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ZADARSKE SREDNJE ŠKOLE NA HRVATSKOM JEZIKU I TALIJANSKA VLAST 1918.-1921.*



SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ZADAR WITH CROATIAN AS THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION AND ITALIAN RULE BETWEEN 1918–1921*

U radu se analizira kakav su utjecaj imale promijenjene političke prilike na rad zadarskih srednjih škola na hrvatskom jeziku. Završetkom Prvoga svjetskog rata 1918. godine nije došlo do smirivanja političke situacije na hrvatskoj strani Jadrana. Talijanska je vojska od 4. studenoga 1918. postupno okupirala sjevernu i dio srednje Dalmacije. Pri tome su se vršili institucionalni i izvaninstitucionalni pritisci na rad hrvatskih škola. Nameće se talijanizacija javnog i službenog komuniciranja, a okupirani dijelovi Dalmacije odvajaju se od zaleđa. U takvim okolnostima dolazi do otežana funkcioniranja školskog sustava jer jedan dio hrvatskih i srpskih nastavnika napušta Zadar, a na njihovo mjesto dolaze talijanski nastavnici. Povremeno dolazi do prekida nastavnog procesa, što je bila uzrokovano fizičkim napadima i zauzimanjem školskih prostora od strane talijanske vojske. Sklapanje Rapallskog ugovora iz studenog 1920. zapečatilo je sudbinu dotadašnjih hrvatskih školskih institucija koje prestaju s radom krajem školske godine 1920./1921.

Ključne riječi: Zadar, Prvi svjetski rat, srednje školstvo, talijanska okupacija, Rapallski ugovor

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In this paper an analysis is made of the influence of the changed political situation on the workings of secondary schools in Zadar in which the language of instruction was Croatian. At the end of the World War I in 1918, the political situation on the Croatian side of the Adriatic had not calmed down. From November 4th, 1918, the Italian army progressively occupied northern Dalmatia and a part of central, while at the same time putting both institutional and non-institutional pressure on the operations of Croatian schools. Italian public and official communication are imposed, and the occupied areas of Dalmatia are kept separate from the hinterland. In such circumstances, the functioning of the school system is made more difficult, as a portion of Croatian and Serbian teachers leave Zadar, and Italian teachers take their place. Occasionally the teaching process is disturbed due to physical attacks and the occupation of the school space by the Italian army. With the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo from November of 1920, the fate of previous Croatian scholastic institutions is sealed, and they cease operations at the end of the 1920/1921 school year.

Key words: Zadar, World War I, secondary school, Italian occupation, Treaty of Rapallo

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Uvod

Zadar je u Prvi svjetski rat ušao kao jedan od najmanjih glavnih gradova austrijske polovice Monarhije s nešto više od 13 tisuća stanovnika. Od toga je preko 70% stanovništva kao jezik komunikacije iskazalo talijanski jezik, dok je hrvatskih govornika bilo negdje oko 30%.¹ Iako je općina Zadar bila većinski hrvatska po svojem nacionalnom sastavu, zbog kurijalnoga izbornog sustava koji je favorizirao bogatije slojeve stanovništva, Talijanska stranka uspjela je u općini zadržati vlast.² Takva pozicija imala je posljedice na području školstva. Glede osnovnog školstva na početku dvadesetog stoljeća uspostavljen je jezični paritet, pa su tako postojale ženska i muška pučka škola na talijanskom, ali i istovrsne škole i na hrvatskom jeziku. U isto vrijeme postojale su privatne pučke škole s pravom javnosti na njemačkom jeziku (tzv. vojničke škole). Što se tiče predškolskog odgoja, talijanska zajednica je putem *Legge Nazionale* osnovala dva dječja vrtića, dok su autonomne pokrajinske vlasti u gradu osnovale dječji vrtić na hrvatskom jeziku. Srpska gradska zajednica imala je također svoj dječji vrtić. U gradu su prije rata djelovale tri građanske škole za djevojčice/djevojke i industrijsko-obrtnička škola *Pasquale Bakmasz* za dječake. Jednu građansku školu vodile su sestre benediktinke na talijanskom jeziku. Postojala je, također, srpska djevojačka građanska škola, dok je Licej sv. Dimitrija imao organizacijski jedinstvenu školu s dvama odsjecima, hrvatskim i talijanskim.³ Iako su formalno pripadale pučkom školstvu, građanske škole bile su po mnogim odlikama neke vrste nižih srednjih škola. U radu će se analizirati djelovanje hrvatskog odsjeka Liceja sv. Dimitrija.

¹ Prema popisu pučanstva iz 1910. godine u gradu Zadru živjelo je 13200 stanovnika. Od toga je talijanskih govornika bilo 9287 ili 70%, a hrvatskih govornika (Hrvata i Srba) 3598 ili 28%. Bralić 2019: 69.

² O Zadru i Dalmaciji u vrijeme uoči i tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata v. Bralić 2007: 731-775, Bralić 2012: 229-247, Bralić 2006a: 243-266, Bralić 1999: 155-175, Monzali 2004, Monzali 2007.

³ Bralić 2006b: 597-630. O funkcioniranju dalmatinskog školstva u neposrednom poraću v. Uglešić 2019: 145-168. O Srpskoj djevojačkoj građanskoj školi v. Kalinić 2017: 43-54.

Introduction

Zadar entered into the World War I as one of the smallest capital cities of the Austrian half of the Monarchy, with a population of a little more than 13 thousand. Over 70% of that population declared Italian to be their language of communication, while around 30% of the population consisted of Croatian speakers.¹ While the population of the county of Zadar was mostly Croatian by nationality, due to the residential voting system which favoured the richer members of the population, the Italian party managed to hang onto power in the county.² This position had repercussions for the school system. As to the elementary school system at the beginning of the twentieth century, language parity was established, so that male and female elementary schools in Italian existed, as well as Croatian language equivalents. At the same time, private elementary schools existed with public rights in German (so-called military schools). As far as pre-school was concerned, the Italian community founded two kindergartens through the *Lega Nazionale*, while the autonomous regional government founded a Croatian kindergarten in the city. The Serbian population in the city also had their own kindergarten. In the city before the war three civil schools for girls and the industrial-trade school *Pasquale Bakmasz* for boys were in operation. The Benedictine sisters directed a civic school in Italian, and there was also a Serbian civic school for girls, while the Lyceum of St. Demetrius had an organizationally unique school with two departments, Croatian and Italian.³ While they were formally classed as elementary schools, civic schools were in many elements similar to a type of lower secondary school. In this

¹ According to the census from 1910, the city of Zadar had a population of 13,200. Of these, there were 9287 speakers of Italian, making up 70% of the population, with speakers of Croatian (Croats and Serbs) numbering 3598, or 28%. Bralić 2019: 69.

² On Zadar and Dalmatia in the period just preceding the First World War see Bralić 2007: 731-775, Bralić 2012: 229-247, Bralić 2006a: 243-266, Bralić 1999: 155-175, Monzali 2004, Monzali 2007.

³ Bralić 2006b: 597-630. On the functioning of the Dalmatian educational system in the period immediately following the war see Uglešić 2019: 145-168. On the Serbian civic school for girls see Kalinić 2017: 43-54.

Od srednjih škola u Zadru su djelovale četiri ustanove: Talijanska gimnazija, Realna gimnazija na talijanskom, Hrvatska gimnazija te Učiteljska škola – Preparandija na hrvatskom jeziku u Arbanasima, tada predgrađu Zadra. Uz navedene srednjoškolske ustanove u gradu su djelovale Katolička i Pravoslavna bogoslovija⁴, jedine dvije visokoškolske ustanove u Kraljevini Dalmaciji.

Srednjoškolske ustanove na hrvatskom jeziku

Licej sv. Dimitrija

Nastao je početkom 20. stoljeća kada je na poticaj zadarske elite izgrađen monumentalni kompleks zgrada (dovršen 1906. godine) na krajnjem jugu zadarske rive, tadašnje Riva Francesco Giuseppe I ili popularno zvana Riva Nuova. Licej je otvoren 1913. godine, a pravo javnosti dobio je sa školskom godinom 1916./1917. U kompleksu su bile učionice, spavaonice, kuhinja, svečana dvorana, kapela sv. Dimitrija i park na jugoistočnom dijelu bedema koji je bio odijeljen od javnosti. Zgrada je bila osmišljena da omogući školovanje i smještaj kćeri pripadnika dalmatinske elite i da im da dodatno obrazovanje koje je „priljučilo“ budućim suprugama dalmatinskog višeg sloja. Građanska je škola bila trogodišnja, a po svojem nastavnom programu bila je prilagođena predviđenoj ženskoj poziciji u društvu, pa su tako učenice učile malo matematike, ali se dosta pažnje polagalo na dodatne sadržaje kao što su pjevanje, sviranje, „ženski“ radovi, slikanje kao i nešto francuskog poradi reprezentativnosti. Licej su vodile sestre Engleske dame (*Dame inglese*) te su postojali paralelni talijanski i hrvatski odsjek liceja. Osobita skrb vodila se oko kontrole ćudoređa, pa su učenice smještene u Liceju smjele napuštati kompleks samo u grupama i pod nadzorom časnih sestara.

paper, the activity of the Croatian department of the Lyceum of St. Demetrius will be analyzed.

Of the secondary schools in Zadar, four institutions were active: the Italian Gymnasium, the Italian Lyceum, the Croatian Gymnasium and the Teaching School – Preparandium, with Croatian as the language of instruction, in Arbanasi, which at the time was a suburb of Zadar. Along with the aforementioned secondary schools, the Catholic and Orthodox Divinity Schools⁴, the only two tertiary educational institutes in the Kingdom of Dalmatia, were active.

Secondary school institutions with Croatian as the language of instruction

The Lyceum of St. Demetrius

It was founded at the beginning of the 20th century, when, at the incentive of the elite of Zadar, a monumental building complex was built (which was completed in 1906) at the southernmost point of the waterfront of Zadar, then called the Riva Francesco Giuseppe I, or popularly called the Riva Nuova. The Lyceum was opened in 1913, and it attained public rights in the 1916/1917 school year. Inside the complex there were classrooms, bedrooms, kitchen, a ceremonial hall, the chapel of St. Demetrius, and a park at the south-eastern part of the town wall which was kept separate from the public. The building was designed to facilitate the education and boarding of the daughters of the Dalmatian elite, and to offer them an additional education which would “befit” the future wives of the Dalmatian elite. The civic school was a three-year school, and according to its curriculum it was adapted to the needs deemed appropriate for the position of women in society. Thus, the schoolgirls learned some mathematics, but much attention was paid to extracurricular activities such as singing, instrument playing, “women’s” handiwork, painting, and some French, due to representation. The Lyceum was run by the sisters of the English Dame (*Dame inglese*), and there were parallel Italian and Croatian departments in the Lyceum. Special care was given to the control of sexuality, so the schoolgirls in boarding at the Lyceum were only allowed to leave the complex in groups, and under the supervision of nuns.

