *ZC MDCCCXVIII*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXIX*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXX*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXI*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXII*, ŠCS, [10-11]; *ZC MDCCCXXIII*, ŠCS, [10-12]; *ZC MDCCCXXIV*, ŠCS, [12-13]; *ZC MDCCCXXV*, ŠCS, [32-36]; *ZC MDCCCXXVI*, ŠCS, 32-36; *ZC MDCCCXXVII*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXVIII*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXIX*, ŠCS, 41-45; *ZC MDCCCXXX*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXI*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXII*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXIII*, ŠCS, 43-47; *ZC MDCCCXXXIV*, ŠCS, 44-48; *ZC MDCCCXXXV*, ŠCS, 44-48; *ZC MDCCCXXXVI*, ŠCS, 45-49; *ZC MDCCCXXXVII*, ŠCS, 47-51; *ZC MDCCCXXXVIII*, ŠCS, 51-55; *ZC MDCCCXXXIX*, ŠCS, 51-55; *ZC, 1840*, ŠCS, 52-60; *ZC, 1841*, ŠCS, 53-61; *ZC, 1842*, ŠCS, 45-49, 60-62, 65-70; *ZC, 1843*, ŠCS, 48-52, 66-69, 72-76; *ZC, 1844*, ŠCS, 47-50, 63-65, 68-72; *ZC, 1845*, ŠCS, 50-53, 65-68, 70-75; *ZC, 1846*, ŠCS, 54-57, 70-73, 75-80; *ZC, 1847*, ŠCS, 54-55, 69-72, 75-80.

Otpori, sukobi i prinosi organiziraju obrazovanja u Slavoniji u 18. i prvim desetljećima 19. stoljeća

Milan Vrbanus
Hrvatski institut za povijest
Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Baranje i Srijema
Ante Starčevića 8
35000 Slavonski Brod
Republika Hrvatska
E-adresa: mvrbanus@isp.hr

Sažetak

Autor je nastojao prikazati razvoj obrazovanja u posljednjim desetljećima 18. i prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća koristeći podatke o kanonskim vizitacijama iz Pečuha i bosansko-đakovačke i srijemske biskupije, vijesti iz arhiva franjevačkog samostana Sveti Antuna Padovanskog u Našicama, objavljenih arhivskih zapisa iz slavonskih franjevačkih i drugih samostana, kao i vijesti o obrazovnim ustanovama, nastavnicima i nastavnim osobljem iz šematizama objavljenih u *Zagrabiense Calendarium* od 1786. do 1847. godine. Nadalje, na temelju navedenih izvora, autor je predstavio čimbenike koji su pozitivno ili negativno utjecali na razvoj obrazovanja u navedenom vremenskom okviru.

Ključne riječi: obrazovanje, Slavonija, kanonske vizitacije, franjevački samostani, *Zagrabiense Calendarium*