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LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN OSIJEK FROM 1851/52 TO 1929

KNJIŽNICA VELIKE GIMNAZIJE U OSIJEKU OD 1851./52. DO 1929. GODINE

Tihana Lubina

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, J. J. Strossmayer University of Osijek, Osijek, Croatia Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku, Osijek, Hrvatska

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to investigate and follow the development and operation of the Library of the Royal Grammar School (Velika gimnazija) in Osijek from its formal foundation, in the school year 1851/52, to its closure in 1929. For the purposes of this research, the analysis of the contents of the printed annual reports of the Royal Grammar School, which are in the possession of the Library Department of the Museum of Slavonia, was carried out, as well as the analysis of the archival material of the State Archives in Osijek. Given that, at the time, schools were obliged to provide status reports for the libraries, the relevant reports represent a significant contribution to the continuous monitoring of the increase in the Teachers' and Student Library holdings, as well as an insight into the work of the teachers who served as librarians. Finally, in addition to a clearer insight into the educational, social and historical frameworks in which the secondary education in Osijek developed, the analysis of the archival material and the Grammar School annual reports have also shown that, throughout the observed period, the Grammar School Library operated continuously, the books arrived regularly, either by purchase or donation, and that its holdings contained valuable and rare specimens from various fields of science. Given that today the old library holdings of the former Royal Grammar School are located in the Library

Sažetak

U radu se istražuje i prati razvoj i djelovanje knjižnice Velike gimnazije u Osijeku u razdoblju od njezina formalnoga osnutka, školske godine 1851./52., pa sve do ukidanja Gimnazije 1929. Za potrebe ovoga istraživanja provedena je analiza sadržaja tiskanih godišnjih izvješća Velike gimnazije koji se nalaze u posjedu Odjela knjižnice Muzeja Slavonije te analiza arhivskoga gradiva Državnoga arhiva u Osijeku. S obzirom da su u to vrijeme škole u njima bile dužne navoditi i podatke o stanju samih knjižnica, dotična izvješća predstavljaju značajan doprinos kontinuiranome praćenju rasta učiteljskog i učeničkog fonda, kao i uvid u rad nastavnika koji su bili u službi knjižničara. Napokon, osim jasnijega uvida u obrazovne i društveno-povijesne okvire u kojima se razvijalo osječko srednje školstvo, analiza arhivskoga gradiva i godišnjih izvješća Velike gimnazije pokazala je i da je kroz cijelo to promatrano razdoblje školska knjižnica djelovala u kontinuitetu, da je knjižna građa redovno pristizala kupnjom i darom te da je njen fond ujedno sadržavao i vrlo vrijedne i rijetke primjerke iz različitih područja znanosti. S obzirom da se danas stari fond bivše Velike gimnazije nalazi u Odjelu knjižnice Muzeja Slavonije u koji je uspješno pohranjen tijekom ratne 1943. godine, to mu svakako daje legitimitet ozbiljnoga kulturno-povijesnog izvorišta za daljnja istraživanja i tumačenja kulturne i obrazovne povijesti grada Osijeka.

Department of the Museum of Slavonia, where they were successfully stored in 1943 during World War II, this certainly gives it the legitimacy of a significant cultural and historical source for further research and interpretation of the cultural and educational history of the city of Osijek.

Introduction

Having started its operation back in 1729 as a Jesuit Latin school, the Royal Grammar School (Velika gimnazija) had been the only secondary education institution in the city of Osijek until the 19th century. Although it stopped operating in 1737 due to certain difficulties, it was re-established in 1765. After the abolition of the Jesuit order, the School continued to operate under the management of the Franciscans, who remained there until the middle of the 19th century, i.e. until the time when pressure was exerted to employ secular teachers/professors. However, in the years following World War I, interest in this type of classical education slowly waned, so the School was closed in 1927 due to the small number of students, and the Lower Realgymnasium (grammar school with emphasis on math, science and modern languages) was opened instead. Nevertheless, even that concept was not sustainable for a long time, and it was shut down only two years later.

There is almost no concrete information in historical sources and literature about the Library itself at the time of the foundation of the Jesuit School (Gymnasium), i.e. it cannot be reliably determined whether books were systematically collected for the purposes of educational work. In fact, the first knowledge about the books originating from the old Jesuit Library comes only from the Chronicle (Ljetopis) of the first secular pastor Antun Josip Turković /1/, and then from Bösendorfer /2/ and Medved /3/. Due to the fact that the Library was not mentioned anywhere even after the transfer of the Grammar School (Gymnasium) to the administration of the Franciscans, museologist and librarian Vesna Burić once mentioned the possibility that the School students and/or professors

could possibly have used the Library of the Franciscan monastery /4/. Nevertheless, we can talk about some kind of beginning of a systematic collection of books only from 1777, i.e. the year from which the only found copy of Ratio educationis dates, for which there is a clear indication that it was intended for the Osijek Grammar School itself, given that it was stamped upon receipt and inventoried in a way. According to somewhat later data, provided in the historical account by Eduard Streer in the Povjesnica (History) of the Grammar School, we learn that the books gifted to the school by Bishop Strossmayer in 1852 were being stored in the Franciscan monastery. The reason for this was that the Grammar School Library, due to the lack of space in the School building itself, was then located in the monastery /5/. Therefore, it can be said that it was this act that laid the foundations for the final formation of the new Grammar School Library.

Since then, it has finally been possible to systematically monitor the work of the Royal Grammar School Library, mostly owing to the school reports that were regularly printed at the end of each school year. It was the review and analysis of the contents of those reports printed in the period from the school years 1851/52 to 1920/21, that provided for a high-quality overview of the development and operation of this secondary school library, which is today located in the Library Department of the Museum of Slavonia, as a separate unit. Namely, during World War II in 1943, the old holdings of the former Royal Grammar School were successfully transferred and stored in the Museum and thus saved from possible destruction, and the Grammar School reports have been preserved as part of its associated documentation /6/.

Analysis of Grammar School reports and archival materials of the Royal Grammar School from 1851/52 to 1929

Reviewing the Report for the school year 1851/52, it is evident that the Grammar School Library is formally mentioned for the first time under the heading Učevna srědstva (Teaching Aids), where, along with the laying of the foundation for the Library, data on the donors of several books and maps are listed: "The foundation of the Grammar School Library was laid this year. The Imperial and Royal Ministry presented this Grammar School with several schoolbooks and maps. Mr. Baron Konstantin Habitzhein gave a generous gift to this Grammar School in the form of several books, recommended by the Imperial and Royal Ministry, and several maps. Dr Adolfo Schmidt, archivist of the Imperial and Royal Academy of Sciences in Vienna, donated the work 'Album', which he composed himself, to this Grammar School." /7/ The certificate of the donation of *Al*bum by the above author can be found in the State Archives in Osijek /8/, however, except for the above-mentioned, all other works have remained anonymous, so it remains unknown what particular titles it was about.