⁴ O Pravoslavnoj teologiji v. Kalinić 2015.

⁴ On Orthodox Christian Divinity see Kalinić 2015.

Predmet / <i>Subject</i>	I.	II.	III.
Nastavni jezik (Hrvatski jezik) / <i>Language of Instruction (Croatian)</i>	5	5	5
Talijanski jezik / <i>Italian Language</i>	2	2	2
Vjeronauk / <i>Religion</i>	2	2	2
Zemljopis / <i>Geography</i>	2	2	-
Crtanje / <i>Drawing</i>	2	2	2
Povijest / <i>History</i>	2	2	2
Matematika / <i>Mathematics</i>	3	3	3
Ženske ručne radnje / <i>Female Handcraft</i>	3	3	3
Prirodopis i fizika / <i>Natural History and Physics</i>	4	4	4
Kaligrafija / <i>Calligraphy</i>	1	1	1
Ukupno / <i>Total</i> :	26	26	24

Tablica 1. Nastavni plan u školskoj godini 1918./1919. – Hrvatski odsjek Liceja sv. Dimitrija

Table 1. The curriculum for the 1918/1919 school year – The Croatian department of the Lyceum of St. Demetrius

Uz obvezne predmete bili su ponuđeni slobodni predmeti kao što je Pjevanje, Sviranje i Francuski jezik.⁵

Along with required courses, optional courses such as singing, instrument playing, and French were offered.⁵

Školska godina / <i>School year</i>	Hrvatski odsjek / <i>Croatian department</i>	Talijanski odsjek / <i>Italian department</i>	Ukupno / <i>Total</i>
1918./19.	129	96	225
1919./20.	120	105	225
1920./21.	120	92	221
1921./22.	Ukinut	90	90

Tablica 2. Broj učenica u Liceju sv. Dimitrija⁶

Table 2. The number of schoolgirls at the Lyceum of St. Demetrius⁶

⁵ Talijanske učenice imaju Talijanski jezik kao nastavni predmet 6 sati tjedno, a umjesto opće povijesti imaju predmet Talijanska povijest. Državni arhiv u Zadru, Pokrajinsko školsko vijeće (dalje HR-DAZD-98), kutija 322, br. 2064, 13. 12. 1919.

⁶ Državni arhiv u Zadru, Fond Ured za školstvo-Consiglio scolastico provinciale della Dalmazia (dalje HR-DAZD-119), svežanj 2, br. 2887, 22. 8. 1922.

⁵ The Italian schoolgirls have Italian language class 6 hours a week, and instead of general history have Italian history. The State Archives in Zadar, County School Council (henceforth referred to as HR-DAZD-98), box 322, no. 2064, 12/13/1919.

⁶ The State Archives in Zadar, The Fond of the Department of Education-Consiglio scolastico provinciale della Dalmazia (henceforth referred to as HR-DAZD-119), bundle 2, no. 2887, 22. 8. 1922.

Hrvatska gimnazija

Službeni naziv ustanove bio je C. K. Velika Gimnazija s hrvatskim nastavnim jezikom. Zemaljski sabor Kraljevine Dalmacije 1890. donio je tada odluku da se Ministarstvu Bogoštovlja i nastave predloži osnivanje gimnazije. Ministar je donio odluku tek 23. rujna 1896. i ona je započela rad kao niža četverorazredna gimnazija školske godine 1897./98. Međutim, nije nastupio zastoj u radu jer je već školske godine 1901./1902. počela raditi kao potpuna osmogodišnja ustanova. Prvi maturanti izašli su iz škole u lipnju 1905. godine. Učenicama je dopušteno školovanje u svojstvu hospitantica u gimnaziji tek od školske godine 1910./1911. na način da one mogu predstavljati najviše 5% ukupnih učenika. Tijekom rata od tog se načela odustalo te je porastao broj učenica, a talijanske su vlasti ograničenje u potpunosti ukinule.⁷

Nastava se održavala šest dana u tjednu, a barem tri puta tjedno nastava je bila u dvjema smjenama tj. u jutarnjoj i popodnevnoj smjeni. Najčešće su se u popodnevnoj smjeni održavali predmeti kao što su Gimnastika, Slobodno crtanje, ali i „slobodni“ predmeti kao što su Pjevanje i Francuski jezik. Treba napomenuti, za razliku od današnje nastave, pojedini je nastavnik održavao nastavu u različitim predmetima, a tek se vide naznake predmetne specijalizacije u nastavi Vjeronauka, Prirodopisa, Fizike i Kemije, Slobodnog crtanja i Gimnastike te izvannastavnih predmeta kao što su Pjevanje i Francuski jezik. U praksi to bi značilo da, u načelu, razrednik u svom razredu drži Hrvatski i Latinski jezik, dok u nekome drugom razredu drži Matematiku ili Zemljopis. Što se tiče nastave Vjeronauka, održavao se katolički i pravoslavni vjeronauk, a u slučaju da razred ima paralelke pazilo se da pravoslavni učenici budu svi u jednom razredu.

⁷ Talijansko Vrhovno vojno zapovjedništvo ukinulo je ograničenje za učenice 24. svibnja 1919. godine i one su mogle postati redovite, javne učenice. XVI. Program Državne gimnazije s hrvatskim ili srpskim jezikom u Zadru, za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., V-VIII i 18. O Hrvatskoj gimnaziji v. Maštrović 1965: 487-526.

The Croatian Gymnasium

The official name of the institution was the Imperial-Royal Great Gymnasium with Croatian as the Language of Instruction. The National Parliament of the Kingdom of Dalmatia decided in 1890 that the Ministry of Worship and Teaching propose the founding of a gymnasium. The Minister did not make the decision until September 23rd, 1896, and it began to function as a lower four-grade gymnasium in the 1897/1898 school year. There were no pauses in its work, however, because in the 1901/1902 school year it already began to function as a fully 8-year institution. The school's first graduates completed their studies in June of 1905. Students were only allowed to be educated in the gymnasium as hospitants from the 1910/1911 school year onward, so that they could represent only 5% of total number of students. During the war, this rule was not upheld, as the number of students rose, and the Italian government completely got rid of the restriction.⁷

Classes were held six days a week, and at least three days a week classes were held in two shifts, i.e. during a morning or afternoon shift. In the afternoon shift, the classes most often held were classes such as Gymnastics and Freehand Drawing, as well as “free” classes such as Singing and French. It must be mentioned that, unlike classes today, one teacher would teach classes in various subjects, and indications of subject specializations were only begun to be seen in the teaching of such classes as Religion, Natural Sciences, Physics and Chemistry, Freehand Drawing and Gymnastics, and in elective courses such as Singing and French Language. In practice that would mean that, in principle, the homeroom teacher would teach Croatian and Latin to his class, while to another he would teach Mathematics or Geography. With regard to Religion, both Catholic and Orthodox Christian religion classes were taught, and in instances in which there were students of both religions in one grade, care was taken that Orthodox Christian students were all in the same class.

⁷ The Italian Supreme military command got rid of the restriction for students on May 24th, 1919, and they were able to become full-time, female public-school students. XVI. Program Državne gimnazije s hrvatskim ili srpskim jezikom u Zadru, za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., V-VIII and 18. On the Croatian Gymnasium see Maštrović 1965: 487-526.

Predmet / Subject	Razred / Grade								Ukupno / Total
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	
Vjeronauk / Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16
Nastavni jezik (Hrvatski jezik) / Language of instruction (Croatian)	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	3	22
Latinski jezik / Latin	7	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	44
Grčki jezik / Greek	-	-	4	4	5	5	4	5	27
Talijanski jezik / Italian	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	26
Njemački jezik / German	-	-	-	3	3	3	3	3	15
Povijest / History	-	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	15,5
Zemljopis / Geography	2	2			1	1	-		10,5
Matematika / Mathematics	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	23
Prirodopis / Natural History	2	2	-	2	2	2	-	-	9
Fizika i Kemija / Physics and Chemistry	-	-	2		-	-	3	3	9
Filozofijska propedeutika / Propaedeutic Philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	4
Kaligrafija / Calligraphy	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Slobodno crtanje / Freehand Drawing	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	8
Gimnastika / Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	15
Ukupno / Total	29	29	30	31	31	31	32	32	245

Tablica 3. Nastavni (prijeratni) plan Hrvatske gimnazije⁸

Table 3. The pre-war curriculum for the Croatian-language gymnasium⁸

Školska godina / School year	Ukupno (upisanih) / Total (enrolled)
1897./1898.	76
1911./1912.	334
1912./1913.	337
1913./1914.	383
1914./1915.	408
1915./1916.	406
1916./1917.	456
1917./1918.	462
1918./1919.	490
1919./1920.	503
1920./1921.	383

Tablica 4. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije⁹

Table 4. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium⁹

⁸ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 207, br. 6753/1921.

⁹ XVI. Program Državne gimnazije, XIII.

⁸ HR-DAZD-98, box 207, no. 6753/1921.

⁹ XVI. Program Državne gimnazije, XIII.

Na početku djelovanja Hrvatske gimnazije broj učenika čiji su roditelji stanovali izvan Zadra premašivao je broj „zadarskih“ učenika, ali od školske godine 1911./1912. broj učenika iz Zadra kontinuirano je bio veći od „vanjskih“ učenika.

Učiteljska škola – Preparandija

Zavod je započeo s radom školske godine 1866./67. pod nazivom Ilirski konvikt u Arbanasima, tada zadarskom predgrađu. U isto vrijeme postojala je i učiteljska škola na talijanskom jeziku u gradu Zadru koja se ukida od školske godine 1870./71. Nakon toga, u razdoblju od školske godine 1870./71. do 1879./80. Preparandija djeluje kao utrakvistička škola. Od 1879./80. nastava se odvija samo na hrvatskom jeziku, a za učiteljske kandidate koji su željeli predavati na talijanskom jeziku osigurane su stipendije na talijanskoj Preparandiji u Koperu.¹⁰

Preparandija je imala pripremni razred te četiri redovita razreda. Osiguran je bio smještaj za učenike izvan Zadra, a organizacijski je pod Zavodom bila i Vježbaonica, tj. pučka muška škola u kojoj su budući učitelji izvodili praksu. Također je pri ustanovi bio i ogledni vrt koji je služio za podučavanje budućih učitelja u agronomskom znanju te kao nadopuna školskoj kuhinji.

At the beginning of the operations of the Croatian Gymnasium, the number of students whose parents lived outside of Zadar was larger than the number of students “from Zadar”, but from the 1911/1912 school year onward the number of students from Zadar was continuously greater than the number of “outside” students.