The review of the contents of the school reports showed that every year the increase in books was duly recorded, as well as the way in which the materials were acquired and the name of the professor who served as the librarian at the time. Thus, the 1854 Report records a significant increase in material, when books, among others, were donated by grammar school professors, students, citizens, the management of the Imperial and Royal Geological Institute and the High Imperial and Royal Ministry of the Interior. Books were also donated by foreign booksellers, i.e. bookseller Hinko Hahn from Hanover who gifted 5 works /9/, and another anonymous bookseller who donated 15 works /10/ to the library. At the end of 1854, a total of 633 book volumes /11/ were recorded in the Library, and by the next school year the number had grown to 990 /12/.

The school reports from 1855 to 1860 were printed in German, and news about the Library can be found under the heading *Lehrmittel*

(Teaching Aids). Books were purchased mainly from tuition fees and contributions, and a significant number also came from local and foreign donors. Namely, an interesting piece of information in the 1855/56 School Year Report refers to the gift of the Illyrian National Reading Room ("36 volumes to Osijek from the Reading Room that existed in earlier years."/13/), a Reading Room that completely disappeared in 1848. Of those gifts from the Reading Room, only one copy of Voltić's (Voltiggi) Riscoslovnik (Dictionary) (Vienna, 1802) (G-546) /14/ has been preserved in today's Grammar School Library Collection of the Museum of Slavonia. We also learn that, in the school year 1855/56, a Student Library was established in the Grammar School, with teacher trainee (profesor suplent) Johann Čačić as the first librarian in charge, and that its initial collection was created from 314 volumes of books selected from the previous Grammar School Library, which starts being called Teachers' Library as of school year 1877/78 /15/.

The following year, the Grammar School Library recorded an increase by 394 volumes, some by purchase (157 volumes) and some by gift (237 volumes), thus from the previous year's 1,578, when 588 volumes had arrived, it reached a total of 1,972 volumes. Among the donors of that year, we find Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, who donated Antun Kanižlić's work Kamen pravi smutnje velike (The Real Stumbling-Block of the Great Discord), and Družtvo za jugoslavensku pověstnicu i starine (Yugoslav History and Antiquities Association), which donated 4 volumes of its Arkiv za pověstnicu jugoslavensku (Yugoslav History Archive) /16/. Finally, in a letter dated 30 June 1856, the above Association informs the Grammar School Management that, in the future, the Library would continue to receive the *Arkiv* editions as a gift /17/. Therefore, in the school year 1857/58 there are already 4 promised volumes of Arkiv /18/ recorded, and the Association continued to send the relevant publication in the years to follow. Thus, with all the donated (61 volumes) and purchased books (101 volumes), the Grammar School Library had a total of 2,134 volumes of books at the end of that school year. In the same year, 121 volumes arrived in the Student Library, and we also learn that instead of professor Johann Čačić, professors Johann Pexider and Joseph Schaller were responsible for managing and supervising the Library from then on /19/. As of the school year 1858/59, Leopold Ritter von Gariboldi joins the professors in the management of the Student Library, and the Library was open on days off from 8 to 12, and had 473 book volumes /20/.

As of the school year 1861/62, the report is again published in the Croatian language, and under the title Sbirke učevnih sredstvah (Teaching Aids Collections) it is indicated that for the current and the previous school year, 1860/61, the materials were acquired by gifts and purchases "from the temporary annual subsidy of the city or from the contributions/fees". For the Grammar School Library, data on as many as 579 donated and 57 purchased volumes is given, which greatly influenced the increase of its holdings, which now totals 3,198 volumes. Namely, in addition to the books donated by various donors, among others Bishop J. J. Strossmayer again, then Ilija Okrugić and several societies, students and teachers, the library holdings have also been significantly increased by as many as 470 volumes from the legacy of teacher Timoteo Jovanović, received from the Ministry of Finance /21/. It is interesting that, although according to the available archival documents it is evident that Imperial and Royal Financial District Directorate in Osijek later demanded that the respective Jovanović's books be sent to the Imperial Court Library in Vienna /22/, Burić later found a large number of them in the Library of the Museum of Slavonia. Most of them were Russian books and textbooks from the 17th and 18th centuries, some of which were included in the inventory /23/.

We further learn that as of the school year 1862/63 data on the annual reports of other schools started to be recorded, of which 726 copies had already been collected in the Grammar School, as well as the fact that merchant Vetter donated 50 volumes of books for young people to the Student Library /24/.

Under the heading *Sbirke učevnih* sredstvah (Teaching Aids Collections) for the school year 1866/67 the report gives a somewhat more concise insight into the procurement of books for the Library. In addition to the listed

number of programs, natural history pictures, sheets, atlases and maps, it is also stated that 62 volumes were purchased from the contributions and 62 volumes from the city subsidy, while 30 volumes of books and 35 programs, i.e. reports from various colleges, were received as gifts. Of the acquired books, only the gifts and the donors were counted, among which, in addition to the Royal Regency Council, the Imperial Geological Institute, there were some professors, grammar school principals, some merchants, parish priests and other citizens /25/. The Royal Regency Council also sends a letter in which it qualifies the children's magazine Bosiljak (Basil) as a very useful magazine and, therefore, recommends it for use by all school libraries, teachers and students /26/. It is interesting to note that under the supervision of teacher J.L. Pavec, Librarian of the Student Library, the senior students of the Grammar School also held meetings "in the spirit of literary education". Namely, the meetings started to be held the year before under the supervision of Armin Pavić, Principal and former teacher, and the great success and acceptance of these gatherings is also mentioned in the Grammar School Chronicle (Ljetopis) /27/.

The novelty that emerged in the school year 1867/68 was that the Student Library was no longer mentioned in the reports, but instead there is Knjižnica družtva učenikah više gimnazije (Javor) (Library of the Javor Grammar School Students' Society), i.e. the Library of the students who were meeting "for the purpose of literary education" and which contained a total of 365 books. Namely, from 1865 to 1925, the Croatian Student Literary Society Javor (Maple) operated in the Grammar School, and the mentioned library was actually the library of the respective society. We also come across a note that in that school year, the former librarian Josip Pavac was replaced by teacher Valentin Čičigoj /28/.