Teaching School – The Preparandium

The Institute began operations in the 1866/1867 school year, under the name Illyrian Boarding School in Arbanasi, which was a suburb of Zadar at the time. At the same time there existed a teaching school with Italian as the language of instruction in the city of Zadar, which was abolished in the 1870/1871 school year. After that, in the period dating between the 1870/1871 and 1879/1880 school years, the Preparandium operated as a bilingual school. From 1879/1880 classes were held only in Croatian, and teaching candidates who wished to teach in Italian were guaranteed scholarships to the Italian Preparandium in Koper.¹⁰

The Preparandium had a preparatory grade, and four regular grades. Boarding was guaranteed for students from outside of Zadar, and the training centre was under the organization of the Institute, i.e., the male elementary school in which future teachers had their traineeship. The Institute also held a specimen garden which served both to teach future teachers on subjects such as agronomy and as an addendum to the school kitchen.

¹⁰ Obad 1997: 17-42.

¹⁰ Obad 1997: 17-42.

Predmet / Subject	Razred / Class				
	Pripremni / Preparatory	I.	II.	III.	IV.
Vjeronauk / Religion	2	2	2	2	2
Pedagogika i praktične vježbe / Pedagogy and Practical Exercises	-	-	2	5	9
Hrvatski jezik / Croatian Language	8	4	4	4	4
Zemljopis / Geography	2	2	2	2	1
Povijest i nauka o domorodnom ustavu / History and Studies on the Native Constitution		2	2	2	1
Matematika / Mathematics	3	4	3	2	2
Prirodopis / Natural History	3	2	2	2	1
Fizika / Physics		2	2	2	1
Gospodarstvo / Economy	-	2	2	2	2
Kaligrafija / Calligraphy	2	1	-	-	-
Crtanje / Drawing	3	2	2	2	1
Opća nauka o glazbi i pjevanju / General Musical and Singing Theory	-	1	1	-	-
Pjevanje / Singing	1	-	-	2	2
Violina / Violin	2	2	2	1	1
Gimnastika / Gymnastics	2	2	2	1	1
Ukupno / Total	28	28	28	29	28

Tablica 5. Nastavni plan Preparandije.¹¹Table 5. The Preparandum curriculum¹¹¹¹ Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 24.¹¹ Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 24.

Školska godina / School year	Pripravni tečaj / Preparatory school	I. tečaj / Course one	II. tečaj / Course two	III. tečaj / Course three	IV. tečaj / Course four	Ukupno / Total
1913./14.	53	31	31	26	24	165
1914./15.	38	35	33	16	10	132
1915./16.	29	30	33	11	5	108
1916./17.	16	22	24	25	6	93
1917./18.	12	21	14	12	3	67
1918./19.	13	10	10	14	17	64
1919./20.	17	17	9	15	16	68
1920./21.	-	-	-	-	-	114*
1921./22.	9h** + 13t**	14h + 5t	15h + 7t	-	8h	46h + 25t: 71

Tablica 6. Broj učenika Preparandije.¹²

* Poznat je samo ukupan broj učenika.

** „h“ – broj učenika koji pohađaju nastavu na hrvatskom jeziku; „t“ – broj učenika koji pohađaju nastavu na talijanskom jeziku.

Prema talijanskim podacima u školskoj godini 1920./21. bilo je 108 Hrvata i Slovenaca, Arbanasa 6, Talijana 0, od čega je 77 učenika i 37 učenica. U školskoj godini 1921./22. bilo je Hrvata i Slovenaca 38, Talijana 34, Arbanasa 5, od čega 49 učenika i 28 učenica.¹³ Prije Prvog svjetskog rata učiteljice su se školovale u ženskoj preparandiji u Dubrovniku koja je školske godine 1913./14. imala 222 učenice.¹⁴

Prvi svjetski rat i školstvo

Prvi svjetski rat ostavio je velik trag na funkcioniranje školskog sustava. U prvoj godini rata promjene i nisu bile tako drastične kao što će to biti u nastavku rata. Prvi utjecaj na rad škola, pa i onih srednjih, imala je mobilizacija

¹² HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 2, br. 0543, 13. 2. 1922., Program Muškog Preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., Zadar 1919, 10. i Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1919.-1920., 16.

¹³ HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 3, 2900, 23. 8. 1922.

¹⁴ Program Muškog Preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 11.

Table 6. The number of students in the Preparandium¹²

*Only the total number of students is known.

** “h” – the number of students attending classes with Croatian as the language of instruction, “t” – the number of students attending classes with Italian as the language of instruction.

According to Italian data from the 1920/1921 school year, there were 108 Croats and Slovenians, 6 Arbanasi, and no Italians; of these, 77 were male students, and 37 female students. In the 1921/22 school year there were 38 Croats and Slovenians, 34 Italians, and 5 Arbanasi; of these, there were 49 male students and 28 female students.¹³ Before the World War I female teachers received their education at the female preparandium in Dubrovnik, which had 222 female students in the 1913/14 school year.¹⁴

World War I and education

The World War I left an indelible mark on the functioning of the school system. During the first year of the war, the changes were not as drastic as they would be during the following years of the war. The first event to influence the work of schools, even secondary schools, was the mobilization of teachers to military

¹² HR-DAZD-119, bundle 2, no. 0543, 2/13/1922, Program Muškog Preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., Zadar 1919, 10. and Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1919.-1920., 16.

¹³ HR-DAZD-119, bundle 3, 2900, 8/23/1922.

¹⁴ Program Muškog Preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 11.

učitelja u vojnu službu¹⁵ te privremeno zauzimanje školskih prostora od strane vojske, što je dovelo do (privremena) zatvaranja dijela seoskih osnovnih škola. Na početku rata u školskoj godini 1914./1915. Hrvatska gimnazija uz ravnatelja imala je 10 profesora, 1 pravog učitelja, 1 provizornog učitelja, 1 katoličkog i 1 pravoslavnog vjeroučitelja, 5 suplemenata, 1 pomoćnoga katoličkog vjeroučitelja te 1 pomoćnog učitelja. Također je zapošljavala poslužitelja te jednu čistačicu. Na kraju te godine bilo je 324 učenika. Prva četiri razreda imala su paralelke, dok je u VIII. razredu bilo najmanje učenika, 14 redovnih i 1 privatist. Nakon V. razreda nema učenika.¹⁶ Iste godine Talijanska gimnazija ima samo 187 učenika.¹⁷ Početak rata, uvjetno rečeno, doveo je do promjena na čelu Hrvatske gimnazije. Naime, dotadašnji ravnatelj Marcel Kušar dao je zahtjev za mirovinom, što mu je odobreno 22. listopada 1914. Njega je zamijenio Vilim Gross, dotadašnji upravitelj kotorske gimnazije koja je privremeno prestala raditi uslijed rata Austro-Ugarske s Crnom Gorom. Međutim, i kad je kotorska gimnazija ponovno počela raditi 1916. godine, Gross se nije vratio, nego je zatražio da postane stalni ravnatelj Hrvatske gimnazije u Zadru, što mu je odobreno 17. rujna 1917. godine.¹⁸ Ulazak Italije u rat krajem svibnja 1915. doveo je do toga da je te godine došlo do prijevremena zatvaranja srednjih škola koje se u redovno vrijeme zatvaraju 15. srpnja. Istovremeno se 18. lipnja 1915. godine ukida dozvola rada za Legine škole u Monarhiji, pa su tako ukinute škole na Voštarnici (dio grada sjeverno od Poluotoka) i u Arbanasima. Uskoro će se u tim prostorima otvoriti hrvatske škole.¹⁹ Osim toga, vlasti su pristupile ukidanju građanske škole na talijanskom jeziku koju su vodile zadarske benediktinke na način da je

service,¹⁵ and the temporary occupation of school locations by the army that led to the (temporary) closure of a portion of village elementary schools. At the beginning of the war, during the 1914/1915 school year, the Croatian Gymnasium had, along with the principal, 10 professors, one certified teacher, one provisory teacher, one Catholic and one Orthodox Christian religion teacher, five supplementary staff, one aide to the Catholic religion teacher and one teaching aide. It also employed a server and one cleaning lady. At the end of that school year there were 324 students. The first four grades had parallel classes, while the lowest number of students was to be found in the eighth grade, with 14 full-time students and one private. In grades higher than the fifth grade there were no female students.¹⁶ That same year, the Italian Gymnasium only had 187 students.¹⁷ The beginning of the war could be conditionally stated to have brought change to the head of the Croatian Gymnasium. Marcel Kušar, who had hitherto been the principal, put in a request for retirement, which was granted on October 22nd, 1914. He was replaced by Vilim Gross, who had hitherto been the director of the Kotor Gymnasium, which had temporarily ceased operation due to the Austro-Hungarian war against Montenegro. When the Kotor Gymnasium began operating again in 1916, however, Gross did not return, seeking instead become the principal of the Croatian Gymnasium in Zadar permanently, which was granted to him on September 17th, 1917.¹⁸ The entering of Italy into the war at the end of May of 1915 brought as a consequence that the same year there was a temporary closing of high schools which normally ceased activities on July 15th. At the same time, the Lega's schools in the Monarchy lost their work permits on June 18th, 1915, and thus the schools in Voštarnica (a part of the city north of Poluotok) and in Arbanasi were also closed. Not long after, Croatian schools would be opened in their places.¹⁹ Other than that, the authorities approached the closing of the civic schools with Italian as the language of instruction which were

¹⁵ Tijekom IV. tromjesječja 1915. godine na području zadarskog kotara bilo je mobilizirano 28 učitelja stalno i 2 privremeno. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 205, br. 1214, 14. 2. 1916.

¹⁶ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 202, bez broja i nadnevk.

¹⁷ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 202, br. 3849, 11. 6. 1915.

¹⁸ XVI. Program Državne gimnazije, X.

¹⁹ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 203, br. 5013, 6. 8. 1915.

¹⁵ During the fourth quarter of 1915 there were 28 full-time and 2 temporary teachers mobilized in the region of the Zadarski Kotar. HR-DAZD-98, box 205, no. 1214, 2/14/1916.

¹⁶ HR-DAZD-98, box 202, without number or date.

¹⁷ HR-DAZD-98, box 202, br. 3849, 6/11/1915.

¹⁸ XVI. Program Državne gimnazije, X.

¹⁹ HR-DAZD-98, box 203, no. 5013, 8/6/1915.

spriječen upis novih učenika u prvi razred u školskoj godini 1915./1916.²⁰ Sve veća nestašica osnovnih živežnih namirnica, prateća inflacija i općenita materijalna oskudica utjecala je na normalno odvijanje nastave. Već je tijekom zime 1916./1917. grijanje u učionicama bilo slabo.²¹ Još je gora situacija tijekom zime 1917./1918. kada se učenici, često puta i gladni, pothlađuju u slabo grijanim učionicama.²² Iako su zimski praznici zbog nedostatka grijanja bili produženi, nastavna godina završena je već 15. lipnja 1918. ili mjesec dana ranije nego što je bilo uobičajeno.²³ Mobilizacija učenika u završnim razredima (VII. i VIII.) dovodi do smanjenja broja učenika te se nastava u tim dvama razredima integrira.²⁴ Za mobilizirane učenike VIII. razreda organizira se četverotjedna nastava i polaganje mature izvan rokova.²⁵ Postoji podatak da je čak 56 učenika Preparandije bilo mobilizirano, od kojih su četvorica poginula tijekom rata.²⁶ Učenici mlađih uzrasta koriste se za brojne pripomoćne akcije kojima je cilj osiguranje sirovina za austrijski ratni stroj. Tako oni sudjeluju u skupljanju stare odjeće, željeznog otpada, skupljanju bakra, a sudjeluju i u raznorodnim dobrotvornim akcijama. Od učenika se očekuje da skupljaju dobrotvorne priloge za ratne udovice i

led by the Benedictine sisters of Zadar in such a way that the enrollment of new students into the first grade was barred in the 1915/1916 school year.²⁰ The ever greater shortage of basic food items, the concomitant inflation, and general material poverty had bearing on the normal course of class instruction. During the winter of 1916/1917 there was already poor heating in the classrooms.²¹ The situation during the winter of 1917/1918 was even worse, with students, who were also often hungry, being very cold in the poorly heated classrooms.²² Even though winter holidays were extended due to the lack of heating, the school year already ended on June 15th, 1918, a month before school usually ended.²³ The mobilization of students in the upper grades (seventh and eighth) led to fewer students, and two classes were integrated together in a split-level class.²⁴ A four-week class with a senior graduation is organized outside of the regular deadlines for the mobilized students of the eighth grade.²⁵ Existing data show that 56 of the students of the Preparandum were mobilized, of which 4 were killed during the war.²⁶ Younger students were used in numerous assisting actions in which the goal was to secure raw materials for the Austrian war machine. Thus, they participated in the gathering of old clothes, scrap iron and copper, as well as in various charity actions. It was expected of the students to collect charitable contributions for war

²⁰ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 204, br. 29, 3. 1. 1916. Do kraja rata ženska građanska škola na talijanskom jeziku, koju su vodile sestre benediktinke samostana Sv. Marije, prestala je djelovati, kako je vidljivo prema izvješću iz 1919. godine, HR-DAZD-98, kutija 323, br. 1657, 27. 10. 1919.

²¹ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 201, br. 3653, 8. 6. 1917. Uprava Talijanske realke zatražila je od Pokrajinskoga školskog vijeća da im se dade 1.000 kruna unaprijed da već tada nabave drva za grijanje za sljedeću sezonu. Međutim, dobili su samo 333,33 kruna. Također su predložili da se skrate ljetni praznici da bi nastava zimi bila kraća.

²² Ravnatelj Hrvatske gimnazije V. Gross žalio se kotarskom školskom nadzorniku da tijekom čitave zime 1917./1918. njegov ured nije bio grijan jer nije bilo drva. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 207, br. 6753, bez godine.

²³ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 207, br. 4106, bez datuma.

²⁴ Npr. to je slučaj s Talijanskom gimnazijom, HR-DAZD-98, kutija, 206, 16. 7. 1917.

²⁵ Državni arhiv u Zadru, Fond Hrvatske gimnazije u Zadru 1897.-1921., Matična knjiga 1917./1918. (dalje: HR-DAZD-246).

²⁶ Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 29.

²⁰ HR-DAZD-98, box 204, no. 29, 1/3/1916. By the end of the war, the civic school for female students with Italian as the language of instruction which was run by the sisters of the Benedictine order of the monastery of St. Mary ceased its operation, as can be seen in a report from 1919, HR-DAZD-98, box 323, no. 1657, 10/27/1919.

²¹ HR-DAZD-98, box 201, no. 3653, 6/8/1917. The administration of the Italian Lyceum asked for 1,000 koronas in advance in order to purchase wood for heating for the next year from the provincial school board. They only, however, received 333.33 koronas. They also suggested that summer holidays be shortened, so that wintertime classes could also be shortened.

²² The principal of the Croatian gymnasium, V. Gros, complained to the district school superintendent that his office was not heated the entire winter of 1917/1918, as there was no wood. HR-DAZD-98, box 207, no. 6753, undated.

²³ HR-DAZD-98, box 207, no. 4106, undated.

²⁴ E.g., this was the case with the Italian gymnasium, HR-DAZD-98, box 206, 7/16/1917.

²⁵ The State Archivist in Zadar, the Croatian Gymnasium in Zadar 1897-1921 fond, Books of the Registrar 1917/1918 (henceforth: HR-DAZD-246).

²⁶ Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 29.

siročad. Rast cijena, uz ograničen rast plaća, demoralizirao je profesorski kadar u školstvu. Učitelji su se bunili da sebi ne mogu priuštiti niti kupovinu osnovnih odjevnih predmeta kao što je obuća. Među primjerima oskudice ističe se tužna sudbina zadarske učiteljice Marije Kello. Njezin muž bio je povratnik iz Čilea koji je umro tijekom rata. Ona je uslijed slabe prehrane i slaba grijanja dobila tuberkulozu te je od toga umrla. Iza nje su ostala dva sina; jedan je otišao na školovanje u Zagreb, gdje su ga „dobri ljudi“ školovali, dok je drugi sin pohađao Hrvatsku gimnaziju kao štíćenik zadarskog sjemeništa.²⁷

Materijalno stanje učiteljstva najcrnjim je bojama krajem kolovoza 1918. opisao Stjepan Zakarija, kotarski školski nadzornik, što znači da je ujedno bio i državni činovnik:

„Suvišno je dokazivati, da je žalosno i nevoljno stanje pučkih učiteljskih snaga. Sve, što je navedeno u privitom podnesku (ravnatelja svih zadarskih pučkih škola, op. a.), živa je istina. Ako su činovnici uopće, izuzev samo ove koji su i posjednici, u veoma slabim ekonomskim prilikama, lako je prosuditi kako ima biti pučkim učiteljima. Učiteljske snage u pogledu beriva i aprovizacije daleko zaostaju za državnim činovnicima, nižih raz. čina i državnih poslužnika, a osim toga još nijesu dobili ni odijela ni obuće uz sniženu cijenu. Nije se dakle čuditi, ako u znatnom pomanjkanju onoga, što ima je za uzdržavanje neophodno potrebito, malakše njihova znatna energija, bez koje ne mogu duševno uspješno djelovati. A sada imamo jedan žalostan slučaj, koji potvrđuje ovo što navadam. Učiteljica mjesne ženske škole, Kello Marija, leži u pokrajinskoj bolnici shrvana od nemile bolesti. Uslijed slabe prehrane i slabe obuće prošle je zime tako oslabila da je zadobila tuberkulozni plućni katar sa dnevnom jakom ognjicom. Ima dva nedorasla sina, od kojih je jedan na prehrani u Hrvatskoj a drugi gimnazijski učenik, živi o milosti dobrih ljudi.

Iz ove žalosne situacije dva su izlaza: urediti beriva i opskrbu hranom, odjećom i obućom učiteljskim snagama u mjeri, kako to biva za državne činovnike, ili, kad ovo ne bi bilo

widows and orphans. The rising of prices, along with the restriction in the raising of wages, demoralized the professorial cadre in education. Teachers complained that they could not afford to purchase even the most basic of wardrobe items, such as shoes. Among the examples of poverty, the sad fate of Marija Kello, a teacher from Zadar, is highlighted. Her husband was repatriated from Chile and died during the war. She contracted tuberculosis due to poor nourishment and poor heating, of which she died. She left behind two sons, one of whom went to Zagreb for his schooling, where “good people” schooled him, while her other son attended the Croatian Gymnasium as a ward of the Seminary of Zadar.²⁷

The material situation of the teachers was outlined in the darkest colours at the end of August of 1918 by Stjepan Zakarija, a district superintendent, which also makes him a state clerk:

“It is unnecessary to prove that the state of the elementary teaching corps is pitiful and poor. Everything that is stated in the attachment of this report (to the principal of all of the elementary schools of Zadar – author’s remark), is the truth. If clerks in general, excepting those that are landowners, are in a very poor economic state, it is easy to imagine what it must be like to be an elementary school teacher. The teaching corps, with regard to their monthly salary and rations, are far behind state clerks, entry-level clerks, and state servers, and they also did not receive neither suits nor shoes at a lower price. One should not, therefore, be surprised, that, being in deficiency of that which is necessary for sustenance, their energy is dampened, without which their mental faculties cannot be competently put to use. And now we have a very miserable situation, which confirms all that I have stated. A teacher from the local girls’ school, Marija Kello, is now lying in the provincial hospital, overwhelmed by a terrible disease. Due to malnutrition and poor clothing last winter she became so frail that she got tuberculosis along with a very high fever. She has two under-age sons, of which one is boarding in Croatia, and the other is a gymnasium student, and they depend on the charity of good people.

There are two exits out of this miserable situation: to regulate monthly salaries and food supply, by supplying clothing and shoes to the teaching corps in their proper sizes, as is the situation with state clerks,

²⁷ Bralić 2016b: 617.

²⁷ Bralić 2016b: 617.

izvodljivo, kao što do sada nije bilo trebalo bi barem ograničiti njihov rad u školi.