As of the school year 1869/70, the financial situation is somewhat improving, because the overdue funds for the school years 1867/68 and 1868/69 finally arrived from the city. With that money, 68 volumes were bought, and 32 volumes of books were bought from the enrolment fee/contribution. The Library also

received 45 programs from various colleges, as well as 54 volumes of books donated by the Imperial and Royal Schoolbook Publisher St. Anne in Vienna, the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU), the Imperial and Royal Institute for Meteorology and Magnetism, the Yugoslav History and Antiquities Society, writer Velimir Gaj and others. There were 7 new books acquired by purchase and 34 books received as a gift that were registered in the Library of the Senior Grammar School Students, and teacher Valentin Čičigoj continued to issue them to the students /29/. As we learn, the School Management requested certain financial resources from the Worship and Education Department (Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu) in January 1870 for precisely this service of Čičigoj, as a reward for his zealous work and a virtuous contribution "for the scientific and moral education of the local youth". However, the answer soon arrived that the proposal was rejected due to the currently limited financial resources, but also due to the fact that only a few months earlier Čičigoj had been appointed a real teacher, which, they believed, should have been a sufficient reward for the person in question /30/.

Among the more important Government correspondence, the 1870/71 School Report states that the letter dated 22 March 1871, No. 108 (55) allows the School Management (Ravnateljstvo) to now collect income for the Student Library from newly enrolled students /31/. A year later, with the letter of 3 January 1872, the Worship and Education Department allocates to the Grammar School an annual lump sum, i.e. 100 forints for book purchase for the library and 60 forints for the purchase of "gift books" (nadarbene knjige) /32/, and the funds began to be used immediately. Some of the more important titles that were bought that year are the following: Ivan Filipović: Novi rěčnik hèrvatskoga i njemačkoga jezika (New dictionary of Croatian and German language); L. Lange: Römische Alterthümer (Roman Antiquities); Charles Darwin: Das Variieren der Thiere und Pflanzen im Zustande des Domestication, über die Entstchung der Arten durch natürliche Zuchtwahl, die Abstammung des Menschen und die geschlechtliche Zuchtwahl (The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication, On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex). Some scientific journals were also acquired such as Zeitschrift für österreichische Gymnasien (Journal for Austrian Grammar Schools), Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik (New Philology and Pedagogy Chronicles) by Alfred Fleckeisen and H. Masíns, Das Ausland (Foreign Countries), Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik (Journal for Mathematics and Physics) by Dr. Schlömilch. In terms of the Library of the Senior Grammar School Students' Society we learn that, as of the year before, it had 624 volumes of books of various contents, and that in the year in question 43 new volumes were purchased, while 50 volumes were received from 11 different donors. The meetings of the senior grammar school students continued to be held under the supervision of professor Josip L. Pavac or another professor if he was prevented from attending. According to the Letter from 1871, we learn that, starting from that school year, contributions for the establishment and maintenance of the Student Library began to be collected from students enrolling the Grammar School for the first time, thus 19 books of entertaining and educational content were purchased from the collected amount, while 13 volumes arrived as a gift. Finally, it is stated that the mentioned Library became a member of the St. Jerome Society /33/.

At the request of the Grammar School Management, and upon the approval of the Worship and Education Department, in the school year 1873/74, the Student Library received 599 volumes of books that were, for this purpose, taken from the Grammar School Library holdings. Namely, these were the books that were no longer needed by the teachers, but could have been used by the students, so after their removal, the inventories of those libraries had to be corrected and properly supplemented. It is also stated that, after the Principal's repeated demands for funds for teacher Valentin Cičigoj, the Worship and Education Department finally sent a 50-forint reward for librarianship duties and supervising students in the Library /34/. In the School Report for that year, it is also stated that students continued to hold meetings in the Library of the Senior Grammar School Students' Society "for the purposes of literary education" which were supervised and led by professors Josip Pavac and Mijo Kišpatić. In addition to the gifts received from the Royal Provincial Government and the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, same as in the previous years, as well as several prominent individuals and teachers, the National Reading Room, which operated in Osijek from 1862 to 1867, also donated 12 volumes of books to the Grammar School Library /35/.

Among the more significant gifts, in the 1875/76 Report we find Opis jugoslavenskih novaca (Description of Yugoslav Coins), a work by Simeon Ljubić, which was donated by the Worship and Education Department, and Specialgeschichte der Militärgrenze (Special History of the Military Frontier), a work by F. Vaníček, retired grammar school principal, donated by the Imperial and Royal Chief Military Headquarters in Zagreb. Another valuable gift came from Baroness Albertina Unukić, who delivered as many as 78 pieces of beautifully bound books of various content to the School Management. Of those books, 6 were immediately included in the Grammar School Library, and 26 in the Student Library, while the rest were to be distributed to the students, depending on occasion. In that year, Šulek's Hrvatsko-talijanskonjemački riečnik znanstvenoga nazivlja (Croatian-Italian-German Dictionary of Scientific Terms) and several different scientific journals were also purchased. We also come across the information that in that year the Society (Javor) decided to hand over all its school books to the Society for the Support of Grammar School Students, but the Report does not mention more detailed information on where the books ended up, that is, where they were filed and registered. As regards the meetings of the senior grammar school students, we learn that they were led by professor Eduardo Streer with "tireless zeal". Finally, one of the most important items mentioned under the heading Visoki dopisi (High-level Letters) is that the Provincial Government, by Order of 10 December 1875, No. 3016, finally decided to resolve the issue related to the property of the National Reading Room closed back in 1867. Namely, this solution was entirely in favour of the Grammar School, i.e. the Grammar School Library, which in this way was provided with additional funds, necessary

for the future acquisition of library materials /36/.

Unlike in the previous reports, in the school year 1876/77, the third library is for the first time mentioned under the name the Library of "Javor", the Society of Senior Grammar School Students. However, this will also be the last time that this Library is mentioned in the school reports, because from then on it would be run only as a private library of the Javor Society, although the student meetings for the purpose of "literary education", which were then chaired by professor Eduardo Streer, continued to be regularly held and recorded in the years to follow. In this Report, finally, the exact number of the school books that the Library had given to the Society for the Support of Grammar School Students the year before is presented, so we learn that it was actually only 65 volumes, and not all the school books as stated at the time. It is further stated that, in that year, the Library recorded an increase by 78 books from the 665 volumes the year before, which remained after the donation, through purchases and gifts, which increased its holdings to a total of 743 volumes at the end of the school year. It is relevant to mention the fact that the largest number of books were purchased from JAZU through planned procurement that year, with the aim of completing the existing series of the *Rad* (Work) journal, which began to be published back in 1867. Finally, following on from the previous year's decision related to the property of the closed National Reading Room, this Report also mentions the funds earmarked for the funding of the Grammar School Library, namely the Letter of 29 November 1876, No. 4362, in which the Provincial Government submitted to the Grammar School Management "one Croatian-Slavonian provincial debenture (erdeljska razteretnica) of 1,450 forints, purchased with the remaining assets of the Public Reading Room in Osijek, dissolved in 1867, to be managed for the benefit of the local Grammar School Library" /37/.