Ne preostaje dakle drugo, nego da se i u školama grada Zadra (netko iz pokr. Šk. Vijeća je podcrtao i nadopisao crvenom olovkom „a zar je vani tako?“; op. a.) uredi prijedpnevna nastava prikraćena pouka, da tako učiteljskim snagama ostane dovoljno raspoloživa vremena u svrhu, da se poštenom privatnom zaradom prometnu i tim sebi i svojim obiteljima osjeguraju opstanak. A eventualnu primjedbu, da bi popodne, poradi prijedpnevne prikraćene pouke, plandovala školska djeca, priznati mi je, da bi to donekle bilo zlo, ali bi bilo još gore zlo, kad bi se, u sadašnjim žalosnim prilikama sililo učiteljske snage, da redovito poučavaju u školi, kad im nedostaje životne energije.²⁸

Iako su kotarski školski nadzornik i kotarski poglavar F. Simonelli dali potporu zahtjevu ravnatelja zadarskih pučkih škola, podnamjesnik Leopold Golf je istaknuo da pokrajinske vlasti nisu za takav prijedlog jer:

„U tom slučaju ne bi konačno pokrajinsko školsko vijeće ni u drugim gradovima moglo uskratiti iste mjere, a konačni rezultat bi bio, da bi djeca na višerazrednim, najglavnijim školama po gradovima stajala s obzirom na odgoj i pouku mnogo gore negoli djeca u prenatrpanim seoskim školama. (Da je na ove konsekvencije mislilo to c.k. Vijeće, ne bi valjda ni samo stavljalo dotičnoga prijedloga.) Što se pak tiče uredbe pouke po ostalim školama u kotaru, pozivlje se to c.k. vijeće, da bez izričitoga dopuštenja ovoga vijeća za svaki pojedini slučaj ne uvodi ove šk. godine nikakvih ograničenja pouke. (Neka se upravama mjesnih škola priopći ovo riješenje, koliko se tiče dotičnoga podneska, u opširnijem izvatu).“

U nastavku je križan tekst u zagradi te je nadopisano:

„S obzirom na to, da su nešto zbog bolesti, a nešto zbog sadašnjih događaja nastale, sve pučke škole u kotaru zatvorene preko 2 mjeseca, neka se ograničenja pouke predlaže samo posve izuzetno i u dosta obzirna mjestnim slučajevima.“²⁹

or, if this is not possible, working hours in school should at least be limited, which has not until now been the case.

There is nothing left to do, then, other than to arrange too in the schools of the city of Zadar (someone from the provincial School Board underlined this and added in red pen “is it actually like this abroad?” – author’s remark) that morning classes be shorter, so that teachers have enough free time that, with honest work in their private time, they could secure for themselves and their family enough to survive. I must mention a possible objection, which could be that in the afternoon, due to the shorter afternoon classes, school children might shirk their responsibilities; it would be a greater evil, however, if, in the miserable conditions of today, school teachers would be forced to continue with their regular teaching schedule in school when they do not have the life energy to do so.²⁸

While the district school superintendent and district chief, F. Simonelli, supported the requests of the principal of the elementary schools of Zadar, Vice-Governor Leopold Gold highlighted the fact that the provincial administration was not for such a suggestion, because:

“In that case, after all, the provincial school board could not be able to deny even to other cities the same measures, and the final result would be that children in the multi-grade, principal schools in cities would be in much worse position with regard to education and studies than children in the over-filled village schools. (Had the imperial-royal board thought of this consequence, they would not have likely placed the request at hand.) With regard to the ordinances for teaching for the other school in the district, the imperial-royal board invokes it, so that without the expression permission of this committee no restrictions are imposed this school year on a case-by-case basis. (Let the local school authorities be informed of this decision, as far as it regards this request submission, in the extensive excerpt.)”

In the follow-up, the text in brackets is crossed out, and the following is added:

“Considering that, in part due to illness, and in part due to current events, all public schools in the district have been closed for over two months, some teaching restrictions have been proposed only for

²⁸ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 207, br. 8055, 21. 10. 1918. pa preradba 5. 11. 1918.

²⁹ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 207, br. 8055, 21. 10. 1918. pa preradba 5. 11. 1918.

²⁸ HR-DAZD-98, box 207, no. 8055, 10/21/1918, and the revision of 11/ 5/1918.

Oskudica zime 1917./1918. dovela je do pojedinačnih slučajeva umiranja od gladi. Opća situacija naginjala je očaju.

Približavanje kraja ratnih djelovanja 1918. nije dovelo do smirivanja situacije. Naime, već u rujnu iste godine dolazi do širenja „španjole“, pandemijske bolesti i na zadarskom području.³⁰ Uslijed toga sve škole su formalno bile zatvorene od 11. listopada do 15. prosinca „zbog španjolske hunjavice i ratnih prilika“. Ustvari, školska godina 1918./1919. započela je tek 16. prosinca 1918.

Nove političke prilike

Završetak rata nije doveo do smirivanja političkog i sigurnosnog stanja na zadarskom i širem priobalnom području. Naime, već tijekom rata tajnim Londonskim ugovorom od 24. travnja 1915. Kraljevini Italiji za ulazak u rat na strani Antante obećana su područja, između ostalih, i na hrvatskoj obali Jadrana. Tako je prema tom Ugovoru Italija dobila i šire područje sjeverne Dalmacije. Nakon potpisivanja primirja između Italije i Austro-Ugarske u Villi Giusti kod Padove 3. studenog 1918., Italija je iskoristila odredbu ugovora da primirje stupa na snagu 24 sata nakon potpisivanja, tj. u 15 sati 4. studenog. Talijanska mornarica nastojala je osvojiti što veće područje u sljedeća 24 sata pa je tako zauzela Trst, Pulu, a u Zadar je ušla 4. studenog u 14 i 30 sati talijanska torpiljerka 55AS. Na taj način Italija je željela osnažiti svoju poziciju na budućim pregovorima tvrdeći da je navedeno područje njezin „ratni plijen“ koji je ona dobila u ratu. Dolazak sve većeg broja talijanskih vojnika imao je za posljedicu to da je došlo do privremena rekviriranja školskih prostora, stoga i nastavna godina nije mogla redovito započeti, kako je gore navedeno.

Ovom prigodom treba pokušati objasniti zamršen i isprepleten administrativni ustroj koji je „djelovao“ u vremenu talijanske okupacije sjeverne Dalmacije, tj. u razdoblju od 4. studenog 1918. do Rapallskog ugovora 12. studenog 1920., što je naravno imalo svoje posljedice i na djelovanje školstva.

³⁰ Između ostalih od „španjole“ su umrla 4 učenika Hrvatske gimnazije. *XVI. program Državne gimnazije u Zadru*, 17.

exceptional circumstances, and in sufficiently considerate local situations“.²⁹

The scarcity in the winter of 1917/1918 led to individual cases of death by starvation. The general situation tended toward despair.

The approaching end of the war in 1918 did nothing to calm the situation. Namely, already in September of the same year there was a Spanish flu epidemic, a pandemic disease even in the Zadar area.³⁰ As a result, all schools were formally closed from October 11th to December 15th “due to the Spanish fever and war-time situation”. In fact, the 1918/1919 school year did not begin until December 16th, 1918.

New political opportunities

The end of the war did not bring a calming of the political and security situation in the region of Zadar and in the wider coastal region. Namely, already during the war, in the secret Treaty of London dating April 24th, 1915, the Kingdom of Italy was promised, among others, regions on the Croatian coast of the Adriatic in compensation for their joining the war on the side of the Entente. Thus, according to that treaty, Italy gains the wider region of Northern Dalmatia. After the signing of the peace treaty between Italy and Austro-Hungary in the Villa Giusti near Padova on November 3rd, 1918, Italy used the directive of the treaty so that the peace treaty took effect 24 hours after its signing, that is, from 15 o'clock on November 4th. The Italian navy tried to conquer as large an area as possible in the next 24 hours, so it took over Trieste and Pula, and on November 4th the Italian torpedo boat 55AS entered Zadar at 2:30 PM. Italy wished to secure its positions in future negotiations in this way, stating that the area in question was its own “spoils of war”, acquired in the war. The arrival of an even greater number of Italian soldiers led to the result that there was a temporary requisitioning of school zones, and thus the school year could not begin on time, as was mentioned above.

On this occasion, an attempt should be made to explain the complicated and intertwined administrative structure that “operated” during the Italian occupation of Northern Dalmatia, i.e. in the period from November

²⁹ HR-DAZD-98, box 207, no. 8055, 10/21/1918, and the revision of 11/ 5/1918.

³⁰ Among others, 4 students of the Croatian gymnasium died of the Spanish flu. *XVI. program Državne gimnazije u Zadru*, 17.

Prema propozicijama primirja, sve civilne ustanove do konačna mirovnog ugovora trebale su nastaviti djelovati, neometane od okupacijskih civilnih vlasti. Najviša školska vlast u Kraljevini Dalmaciji bilo je Pokrajinsko školsko vijeće, na čijem je čelu bio namjesnik Dalmacije. Već je tu nastala promjena jer Dalmacija više nije bila dio Austro-Ugarske te je uskoro na čelo Vijeća došao bivši splitski kotarski poglavar Lino Lana. Uskoro je došlo i do promjene osoba koje su vršile službu pokrajinskog i kotarskoga školskog nadzornika. Pokrajinsko školsko vijeće administrativno su pratile određene službe Namjesništva, glavne ekspoziture središnjih bečkih vlasti. Nakon odlaska posljednjega austrijskog namjesnika Marija grofa Attemsa, novog namjesnika Stefana Metličića i podnamjesnika Josipa Cortellaza imenovala je 1. studenog 1918. Zemaljska vlada sa sjedištem u Splitu. Ta vlada bila je organ, prvo i barem formalno, Narodnog vijeća Države SHS iz Zagreba, a nakon 1. prosinca 1918. Kraljevstva SHS. Namjesništvo je od 5. prosinca 1918. preuzela talijanska strana istjerujući prohrvatskoga privremenog namjesnika Metličića i njegova zamjenika Cortellaza. Tog dana talijanske vlasti imenovala su Eligia Smiricha, bivšega dalmatinskog podnamjesnika, a promjena se osjetila i u jezičnoj talijanizaciji administrativnog djelovanja Namjesništva. U isto vrijeme djeluju i talijanske vlasti na okupiranom području u tijelu zvanu *Governo della Dalmazia e delle isole dalmate e curzolane*. Školstvom se bavi civilni dio vojnih vlasti ili *Affari civili*. Da bi stvar bila još kompliciranija, nadležnost nad pučkim školstvom i dalje ima Zemaljski odbor, izvršni organ Dalmatinskog sabora koji djeluje u Zadru sve do Rapalla.³¹ Iako su talijanske institucije imale najveću vlast nad područjem školstva, ipak nailazimo na djelovanje svih navedenih institucija, što često dovodi do administrativnog kaosa.³²

³¹ Dalmatinski sabor zadnji se put sastao u veljači 1912. godine i nikad se nije kasnije sazvaio. O djelovanju Dalmatinskog sabora v. Perić 1978.

³² Iako su talijanske vlasti tijekom vremena uspostavljale kontrolu nad situacijom u okupiranim područjima, ipak je dolazilo do paralelizama u djelovanju raznih vlasti čak i

4th, 1918 to the Treaty of Rapallo on November 12th, 1920, which of course affected the operations of education.

According to the ceasefire provisions, all civilian institutions should continue to operate, undisturbed by occupying civilian authorities, until the final peace treaty. The highest school authority in the Kingdom of Dalmatia was the Provincial School Board, headed by the Governor of Dalmatia. It was at this junction that a change had already been enacted, as Dalmatia was no longer part of Austria-Hungary, and soon the former District Chief of Split, Lino Lana, became the head of the Board. Soon there was a change in the provincial and district school superintendents as well. The Provincial School Council administratively monitored certain services of the Governorship, the main branches of the central Viennese authorities. After the departure of the last Austrian Governor, Mario, the Count of Attems, the new Governor, Stefan Metličić, and Vice-Governor Josip Cortellazo, were appointed by the Provincial Government with a seat in Split on November 1st, 1918. This government was an organ, first and at least formally, of the National Assembly of the State of SCS from Zagreb, and after December 1st, 1918, of the Kingdom of SCS. From December 5th, 1918, the governorship was taken over by the Italians, expelling pro-Croatian Provisional Governor Metličić and the Deputy Cortellazo. That day, the Italian authorities appointed Eligio Smirich, the former Dalmatian Deputy-Governor, and the change was felt even in the linguistic Italianization of the administrative work of the Governing body. At the same time, the Italian authorities affected the occupied territory through a body called the *Governo della Dalmazia e delle isole dalmate e curzolane*. The civil part of the military authorities, or the *Affari civili*, dealt with the school system. To make things even more complicated, jurisdiction over public schools was still held by the National Committee, the executive body of the Dalmatian Parliament up until the Treaty of Rapallo.³¹ Even though the Italian institutions had the greatest authority in the area of education, we still find that the operations of the aforementioned institutions often led to administrative chaos.³²

³¹ The Dalmatian Parliament met for the last time in February of 1912 and was never held again. On the workings of the Dalmatian Parliament see Perić 1978.

³² Although the Italian authorities established control over the situation in the occupied territories over time, there were

Političke promjene i (ne)prilike imale su sasvim konkretne konsekvencije na svakodnevni život stanovništva pa i škola. Prigodom izvješća o radu ženske građanske škole sv. Dimitrija kotarski školski nadzornik ističe da se nastava tijekom školske godine 1918./1919. nije redovito održavala.³³ Npr. kako je inflacija zadnje dvije godine rasla, a neke procjene govore da je inflacija bila oko 200%, dok su cijene osnovnih živežnih namirnica rasle još više,³⁴ uslijed toga sve je više padala vrijednost krune. Slomom države koja je tiskala novčanicu, kontrola nad kolanjem novca postajala je sve teža. Pojedinci i ustanove radije su prihvaćali talijansku valutu liru koja je omogućavala stabilno poslovanje. Međutim, talijanske vlasti radije su hrvatskim institucijama i dalje plaćale u krunama pored njihova traženja.³⁵ Ili Vilim Gross, upravitelj Hrvatske gimnazije utvrđuje 11. kolovoza 1919. da je zadnju dotaciju za režijske troškove dobio od austrijskih vlasti 17. kolovoza 1918. godine. Pritom upozorava: „Kako je spriječen svaki službeni saobraćaj s uredima izvan okupiranog teritorija, ovo upraviteljstvo ne može reklamirati niti što saznati o toj svoti... Potpisani je u jesen 1918. bio izvan Zadra. Dotacija za razdoblje od 1. 7. do 31. 12. 1917. nije isplaćena Zavodu.“ Talijanske su vlasti isplatile navedeni zaostatak, ali postavlja se pitanje koliku je vrijednost izgubila navedena dotacija isplaćena s dvjema godinama zakašnjenja.³⁶

tijekom 1919. godine. Tako je npr. prigodom dolaska talijanske vojske iz Zadra u Zagreb pobjegao Klonimir Škalko. Njega je u Split pozvao Ivko Radovanović u ime Zemaljske vlade za Dalmaciju i ponudio mu 14. listopada 1919. posao privremenog upravitelja konvikta na Preparandiji, što je on prihvatio u cilju nacionalne borbe. Kao takav primao je i plaću i ostao je raditi do prestanka rada (hrvatske) Preparandije. *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 1956: 103-104. Jednako tako Zemaljski Odbor koji je bio nadležan za predškolske ustanove donio je odluku o imenovanju nove „učiteljice-vertlarice“ u Arbanasima još 31. listopada 1919. Državni arhiv u Zadru, Kotarsko školsko vijeće (dalje HR-DAZD-105), kutija 322, br. 1750, 5. 11. 1919.

³³ Kotarski školski nadzornik S. Zakarija daje izvješće iako su mu (talijanske) školske vlasti praktički onemogućile nadzor. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 322, br. 1228, 13. 8. 1919.

³⁴ Maureen 2004: 195, Bralić 2000: 413-430.

³⁵ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 201, br. 3225, 29. 11. 1919. Talijanske će vlasti tek 15. listopada 1919. odlučiti da se dotacije moraju isplaćivati u lirama. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 271, 17. 2. 1920.

³⁶ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 201, br. 2243, 11. 8. 1919.

Political changes and (in-)opportunities had quite concrete consequences for the everyday life of the population, schools included. In a report on the work of the girl's civic school St. Demetrius, the district superintendent emphasizes that classes were not regularly held during the 1918/1919 school year.³³ For example, inflation rose in the last two years, and some estimates state that inflation was around 200%, while the prices of commodities rose even more,³⁴ as a result, the value of the korona fell more and more. With the fall of the state which printed the bills, control over the circulation of money became more and more difficult. Individuals and institutions preferred to adopt the Italian lira, which enabled stable operations. The Italian authorities, however, preferred to continue to pay Croatian institutions in the koronas, their demands notwithstanding.³⁵ Vilim Gross, the principal of the Croatian Gymnasium, confirms on August 11th, 1919 that he received the final grant for utilities expenditures from the Austrian authorities on August 17th, 1918. At that, he warns: “As all official traffic with offices outside the occupied territory has been prevented, this administration cannot file any claims or learn anything about this amount ... The signatory was outside of Zadar in the fall of 1918. The grant for the period between July 1st and December 31st, 1917, was not paid to the Institute.” The Italian authorities paid

nevertheless parallels in the actions of the various authorities even during 1919. Thus, for example, during the arrival of the Italian army from Zadar to Zagreb, Klonimir Šalko ran away. Ivko Radovanović invited him to Split in the name of the State Government for Dalmatia, and on October 14th, 1919, offered him the temporary job of director of the boarding school of the Preparandium, which he accepted with the aim of national combat. As such, he was given a wage and remained working there until the end of the operations of (Croatian) Preparandium. *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 1956: 103-104. Similarly, the State Committee in charge of preschool institutions decided to name new “kindergarten teachers” in Arbanasi already by October 31st, 1919. State Archives in Zadar, Country School Council, (henceforth HR-DAZD-105), box 322, no. 1750, 11/5/ 1919.

³³ County school superintendent S. Zakarija made a report even though the (Italian) school authorities practically disabled his supervision. HR-DAZD-98, box 322, no. 1228, 8/13/1919.

³⁴ Maureen 2004: 195, Bralić 2000: 413-430.

³⁵ HR-DAZD-98, box 201, no. 3225, 11/29/1919. It is not until October 15th, 1919 that the Italian authorities would decide that the grants need to be paid in lire. HR-DAZD-98, box 271, 2/17/1920.

Završetak rata nije donio mir u Preparandiji. I dalje je u gradu vladala nestašica, prometne prilike uslijed okupacije bile su iznimno teške, tako da je školska godina 1918./1919. započela samo s 23 učeniciama u svim razredima. Tek se tijekom siječnja 1919. vraća dio učenika viših razreda koji su bili u vojsci. Pisac programa Muškog preparandija za školsku godinu 1918./1919. opis poteškoća završava riječima: „Kad bi ovakove okolnosti imale i dalje da potraju, jasno je, kako bi to bila ogromna šteta za cijelu pokrajinu. Čim se dakle prilike uredi, trebat će uprijeti sve sile, a da ovaj preparandij stupi u staru kolotečinu, no ni u jednom slučaju ne više – u Arbanasima!“³⁷

Talijanski pritisci nad hrvatskim školama

Pritisci na hrvatske škole imali su svoj razvojni put. Na početku uspostave talijanske vlasti pritisaka gotovo da i nema, međutim kako se talijanske vlasti sve jače učvršćuju, pritisak konstantno raste sve do Rapallskog ugovora 1920. Nakon „rješenja“ teritorijalnog pitanja, hrvatskim je institucijama dozvoljen gotovo neometan rad do kraja školske godine 1920./21., tj. do kraja lipnja 1921. Pritisci su se očitovali na dva načina: kao institucionalni i izvaninstitucionalni. Institucionalne pritiske provodile su talijanske vojne vlasti, dok su izvaninstitucionalni pritisci bili kombinacija verbalnih i fizičkih napada, izolacije te uništenja imovine.

Talijanska vlast u razdoblju od studenog 1918. do siječnja 1919. nije se izravno uplitala u rad školskih organa, osim što je talijanska vojska u razdoblju od 1. do 4. prosinca 1918. rekvirirala prostor Preparandije, dok je u svibnju 1919. zauzela Vježbaonicu Zavoda.³⁸ Prvi trag talijanske intervencije nalazimo 25. siječnja 1919., kada vojne vlasti preko svojeg civilnog ureda *Affari civili* prihvaćaju daljnji nastavak rada zadarskoga Kotarskog školskog vijeća i privremeno se prihvaća rad kotarskoga školskog nadzornika Stjepana Zakarije.³⁹

out the mentioned arrear, but the question remains of the lost value of the grant, with it having been paid out with a two-year delay.³⁶

The end of the war did not bring peace to the Preparandium. In the city there was still a scarcity of supplies, and traffic conditions due to the occupation were extremely difficult, so that the 1918/1919 school year began with only 23 students, altogether. It is only during January of 1919 that part of the students in the higher grades returned, who had been in the army. The writer of the programme for the Male Preparandium in the description of the difficulties of the 1918/1919 school year ends with the words: “If these circumstances were to continue further, it is clear that it would do a tremendous damage to the entire region. As soon as the circumstances are settled, it will be necessary to push with all our might, so that this Preparandium gets back into its former routine, but under no circumstances – back to Arbanasi!”³⁷

Italian pressure on Croatian schools

The pressures put onto Croatian schools had their own evolutionary path. At the beginning of the establishment of Italian government, there was almost no pressure; as the Italian authorities grew, however, the pressure constantly grew too, until the Treaty of Rapallo of 1920. After the “resolution” of the territorial question, Croatian institutions were allowed to work almost unfettered until the end of the 1920/1921 school year, i.e. until the end of June of 1921. The pressures were expressed in two ways: as institutional and non-institutional pressure. The institutional pressures were implemented by the Italian military authorities, while the non-institutional pressures were a combination of verbal and physical attacks, isolation, and the destruction of property.

In the period between November of 1918 and January of 1919 the Italian authorities did not directly involve themselves in the workings of the school organs, other than the fact that the Italian army requisitioned the space of the Preparandium from December 1st-4th, 1918, while in May of 1919 it occupied the training centre of the Institute.³⁸ The first trace of Italian intervention

³⁷ Program Muškog Preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 10.