The first few pages of the 1877/78 Report feature a text that talks about the Grammar School building itself, in which, in addition to the exhaustive enumeration of problems related to the rather poor material and spatial conditions in which classes took place, the Physics

Cabinet and the Library are mentioned as well. Namely, the condition was so bad that a direct danger threatened in those rooms: "On the first floor, in the Cabinet (Physics) and the Library, the floor wobbles so much since the beams are eaten and rotten, that there is fear that a major shaking would knock it down." /38/. Given that, at the time, it was nevertheless seen that a new Grammar School building was inevitable and that the future Grammar School really had to be adequately equipped both in terms of space and material, later on in the text it is also explicitly stated that "two rooms for the Grammar School Library should be provided, one for the books, the other for reading" /39/. When it comes to the library holdings, in the Report, under the heading Sbirke učila (Teaching Aid Collections), precise data is provided about the origin of the funds used for individual collections, so, in addition to 78 various works and magazines/journals acquired by purchase, the Teacher's Library also received 17 volumes as a gift that vear, with Katančić's De Istro eiusque adcolis comentatio standing out, a gift from the canon and parish priest Josip Janković. The Student Library, on the other hand, bought only 12 volumes /40/ from the collected student contributions for the current and the previous year.

In the school year 1878/79, both the Teachers' and the Student Library continue to regularly record the annual increase in books and magazines/journals received by purchase and gift, and we also learn that by the Order of 23 October 1878, No. 5376, the School Management was authorized to collect a contribution of 20 nov. (fillers). from current students during enrolment for the benefit of the Student Library, while the contribution remained 40 nvč. (fillers) for those enrolling for the first time. Mention is also made of the work of the Javor Society, which was managed by professors Streer, Mencin and Müller, and whose students successfully staged a play twice that year in the Osijek theatre, with all proceeds going to charity /41/.

The Grammar School *Chronicle* for the school year 1882/83 finally reveals that the new Grammar School building has finally been completed and occupied, and that as such, over

time, it could surely "serve the honour of even larger and richer cities than Osijek" /42/.

According to the order of the Provincial Government of 20 December 1883, No. 13070, which referred to the rationing of grants for teaching equipment, in the school year 1883/84 a grant of 480 forints was allocated to the Osijek Grammar School. Of that amount, 225 forints were received by the Grammar School Library and Geography or the Teacher's Library and the Geography Collection, which was given that name for the first time. The exact state of the holdings for the previous and the current school year is also stated: "At the end of last year, the Teacher's Library and the Geography Collection had 3,236 works in 5,680 volumes, 1,700 programs of various schools, 133 maps, 33 geographic atlases, 6 globes and 1 tellurium. This year, 42 works in 74 volumes were added, 34 works in 50 volumes by purchase, and 8 works in 24 volumes by donation" /43/. The books were donated to the Library by the Provincial Government, by the Hungarian Royal Geographical Institute in Buda and by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, as well as several distinguished individuals. Bearing in mind the importance of the works continuously published and gifted by the Academy, in the section that referred to the orders and letters sent by the Provincial Government, the letter dated 16 May 1884, No. 1583, is mentioned, which calls on and instructs all school principals that when purchasing gift books and books for the teachers' library, they should "take special consideration of the works of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts" /44/.

The increase in books in the Teachers' and the Student Library was regularly monitored and carefully recorded in the Grammar School reports in the following years. Thus, in the period from the school year 1885/86 to 1890/91 the Teachers' Library acquired a total of 199 works in 313 volumes, and the Student Library acquired 165 works in 205 volumes /45/. Further on, in addition to Library statistics, the 1886/87 Report also mentions the Order of 21 April 1887, No. 3187, from which we learn that the practice of awarding prize books to students, which until then were purchased from the annual funds of the Provincial Government

/46/, was abolished. Somewhat later, the 1888/89 Report mentions the order of 30 September 1888, No. 10330, by which "the High Royal Provincial Government rearranges the management of institute libraries" /47/. Although this is not explained in more detail in the text, this Order regulated the issue of the Librarian, i.e. the work librarians were supposed to perform in the Grammar School Library, and determined the reward that was to be awarded for the work. The Grammar School Report for school year 1891/92 also provides interesting information: it contains is a notice which states that the Provincial Government has finally decided to start publishing a secondary school magazine "in which, among other things, there would be scientific discussions by professors and teachers at secondary schools" /48/. This meant that the reports and programs of secondary schools and similar institutions could henceforth no longer contain the works of teachers, but only basic statistics and school news. From that year on, changes related to the purchase of furniture and the final completion of the internal decoration of the school, which had been awaited since the move into the new building, ten years before, were being announced in the Grammar School Chronicle. This referred, among other things, to the need to move the Teacher's Library and the Principal's Office, by certain spatial adaptation and adequate layout, closer to the teachers' staff room and the reading room where the professors performed their professional and research work /49/.

After the previous year's work on spatial expansion and furnishing the interior with new furniture, in the new 1893/94 school year, as reported in the *Chronicle*, the Grammar School collections were now finally "nearing the end of professional cataloguing, and they have grown remarkably owing to the extraordinary grant by the High Royal Provincial Government at the amount of one thousand forints given to this institution" /50/. In the *Chronicle* of the same Report, the visit by *Ban* Khuen-Héderváry is also described, who, upon his arrival to the Osijek Grammar School, visited all the school collections, and the visit itself was met with great enthusiasm and undoubtedly left a

long-lasting and indelible mark in the memory of the entire youth and the teaching staff.

In the last few years of the 19th century, the annual data on the status of the respective Grammar School library holdings mostly referred to the increase in the number of books, lists of periodicals to which the libraries were subscribed, and the financial resources and expenditures that the Teacher's Library, in addition to the geographical-historical one, also shared with the drawing collection as of school year 1896/97. The data related to the increase in the number of books show that from the school year 1894/95 until 1899/00 a total of 373 works in 417 volumes arrived to the Teachers' Library by purchase and gift, while in the same period, the Students' Library recorded an increase by 294 new works in 377 volumes. However, apart from the regular notification that Bogdan Penjić sent his magazine Hrvatska pčela (Croatian Bee), the reports from then on only mention the titles of scientific and pedagogical journals. Every year, there was also a reminder that both libraries were members of Matica hrvatska, that the Teachers' Library was subscribed to the annual editions of JAZU, and further, in brief, the activities of the Javor Students' Literary Society were reported. Namely, the Society was managed by professor Gavro Lucarić, and, at the end of each school year, the Society concluded its work by organising a ceremonial session with declamations, recitals and tamburica performances /51/. Professor Lucarić also performed librarianship duties both in the Teachers' and in the Students' Library, so according to the Order from 1888, after repeated claims, he was paid a reward by the Worship and Education Department in the amount of 35 forints for the school year 1895/96, as well as for the following years /52/.

Continuing to follow the annual book increase that was regularly recorded in the reports, we learn that by the end of the school year 1907/08, the Teachers' Library collection contained a total of 3,837 works in 5,548 volumes, and the Student Library collection contained 1,354 works in 1,850 volumes. Until that year, the Student Library continuously acquired the magazines *Bršljan* (Ivy), *Smilje* (Immortelle) and *Pobratim* (Blood Brother), while as many as 15 titles of various scientific and pedagogical

journals regularly arrived in the Teachers' Library, among which were Sarajevo's Školski vjesnik (School Bulletin), Vjesnik muzeja (Museum Bulletin) and Starohrvatska prosvjeta (Journal for Archaeology, History of Art, History and Humanities). We also come across information that according to the Order of 5 December 1907, No. 26,620, all secondary school libraries had to subscribe to Nastavni vjesnik (Teaching Bulletin) /53/. Among the more important items related to the libraries, we should also mention the orders from the previous reports, that is, the order dated 21 August 1903, No. 12,931, which re-determined the subsidy for libraries and student collections in all grammar schools and secondary education institutions. Namely, it determined when a library "should be requested and how it should be divided" /54/, while the order of 5 December 1905 No. 22,291, prescribes "how to organize institute libraries" /55/.

In the Report for school year 1909/10, the state of the Professors' Library, which appears for the first time under that name, and the Student Library is now recorded under the new heading Libraries. Thus, for the current year, the titles of school books, periodicals and other books received by the Professor's Library are listed, and the number of copies of the respective work and the indication whether it was a gift was recorded in parentheses on the side. In the Student Library, it was specifically recorded which materials were purchased and which were donated; however, the new arrivals were not classified by type of publication /56/. The same principle was followed in the following years, only instead of the main heading Library, the title Prirast učila i knjiga (Increase in Teaching Aids and Books) started being used, and after the list of additions to both libraries, the final number and the total value of the material was stated. Among the more important documents and orders from that period, we should also mention the Government Letter dated 26 July 1910, No. 19,121, according to which it was once again allowed to print texts from different professional fields authored by professors' in the school reports, starting with the school year 1910/11 /57/. It is also registered that the Librarian of the Teachers' and Students Library was professor Mirko Horvatin, until December of the school year 1909/10, and after him, professor Ljudevit Enderle served as the Librarian. The latter performed those tasks "diligently, conscientiously and properly", therefore, he regularly received adequate reward for this duty. Care was taken, of course, of dilapidated and unusable books, and of their removal from the library holdings. In the archival documents, we can see that the Grammar School Management sent to the Worship and Education Department a list of books that were to be removed from the Student Library in the school year 1910/11, and which, finally, was approved by the Department, with the note that "the Management should also delete them in their inventories." /58/.

In the years to follow, both libraries recorded a considerable increase in books, and they mostly purchased foreign classics, domestic reading material, dictionaries, school books and magazines/journals. As before, valuable editions of JAZU, Ljetopis and Rad, continued to arrive, and the extensive work of Antun Cuvaj Građa za povijest školstva kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije (On the History of Education in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia) found its place in the Teacher's Library /59/. It should certainly be mentioned that Count Pavle Pejačević of Virovitica bequeathed as many as 785 works in 2,211 volumes /60/ to the Osijek Grammar School libraries, of which 111 works in 256 volumes went to the Student Library. According to the data from the 1916/17 Report, by the end of that school year, the Teachers' Library contained as many as 3,262 works in 6,247 volumes, and the Student Library contained a total of 2,526 works in 3,329 volumes /61/. In addition to the above data taken from the Report, the archival documentation reveals a letter about the ban on the activity of student associations. Namely, considering that the Worship and Education Department, by a letter dated 27 December 1914, determined that all student associations (literary, musical, etc.) except for scouts should be dissolved immediately, the same day after receiving that letter the Management of the Grammar School dissolved Javor Student Literary Society and sent an inventory of its property. However, in addition to the financial resources, the Society also had its own library, tamburas and sheet music with associated inventories that were then located in the

classrooms where the army was stationed; therefore, the Grammar School Management promised to send the respective inventories to the Government later, for entirely objective reasons. In its letter, the Management also invoked the Rules of the Javor Society, specifically point 35, which states that, if it were to be dissolved for some reason, all its property would belong to the Student Library of the Grammar School. Finally, Principal Zagoda also proposes in his letter that Javor's library and finances be handed over to the Student Library, and that a Grammar School music collection be established for the tamburas and sheet music, or that, if the Government does not approve, they be handed over to the student seminary. A few years later, i.e. in the letter dated 18 November 1918, we learn that the Management would be authorized again, but this time "to allow the Student Literary Society 'Javor' to (...) resume its activities according to the old society rules" and that at the same time, the Management would have to return all the stored assets of the Society /62/.

The school reports from the school years 1917/18 to 1920/21 no longer mention the status report of the grammar school libraries nor of other collections. The only information about the libraries can be found on the last page of the 1919/20 Report, and it refers to the contributions for the Student Library, which the students, depending on the exemption from tuition fees, continued to be obliged to pay upon enrolment /63/. However, although the 1920/21 School Year Report is also the last one owned by the Museum of Slavonia, the status report for the holdings of both libraries can be traced from the book Iskazi o stanju (Status Reports) from 1878 to 1924, which is now part of the Grammar School archives. Thus, it is evident from the statistical data, which were properly listed for each year under the heading Učila (Teaching Aids), that, as of the school year 1920/21 the Teachers' Library had 3,433 works in 6,446 volumes, and the Student Library had 2,727 works in 3,650 volumes. Books were, of course, still being removed from libraries "due to their dilapidation and being unusable", as evidenced by the list from 1918 with 58 works in 67 pieces that had to be removed from the Student Library. Of course, those titles could only have been selected and removed upon approval by the Worship and Education Department, and subsequently deleted from the Library inventory /64/.

From the letter sent by the Grammar School Management to the Commission for Education and Religion, we learn that, in the school year 1920/21, an audit was carried out in the libraries based on which both libraries were "found in order" (according to the order of 24.12.1915, No. 38023, all managements of secondary and similar schools were obliged to carry out an annual inspection of the institution libraries, after which they had to report in writing on the established state of affairs to the Education and Religion Department). Also, they did not miss to report on the need to remove a large number of used books, and it was announced that at the end of the school year, the school would send a list of the respective titles with a request to approve their removal and deletion from the inventory. At the end of the letter, it was also stated that each library was entrusted to one professor and that the librarian of the Student Library "issues books to students every day". At one time, a letter was sent to the School Management in which he was invited to encourage students in a "convenient way" to donate those school books they no longer needed so that they could be loaned to younger poor or disadvantaged students. Namely, such a collection of school books existed in the Society for the Support of Poor Grammar School Students, but some books had to be removed regularly due to health and aesthetic reasons. Given that, at the time, there was a shortage of such books, and even the prices of antiquarian books were too high for poorer students, this was one of the ways in which the Government successfully came to a solution to the problem /65/. Also, recommendations for the purchase of new books and magazines continued to arrive from the Provincial Government, as in previous years. Originally, this referred to the subscription to the acclaimed magazine Omladina (Youth), which began to be published after the Pobratim (Blood Brother) paper was shut down, as well as to the magazines Zdravlje (Health), Novi život (New Life), Suvremenik (Contemporary) and *Naš list* (Our Paper) /**66**/.