³⁸ Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956, 1956: 62.

³⁹ HR-DAZD-105, kutija 322, br. 2208, bez nadnevk.

³⁶ HR-DAZD-98, box 201, no. 2243, 8/11/1919.

³⁷ Program Muškog Preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 10.

³⁸ Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956, 1956: 62.

Međutim, već u veljači 1919. traži se od kotarskoga školskogvijeća da se otvori rad Leginih škola na Voštarnici i u Arbanasima koje su bile zatvorene tijekom rata. U istom tonu nastavlja se 22. veljače 1919., kada je naredbom Vlade za Dalmaciju i dalmatinske i koručulanske otoke zatražena obustava plaća svim onim nastavnicima koji nisu prikazali molbenicu da budu i dalje zadržani u službi.⁴⁰ Hrvatski su nastavnici, u načelu, izbjegavali slanje takvih molbenica jer bi to značilo da posredno priznaju talijanske okupacijske vlasti. Npr. svi profesori zadarske Katoličke bogoslovije odbili su poslati takvu molbenicu kao i profesori na Preparandiji.⁴¹ Ipak, koliko se može zaključiti iz daljnjeg rada školskih institucija, do Rapalla postignut je neki *modus vivendi* jer je najveći dio profesora ostao raditi na svojim radnim mjestima i primati plaću. Tijekom prve polovice 1919. u praksi je onemogućen rad kotarskom školskom nadzorniku Zakariji, a imenovan je novi protalijanski nadzornik Fosco⁴² kojeg će početkom školske godine 1919./1920. naslijediti zadarski profesor Trifone Radovani.⁴³ Talijanske su vlasti naredbom od 3. ožujka 1919. uvele talijanski sustav brojčanog ocjenjivanja i to ocjenama od 0 do 10. Zabrana uporabe obrazaca s dvoglavim orlom donesena je 3. lipnja 1919. godine.⁴⁴ Početkom školske godine 1919./1920. protjerani su nastavnici Preparandije Mirko Perković i Ivan Šoljan kao politički sumnjive osobe. Istovremeno je deset učenika Preparandije moralo napustiti Zavod jer njihov domicil nije bio s područja okupirane Dalmacije. Naredba je izdana 26. rujna 1919., a provedena je tijekom listopada.⁴⁵ Sljedećeg mjeseca, 10. studenog 1919. uveden je talijanski jezik kao obvezni predmet za sve škole na okupiranom području.⁴⁶ Od 1920.

was found on January 25th, 1919, when the military authorities through their civil office, *Affari civili*, accepted the further operations of the provincial school board, and temporarily accepted the work of provincial school superintendent, Stjepan Zakarija.³⁹

In February of 1919, however, the provincial school board was asked to open operations for the Lega schools in Voštarnica and in Arbanasi, which were closed during the war. In the same tone, it continues with the order made on February 22nd, 1919, in which the Government of Dalmatia and of the Dalmatian islands and islands of Korčula were ordered to cease paying all teachers who did not present a request to remain further in service.⁴⁰ Croatian teachers, in principle, avoided sending such requests, as that would mean that they indirectly recognized the Italian occupational authorities. For example, all of the professors at the Catholic Divinity School of Zadar refused to send such requests, as did the professors at the Preparandium.⁴¹ As much as could be concluded from the further operations of the educational institutions up to the Treaty of Rapallo, however, a type of *modus vivendi* seems to have been achieved, as most of the professors remained working at their positions and received pay. During the first half of 1919, the work of district school superintendent Zakarija was inhibited in practice, and a new pro-Italian superintendent, Fosco, was named,⁴² who would be followed by Trifone Radovani, a professor from Zadar, at the beginning of the 1919/1920 school year.⁴³ The Italian authorities imposed the Italian system of numerical grading, with grades from 0-10, in an order dating March 3rd, 1919. The ban of the use of forms with the two-headed eagle was given on June 3rd, 1919.⁴⁴ At the beginning of the 1919/1920 school year two teachers from the Preparandium, Mirko Perković and Ivan Šoljan, were sent away as politically suspect individuals. At the same time, ten students from the Preparandium had to leave the Institute, as their domiciles were not within the territory of occupied Dalmatia. The order was made on September 26th,

⁴⁰ Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 30.

⁴¹ Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 63.

⁴² HR-DAZD-98, kutija 322, br. 1228, 13. 8. 1919.

⁴³ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 323, br. 1749, 5. 11. 1919.

⁴⁴ XVI. Program Državne gimnazije u Zadru, 18.

⁴⁵ Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1919.-1920., 13.

⁴⁶ Učiteljem Talijanskog jezika u Preparandiji imenovan je Antonio Calvi, bivši profesor na dubrovačkoj Realci, koji je

³⁹ HR-DAZD-105, box 322, no. 2208, without date.

⁴⁰ Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 30.

⁴¹ Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1918.-1919., 63.

⁴² HR-DAZD-98, box 322, no. 1228, 8/13/1919.

⁴³ HR-DAZD-98, box 323, no. 1749, 11/5/1919.

⁴⁴ XVI. Program Državne gimnazije u Zadru, 18.

godine uvedene su dvojezične svjedodžbe za hrvatske škole u kojima je prvi natpis talijanski, a drugi hrvatski. Umjesto naziva države koja kontrolira područje izdavanja svjedodžbe, stoji na talijanskom jeziku u nadnaslovu *R. Esercito Italiano* (Kraljevska talijanska vojska), a škola se u svjedodžbama nazivala *Ginnasio superiore con lingua d'istruzione serbo-croata – Zara*.⁴⁷ Osobito je na udaru bila Preparandija kao jezgra „jugoslavenske iredente“, kojoj je ukinuta telefonska linija 22. svibnja 1920.⁴⁸ Poseban način pritiska na hrvatske škole bio je u tome što talijanska vlast nije odobravala dodatna sredstva za ogrjev, iako je talijanskim srednjim školama to odobravala.⁴⁹

Stanje opće nesigurnosti za hrvatski i srpski orijentirane pojedince u gradu dovodilo je do sve većeg iseljavanja, osobito intelektualnog sloja.⁵⁰

istovremeno od tada radio i u Hrvatskoj gimnaziji u Zadru. *Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima školske godine 1919.-1920.*, 14.

⁴⁷ HR-DAZD-246, Glavni zapisi o ispitima zrelosti, Maturanti 1921.

⁴⁸ Preparandija je telefonsku liniju dobila 2. siječnja 1915. godine. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 201, 845, 26. 5. 1920. Vlasti su odobrile uvođenja telefona još 16. lipnja 1913. Međutim, ravnatelj Grgić pitao je tko će platiti uvođenje telefona i održavanje linije budući da ustanova za to nema predviđena sredstva. Kako mu je odgovoreno da ne plaća ništa za uvođenje telefona niti za njegovo održavanje nego samo pretplatu, ravnatelj je odobrio uvođenje telefona. U međuvremenu je došlo do rata pa je telefon uveden tek 2. siječnja 1915. godine. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 203, br. 67, 3. 1. 1915.

⁴⁹ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 201, br. 3274, 5. 12. 1919. i br. 3410, 23. 12. 1919. Novom upravitelju Hrv. Gimnazije Ježini rečeno je da će dobiti sredstva za grijanje, ali bez ikakva dodatka. Također, kada je sljedeće godine Preparandija tražila 1500 kr dodatnih sredstava za 5 metara drva, talijanske vlasti to odbijaju tvrdeći da su im režijska sredstva sasvim dostatna. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 201, br. 1720, 11. 10. 1920.

⁵⁰ Kao primjer na kakav su način neki hrvatski učitelji vidjeli talijansku okupacijsku vlast može poslužiti sekvistirano pismo (rujan 1920.) Petra Kumičića iz Starog Grada na Hvaru: „Mi smo u sužanjstvu, u neprestanoj napasti i u svadnevnom mukama. Lišeni smo i svake duševne hrane i zajedničkog općenja, dopisivanja a što je baš okrutno za mene, čitanja novina i hrvatskih knjiga. Ovo je druga godina, da ne znademo što se u svijetu i u domovini događa. Pomislite te naše muke i take boli! Ipak ja, moja žena i zlatna kćerka ostali smo i ostajemo na braniku svoje škole, dok nas isti nadzornik ostavlja u najkritičnijem času, te bez razloga ikakva

1919, and executed during October.⁴⁵ The next month, on November 10th, 1919, the Italian language was introduced as a mandatory subject for all schools in the occupied territory.⁴⁶ From 1920, bilingual report cards for Croatian schools were introduced, in which the first caption was in Italian, and the second in Croatian. Instead of the name of the state which controlled the territory which issued the report card, in Italian above the title was written *R. Esercito Italiano* (The Royal Italian Army), and the school name listed in the reports cards was called *Ginnasio superiore con lingua d'istruzione serbo-croata – Zara*.⁴⁷ The Preparandium was especially under fire, as a nucleus of “Yugoslavian irredentists”, whose telephone line was severed on May 22nd, 1920.⁴⁸ A special form of pressure on the Croatian schools was made in the form of the fact that the Italian authorities did not approve of additional materials for heating, even though they were approved for Italian secondary schools.⁴⁹

A state of general unsurety for Croatian and Serbian oriented individuals in the city led to an even greater number of emigrants, especially of the intellectual class.⁵⁰ According to the work of S. Uglešić on political

⁴⁵ *Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima za školsku godinu 1919.-1920.*, 13.

⁴⁶ Antonio Calvi was appointed as a teacher of Italian at the Preparandium; he was a former professor at the Secondary School of Dubrovnik, who worked at the same time at the Croatian Gymnasium in Zadar. *Program Muškog preparandija u Arbanasima školske godine 1919.-1920.*, 14.

⁴⁷ HR-DAZD-246, Main documents on the maturity tests, Graduating students, Maturanti 1921.

⁴⁸ The Preparandium received a telephone line on January 3rd, 1915. HR-DAZD-98, box 201, 845, 5/26/1920. The authorities had already approved the telephone connection on 6/16/1913; principal Grgić, however, asked who would pay for the telephone connection and upkeep, seeing as the institute did not have funds foreseen for that purpose. As he was told that the telephone connection did not require a fee, nor did the telephone upkeep, but rather only the telephone bills, the principal approved of the telephone connection. In the meantime, the war began, so the telephone was not connected until June 2nd, 1915. HR-DAZD-98, box 203, no. 67, 1/3/1915.

⁴⁹ HR-DAZD-98, box 201, no. 3274, 12/5/1919 and no. 3410, 12/23/1919. The new school director of the Croatian Gymnasium, Ježina, was told that he would receive funds for heating, but with no supplements. Also, when the Preparandium requested 1500 koronas the next year as supplemental funds for 5 meters of wood, the Italian authorities denied the request, claiming that their utilities funds were enough. HR-DAZD-98, box 201, no. 1720, 10/11/1920.