It is further evident from the archival documentation that audits were also carried out in the years to follow and that they were always entrusted to two members of the faculty /67/. There were, of course, changes from time to time, as for example in the school year 1921/22, when the handover of the libraries to new teachers who volunteered to take over the librarian duties was recorded. It was recorded at the time that, after the change in question, the Teacher's Library was entrusted to teacher trainee Ivan Medved, and the Student Library to teacher trainee Ilija Mamuzić /68/. For some time, librarianship rewards continued to arrive, however, this practice stopped as of the school year 1922/23. Namely, in a letter dated 5 January 1923, it is stated that the funds that the Grammar School claimed for the librarianship award cannot be remitted because, as the document states, "(...) according to the decision of the Ministry of Education dated 29 May 1922, S.N. No. 8076, point 6 'Librarian's work cannot be remunerated until a new law has been passed' " /69/. Although in 1924 the School Management again demanded certain financial resources for the "guardian of the Teachers' Library", Ivan Medved, which they considered he deserved, the answer by the Ministry would again be proverbially the same, namely "that there are no longer any special rewards for librarianship service." /70/. Given that there was a significant increase in the price of paper and printing during that period, the Grammar School also received instructions on how to issue its annual reports. The Circular Letter of the Education and Religion Department dated 8 May 1922 determined that no secondary school would print its reports for the year 1921/22, but that all secondary and similar schools in Croatia and Slavonia, as well as in Međimurje, Krk and Kastav would issue one joint annual report. This austerity measure continued in the years to follow, that is, as can be seen from the documents, only in the school years 1922/23 and 1923/24, after which the printing and publishing of school reports is no longer mentioned in any form. Finally, according to the book Iskazi o stanju (Status Reports), in the school year 1921/22 it was also recorded that the Teachers' Library had a total of 3,448 works in 6,462 volumes, and the Student Library had 2,784 works in 3,715 volumes. That year, 15 works in 16 volumes arrived in the Teacher's Library; however, on the other hand, books also had to be removed from the libraries upon receipt of an order from the Commission for Education and Religion. It was mostly when some of them were deemed objectionable, because they "deeply offend the feelings of all conscientious citizens" /71/.

Given that the book Iskazi o stanju (Status Reports) ends with the school year 1923/24, the status of the Teachers' Library was thus last listed as a total of 3,478 works in 6,493 volumes, and for the Student Library 2,858 works in 2,805 volumes. We also learn that in the Circular Letter of 30 November 1923, the Ministry pointed out to the principals/management of secondary schools the increasingly frequent practice that when requesting the removal of certain books and deleting them from the library inventory, the reason for the proposed removal was not stated at all, and, therefore, they warn that in the future the reasons should be clearly stated. The same Letter reminds that, according to the Order from 1915, institute libraries should be inspected every year within the prescribed deadlines, after which the reports should be sent to the Ministry. It also reminds that, according to the Order of 19 January 1916, No. 1018, no book may be proposed for student libraries that is not well known to at least one member of the teaching staff and that they should be able to guarantee it is suitable for the said library /72/.

In the Grammar School, the correspondence accompanying the incoming gifts for the libraries was continuously registered, and among them you could find titles such as: Historija češkoslovačke knjževnosti (History of Czechoslovakian Literature) by Šimun Vlahov, Antologija savremene jugoslavenske lirike (Anthology of Modern Yugoslav Poetry) by Deanović and Petravić, Od Save do Adrije (From Sava to Adrija) by Julije Kempf, the free magazine Sv. Cecilija: list za pučku crkvenu glasbu i pjevanje (St. Cecilia: Paper for Folk Church Music and Singing), Etnografski zbornik (Ethnographic Journal) and Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost (History, Language and Literature Journal) /73/. Correspondence with the recommendations of the Ministry for the procurement of books such as Život i rad Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića (Life and Work of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić) by Ljubomir Stojanović, Hrvatski ili srpski jezični savjetnik (Croatian or Serbian Language Reference Manual) by Tomo Maretić, Stara slava i veličina: slavne zadužbine srpskih careva, kraljeva i velmoža u srednjem veku (Old Glory and Greatness: Famous Endowments of Serbian Emperors, Kings and Nobles in the Middle Ages) by Dragutin T. Simonović, Tomáš Masaryk's Rusija i Europa (Russia and Europe) and the order stipulating the compulsory purchase of all editions of the publishing house Narodno Delo /74/. The Ministry also invited the Grammar School to subscribe to various entertainment and cultural-artistic magazines, such as Glasnik geografskog društva (Geographical Society Bulletin), the scout magazine Izvidnik (Scout), the almanac Jadranska straža (Adriatic Guard), the literary and art journal Vijenac (Wreath), the health and hygiene journal Čuvar zdravlja (Health Guardian), the journal for the history of culture and the ethnography of South Slavs Narodna starina (Folk Antiquity) the literary journal Suvremeni pregled (Contemporary Review), then Srpski književni glasnik (Serbian Literary Bulletin) and Letopis Matice srpske (Matica Srpska Chronicle) /75/. Of the official newsletters, schools had to subscribe to Službene novine (Official Gazette), to the review paper Vjesnik Osječke oblasti (Osijek Region Journal) and to the Ministry of Education's newsletter Osnovna nastava (Basic Education) which was replaced by Prosvetni glasnik (Education Bulletin) /76/ as of January 1926.

At one time, a special order arrived according to which primary and secondary schools had to buy the new Narodna enciklopedija srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenačka (Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian National Encyclopaedia), which, under the editorship of Stanoje Stanojević and published by the Bibliographical Institute in Zagreb, was launched in 1925, and although it was envisaged to be published only for 16 months, it was published until 1929 /77/. Furthermore, in the files, we also find a Circular Letter in which the Ministry of Education calls on all principals and school teachers to do as much as possible to disseminate the books published by Matica hrvatska and to support its cultural and national work as much as possible. They believed that, like Srpska književna zadruga (Serbian Literary

Association) and Matica srpska, to the Serbian people, *Matica hrvatska* is the "bearer of cultural awareness to the darkest corners of our homeland" /78/. On the other hand, when it comes to the education of the youth itself, at one time the schools received criticism about the families from which uneducated and unbridled children came to the schools, who later had to be re-educated and worked with. In this regard, the Ministry strongly recommended the principals to order, for the libraries, several copies of the book Katekizam dobre društvenosti za školsku i zreliju mladež (Catechism of good social behaviour for school-age and mature youth), by pedagogue and Government adviser Luka Karaman, in order to help the teaching staff and to make their daily educational work somewhat easier /79/.

Some basic information about both libraries can also be found in the 1925/26 Report in which, upon request by the Ministry of Education, an overview of the entire work of the Royal Grammar School was to be sent for the school year 1925/26. Thus, we learn that now the Teachers' Library has 6,532 books, mostly of scientific content, whereas the Student library has 2,855 books, mostly fiction. When asked about the extent to which students use the school library, the answer was that "books (...) are issued every day and students read a lot." The School Management also stated that the School has a "library of student textbooks that can be borrowed by poor students, which is 'supported by (...) *Društvo za potporu siromašnih* gimnazijalaca (Society for the Support of Poor Grammar School Students)' " /80/. Finally, we learn that by order S.N. No. 4010, of 13 August 1926, the Ministry of Education, among other things, prohibited the collection of contributions/fees for student libraries, which until then was also the only form of income from which books were purchased and from which the librarianship reward was paid /81/.

Although in 1927 the Grammar School was transformed into the Lower *Realgymnasium*, both libraries continued their work. The archival documentation continued to keep records of books and periodicals the Ministry considered essential for the school to keep in its libraries. Thus, it was highly desirable to

subscribe to Biblioteka srpskih pisaca (Library of Serbian Writers) and Biblioteka savremenih jugoslovenskih pisaca (Library of Contemporary Yugoslav Writers), which were published by Narodna prosveta. It was definitely advisable to subscribe to Narodni prijatelj (The People's Friend) magazine, to Glasnik Saveza trezvene mladeži (Bulletin of the Sober Youth Alliance), to Vardar - the calendar of Kolo srpskih sestara (Circle of Serbian Sisters), to the youth magazine Preporod (Revival), to Jubilarni almanah Kluba književnika i umjetnika u Osijeku (Jubilee Almanac of the Writers and Artists Club in Osijek), and to the Narodna Odbrana (National Defence) magazine. Apart from periodicals, the School Management was also advised to allocate funds for the acquisition of titles such as *The Origin of* the World by Robert McMillan, Evropa i vaskrs Srbije (Europe and the Resurrection of Serbia) by Grgur Jakšić, Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara (History of the Croats under Home Rule) by Ferdo Šišić, *Srpsko-bugarski spor iz* 1912. - 1913. god. za Vardarsku oblast (Serbian-Bulgarian Dispute of 1912-1913 over the Vardar region) by Vojin Maksimović and others /82/. As can be seen from the documents, the Grammar School also received several titles as a gift, among them Balkansko poluostrvo (Balkan Peninsula) and Zemljopisna čitanka (Geographical Reader) by Todor Radivojević, Naša industrija, zanati i trgovina (Our Industry, Crafts and Trade) by M. M. Savić, Kroz Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (Through the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) by Josip Jakopić, Reči mira (Words of Peace) by Aristid Briand, Pravila narodne knjižnice i čitaonice (Rules of the Public Library and Reading Room), Muzičko delo našega sela (Musical Opus of Our Village) by Kosta P. Manojlović and Ratni album 1914. -1918. (The Album of the War 1914 - 1918) by Andra Popović /83/.

In the twenties of the 20

th century, annual school reports, as mentioned previously, were not printed due to the high cost of paper; therefore, as of the school year 1923/24 they are not even mentioned in the archival documents, except for one letter from the Ministry of Education from 1928. In that year, among others, the School Management of the Lower *Realgymnasium* was invited to "send

a short extract from the statistics of their school, namely those data, which could be of interest to the students of the institute, their parents and the rest of the municipality of the school's territory" for the respective year. Finally, the complete data was supposed to be forwarded to the editorial office of the Official Newspaper of the Osijek region, as well as to the most widely read public newspapers in the area, and the only reason given was that it was "for the purpose of informing the public" /84/.

Finally, from the documents on the actual abolition of the State Lower Realgymnasium, we find that in the liquidation process in 1929, its property was divided between the State Male Realgymnasium and the State Female Realgymnasium, and that, together with the teaching aids and other assets, the ownership of the Grammar School Library (Teachers' and Student Library and the Library of Count Pavle Pejačević) was transferred to the State Female Realgymnasium. Although it was stated in the handover documentation that all the three libraries should remain together, and that they should be preserved as cultural and historical monuments of great value, in the years during and after the Second World War, this was not much cared for /85/. However, thanks to the initiatives of Društvo prijatelja starine "Mursa" ("Mursa" Society of Friends of Antiquity) /86/ and especially the efforts and mediation of the Director of the Museum of Slavonia, Dr Josip Bösendorfer and the Museum Librarian Danica Pinterović, in 1943 the Library of the State Female Realgymnasium and the old collection of the former Royal Grammar School were nevertheless saved from potential destruction and transferred to the Museum Library, where they would remain to this day /87/.

Conclusion

Observing the long period of its activity, it is undeniable that the Royal Grammar School (1729 - 1929) provided truly quality education and a good foundation for further education for many generations. However, what is also associated with the Royal Grammar School today, and is of exceptional cultural and historical importance, is precisely its Library with the associated documentation and annual school

reports. Owing to precisely these authentic cultural and historical sources - the official Grammar School reports in the possession of the Library Department of the Museum of Slavonia, as well as all the available archival documents, it can definitely be stated that the period in which the Library operated was indeed uninterrupted, i.e. that its development and operations can be followed continuously from the school year 1851/52 to 1928/29. Namely, the inspection and analysis of the content of the school reports has shown that every year the increase in books was properly recorded, as well as the way in which the materials were acquired and the name of the professor who served as the librarian at that time. We also learn that in the school year 1855/56 the Student Library was established in the Grammar School, supervised by the first Librarian, teacher trainee Johann Čačić, and that its initial holdings were created from 314 volumes of books selected from the previous Grammar School library, which, in turn, as of school year 1877/78 was named Teachers' Library. Since the school year 1867/68, instead of the Student Library, the reports start to mention the Library of the Senior Grammar School Student Society, which was actually the library of Javor Student Literary Society in which the students held their literary meetings. As of 1871/72 the collection of contributions/fees for the Student Library resumes, whereas Javor's Library continues to be mentioned in official school reports only until school year 1876/77, that is, until the moment when it started being treated as a private library of Javor Society. Of the professors, actually librarians, for whom we find information in the reports that served as guardians of the libraries and continuously took care of their holdings and business, the following are mentioned: Johann Čačić, Johann Pexider, Joseph Schaller, Leopold Ritter von Gariboldi, Josip Pavec, Valentin Čičigoj, Gavro Lucarić, Mirko Horvatin, Ljudevit Enderle, Ivan Medved and Ilija Mamuzić. We also learn that until 1888 the librarianship duties were usually performed without any compensation, that is, only then the exact amount of the reward was determined by a spedific order, and the reward was as of then paid out regularly until the school year 1922/23.

By reading the Grammar School reports, it can also be seen that the books were mostly purchased in accordance with the recommendations by the Ministry from regular and extraordinary income, i.e. from contributions and fees, from the annual lump sum received from the Worship and Education Department, from interests accrued from foundations and from funds from the annual city subsidies, which were mostly quite limited, and which were sometimes even delayed. Of great importance for the growth of the Library collection were, of course, various valuable works that arrived in the form of gifts from different parties - from distinguished individuals, institutes, ministries, societies, reading rooms, foreign and home booksellers, grammar school professors, principals, students, lawyers, citizens and all the way to various colleges and universities that sent their own programs. Valuable gifts often arrived from Bishop J. J. Strossmayer, as well as from the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, the National Reading Room in Osijek and many others. In addition to the recommendations or orders related to the acquisition of specific titles, the data also show that numerous home and foreign scientific, pedagogical and literary journals, as well as various newspapers and official newsletters, some of which the school had to subscribe to on a regular basis, also regularly arrived to the Library. Of course, careful attention was also paid to the revision of the Library holdings, as well as to the removal of worn out and unusable books, the lists of which were then duly sent by the Grammar School Management to the Worship and Education Department for review and approval. At one time, there were also reports about the rather poor material condition of the school itself, the Physics Cabinet and the Library in particular, where the floor was even in danger of collapsing. When it was finally realized that a new Grammar School building was really necessary and that it must also be well equipped, the completion of construction and moving into the new building finally took place in the school year 1882/83.

Although the last report in the possession of the Museum of Slavonia is the one that dates from the school year 1920/21, the number of books in the holdings, book increase,

decisions and recommendations sent by the Ministry, as well as data on audits, the librarians and other school obligations related to the Grammar School Library can still be further followed in the archival documentation for the Grammar School and the Lower Realgymnasium. We learn that the Ministry ordered the purchase of a new encyclopaedia, and then called on the school managements to acquire the editions of Matica hrvatska for school libraries, preferably in the shortest time possible. In the report that the Grammar School sent to the Ministry for the school year 1925/26, we also come across the last recorded data on the status report for the Teachers' and Students' Library holdings, and that the School had a library of student textbooks that were loaned to poor students, which was taken care of by the Society for the Support of Poor Grammar School Students. Finally, we learn the devastating information that the only form of income from which the books were purchased for the Student Library and from which the librarianship reward was paid out was abolished in 1926, as well as that during the twenties of the 20th century, school reports were no longer printed due to the high cost of paper, thus, as of the school year 1923/24, they are no longer mentioned even in the archival documentation.

Given that the Library of the Royal Grammar School has remained largely unexplored to this day, the collected new facts and knowledge are an attempt to to contribute to a better insight into the course of its development and operation, so that, like most other secondary school libraries of the time, it would not remain unfairly neglected, existing on the margins of the Osijek education system. Finally, this kind of heritage also obliges us as heirs to continuously raise the awareness of the need for permanent preservation and presentation of the material in question, in particular, to think about the possibilities of digitization, which, in addition to the protection of the originals themselves, would significantly contribute to the research work itself, especially when it comes to the rich educational and cultural past of the city of Osijek.

Notes

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- /3/ Medved, I. (1942), Isusovačka biblioteka u starom Osijeku. U: J. Boesendorfer (Ur.), Osječki zbornik, 1, Osijek: Hrvatski Državni muzej u Osijeku, 53-55.
- /4/ Burić, V. (1991), Stara gimnazijska knjižnica kao cjelina u Knjižnici Muzeja Slavonije: I. dio: 1729. 1876./77. U: V. Burić (Ur.), *Osječki zbornik*, 21, Osijek: Muzej Slavonije, 175-200.
- /5/ Steer, E. (1872), Kratak pregled pověstnice kr. gimnazije osěčke. *Izvěšće o Kralj. velikoj gimnaziji u Osěku koncem školske godine 1871./72. godine*, U Osěku, 13.
- /6/ Burić, V. (1979), Knjižni fond kao odraz društveno-kulturno-obrazovnih prilika na primjeru stručno-znanstvene knjižnice Muzeja Slavonije. U: V. Burić (Ur.), Osječki zbornik, 17, Osijek: Muzej Slavonije, 226-228.
- /7/ Godišnje izvěstje o c. k. osěčkoj gimnazii za školsku godinu 1852. (1852), U Zagrebu, 21.
- /8/ HR-DAOS-157 Velika gimnazija Osijek, spis br. 3a/1852., kut. br. 1.
- /9/ HR-DAOS-157 Velika gimnazija Osijek, spis br. 256/1854., kut. br. 1.
- /10/ HR-DAOS-157 Velika gimnazija Osijek, spis br. 220a/1854., kut. br. 1.
- /11/ Treće godišnje izvěstje c. k. višje gimnazie osěčke reda S. Franje dèržave Kapistranske koncem školske godine 1854. (1854), U Zagrebu, 18-21.
- /12/ Programm des k. k. Gymnasiums zu Essek für das Schuljahr 1855/6. (1856), Agram, 26.
- /13/ Ibidem.
- /14/ Burić, V. (1991), Stara gimnazijska knjižnica kao cjelina u Knjižnici Muzeja Slavonije: I. dio: 1729. 1876./77. U: V. Burić (Ur.), *Osječki zbornik*, 21, Osijek: Muzej Slavonije, 188.
- /15/ Programm des k. k. Gymnasiums zu Essek für das Schuljahr 1855/6. (1856), Agram, 26, 30.
- /16/ Programm des kais. königl. Staats-Gymnasiums zu Essek am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1856/7. (1857), Essek, 23-24.
- /17/ HR-DAOS-157 Velika gimnazija Osijek, spis br. 151/1856., kut. br. 3.
- /18/ HR-DAOS-157 Velika gimnazija Osijek, spis br. 236/1857., kut. br. 4.
- /19/ Programm des kais. königl. Staats-Gymnasiums zu Essek am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1857/8. (1858), Essek, 26-31.
- /20/ Programm des kais. königl. Staats-Gymnasiums zu Essek am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1858/9. (1859), Essek, 22, 26.

- /21/ Izvjestje o kralj. Velikoj gimnaziji u Osieku koncem godine školske 1861-1862. (1862), U Osieku, 21-22.
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