⁵⁰ A sequestered letter from Petar Kumičić from Stari Grad on Hvar dated from September of 1920 allows us to see how some

Prema radu S. Uglešić o političkim turbulencijama i dalmatinskom školstvu, te su promjene osobito vidljive u radu Hrvatske gimnazije koja je počela gubiti kadar nakon završetka školske godine 1918./1919. U prvom redu, na kraju te godine uočavamo da se pojedini razrednici i nastavnici nisu potpisali krajem rujna 1919. na završnom izvješću, poslije rujanskoga popravnog roka, već to umjesto njih rade drugi nastavnici. Prema Uglešić: „Tako su u razdoblju od kraja lipnja do početka listopada Zadar napustili ili su izgubili posao na Gimnaziji profesori: Vinko Lujak, Ante Jelovac, Frane Lederer (ostao raditi na Preparandiji), Ivo Šoljan (privremeno preuzeo Crtanje, a radi na Preparandiji), Marin Katalinić, fra Mauricije Gugić, Ilija Maričić. Profesori Silvije Alfirević i Josip Barač prebačeni su u Split. Ljubomir Nardini na svoj zahtjev otišao na splitsku Realku, Viktor Cotič se nije vratio u Zadar, a dr. Ilija Sindik je otišao na realku u Dubrovnik. Iz ratnog zarobljeništva do kraja šk. godine 1918./1919. još se nije bio vratio Niko Dežulović.“⁵¹ Nakon te godine ukida se učenje Njemačkog jezika.⁵² Od školske godine 1919./1919. ravnatelj Hrvatske gimnazije postaje Marko Ježina, a njega će

turbulence and the Dalmatian school system, these changes are evident in the operations of the Croatian Gymnasium, which began to lose staff after the end of the 1918/1919 school year. In the first order, at the end of that year, we note that certain homeroom teachers and teachers did not sign off on the final report at the end of September of 1919, after the remedial examinations in September, with other teachers signing off in their place. According to Uglešić: “Thus, in the period from the end of June to the beginning of October, the following professors either left Zadar or lost their jobs at the Gymnasium: Vinko Lujak, Ante Jelovac, Frane Lederer (he stayed working at the Preparandium), Ivo Šoljan (who temporarily took over the Drawing class, and works at the Preparandium), Marin Katalinić, Fr Mauricije Gugić, Ilija Maričić. Professors Silvije Alfirević and Josip Barač are transferred to Split. Ljubomir Nardini went to work at the Lyceum of Split, Viktor Cotič did not return to Zadar, and Dr. Ilija Sindik left to work at the Lyceum in Dubrovnik. Niko Dežulović had not yet returned by the end of the 1918/1919 school year from war captivity.”⁵¹ After that year, German classes were

pobjegao... Ja se ponosim, što su ovih dana i šakama napali moju obitelj, jer se oprli izvješavanju tuđega barjaka, dičim se, što naša škola broji 400 zadovoljne djece, a Legina, uz sve bajunete i mito, ne broji nego petnaestak nevoljnika.“ Vojni tužitelj tražio je protjerivanje navedenog učitelja, ali je admiral Millo to odbio. HR-DAZD, Fond Ured za školstvo – Consiglio scolastico provinciale della Dalmazia, svežanj 1, br. 13/ris, 1. 11. 1920. Takvu sreću nije imala učiteljica Marija Cilibrić u školi na otoku Silbi koja je bila protjerana, dok je učitelj Vladović Relja bio konfiniran. Nisu samo obrazovani ljudi bili pod udarom talijanskih okupacijskih vlasti jer je Nikola Carrara, podvornik Hrvatske gimnazije, u listopadu 1920. dobio otkaz i bio protjeran s okupiranog područja. Ravnatelj Gimnazije Granić molio je da ga se poštedi jer ima mnogobrojnu obitelj. HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 1, br. 9/ris i br. 5/ris, 17. 10. 1920. i svežanj 5, br. 1744, 13. 10. 1920.

⁵¹ Uglešić 2019: 162-163, XVI. *Program Državne gimnazije u Zadru*, 1.

⁵² HR-DAZD-246, Glavni imenik, školska godina 1918./1919. Obvezatno učenje Njemačkog jezika u gimnazijama odlukom Zemaljske vlade iz Splita od 24. studenog 1918. zamijenjeno je učenjem Francuskog jezika. Talijanska je vlast 12. prosinca ukinula tu odluku pa su se tijekom školske godine 1918./1919. i Francuski i Njemački jezik učili kao slobodni predmeti. XVI. *Program Državne gimnazije u Zadru*, 6.

Croatian teachers saw the Italian occupational authorities: “We are in captivity, under constant attack and in daily anguish. We have even been denied all food for the soul and any communal dealings, writings, and, what is especially cruel for me, the reading of newspapers and books in Croatian. This is the second year that we do not have knowledge of what is going on in the world and in our homeland. Imagine our anguish, and such pain! I, my wife, and my golden daughter have yet remained as protectors of our school, while the very superintendent leaves us at the most critical moment, without any reason for leaving... I am proud that recently my family was even attacked by fists because they resisted the hanging of a foreign flag, I am proud that our school numbers 400 satisfied children, and the Lega school, with all of its bayonets and bribes has only 50, dissatisfied, students.” The military prosecutor sought to banish that teacher, but admiral Millo denied him that. HR-DAZD, Fond of the school bureau – Consiglio scolastico provinciale della Dalmazia, bundle 1, no. 13/ris, 11/1/1920. Marija Cilibrić, a teacher at the school on the island of Silba, did not have such luck, and she was turned out, while Vladović Relja, also a teacher, was confined. It was not only educated people who were under attack by the Italian occupational authorities, as Nikola Carrara, the steward of the Croatian Gymnasium was fired in October of 1920, and he was banished from the occupied territories. The principal of the Gymnasium, Granić, requested that he be spared, as he had a large family. HR-DAZD-119, bundle 1, br. 9/ris and br. 5/ris, 10/17/1920 and bundle 5, no. 1744, 10/13/1920.

⁵¹ Uglešić 2019: 162-163, XVI. *Program Državne gimnazije u Zadru*, 1.

zamijeniti ravnatelj Marko Granić. „Dolaze novi profesori kao što su Antonio Calvi (došao s dubrovačke Realke 25. travnja 1919.), Amato Filippi, Luigi Milli, Giandomenico Machiavelli, Gasparini i Corrado Ercolano Bulian. Frane Rossi-Sabatini talijanizira svoje ime u Francesco. Zadnje školske godine 1920./1921. dolaze novi profesori Vincezo Riboli i Faustina Vuchietti.“⁵³ Iako je vidljivo da su to novi „talijanski“ kadrovi, nema naznake, barem u pisanim tragovima, da su oni talijanizirali nastavni proces.

Političke promjene i pritisci utječu i na sastav učenika budući da neki učenici odlaze, ali neki i ostaju. Tako poznatoga hrvatskog pisca Vladana Desnice nema više u popisu učenika nakon školske godine 1918./1919., dok mu sestra napušta gimnaziju sljedeće godine.⁵⁴ Otišli su učenici kao što su braća Miroslav i Oldrik Tejekal kojima je češki naveden kao materinski jezik, Saturnin Marinković prelazi s Hrvatske u Talijansku gimnaziju, Mihovio Bajd otišao je u Ljubljano, Jakov Juraga u Split, a Vladimir Galzigna u Dubrovnik. S druge strane, u gradu do kraja rada Hrvatske gimnazije ostaju djeca (Dimitar i Milica) dr. Jerka Machieda, prisjednika Zemaljskog odbora Kraljevine Dalmacije i neospornog vođe hrvatske i srpske zajednice u gradu, pored svih problema kojima je bio izložen.⁵⁵

Puno opasniji po sigurnost učenika i nastavnika bili su izvaninstitucionalni pritisci. Kao što je već navedeno, osobito su napadima bili izloženi učenici Preparandija. Percepcija Zavoda u očima protalijanske javnosti bila je negativna, kako to jasno piše u službenom izvješću iz 1923. godine: „Ovaj Zavod, bio je do školske godine

abolished.⁵² From the 1918/1919 school year, Marko Ježina became the principal of the Croatian Gymnasium, and he would be replaced by Marko Granić as principal. “New professors arrive, such as Antonio Calvi (who came from the Lyceum of Dubrovnik on April 25th, 1919), Amato Filippi, Luigi Milli, Giandomenico Machiavelli, Gasparini and Corrado Ercolano Bulian. Frane Rossi-Sabatini Italianizes his name to Francesco. In the final school year, 1920/1921, Vincezo Riboli and Faustina Vuchietti arrive as new professors.”⁵³ While it is evident that this is a new, “Italian”, staff, there are no indications, at least written ones, that the process of education was being Italianized.

Political changes and pressures affect the student body composition as well, seeing as some students leave, and others stay. Thus, the well-known Croatian writer Vladan Desnica is not mentioned any more in the student list after the 1918/1919 school year, while his sister left the Gymnasium the next year.⁵⁴ Students such as brothers Miroslav and Oldrik Tejekal also left, for whom Czech was listed as their mother tongue, as well as Saturnin Marinković, who transferred from the Croatian to the Italian Gymnasium, Mihovio Bajd, who left for Ljubljana, Jakov Juraga, who went to Split, and Vladimir Galzigna, who went to Dubrovnik. On the other hand, the children of Dr. Jerko Machiedo (Dimitar and Milica), the president of the National Board of the Kingdom of Dalmatia, and the indisputable leader of the Croatian and Serbian community in the city, remained in the city until the Croatian Gymnasium ceased operations,

⁵³ Uglešić 2019: 162-163.

⁵⁴ Vladan Desnica na završetku II. razreda (školska godina 1917./1918.) išao je na popravni ispit iz Crtanja budući da je dobio ocjenu „nedovoljan“. Popravni je imao 1. listopada 1918. godine. Nataša Desnica primila je svjedodžbu 27. lipnja 1920. i očito je da je nakon toga napustila Zadar. Njihov je otac poznati predratni srpski političar i odvjetnik dr. Uroš Desnica. Nakon rata pristupa Radikalnoj stranci. HR-DAZD-246, Glavni imenik, školska godina 1917./1918., 1918./1919. i 1919./1920.

⁵⁵ HR-DAZD-246, Glavni imenik, školska godina 1918./1919.

⁵² HR-DAZD-246, Main Directory, 1918/1919 school year. The compulsory learning of German in gymnasias was changed to the compulsory learning of French with an enactment from the Provincial Government in Split dating November 24th, 1918. On December 12th, the Italian authorities abolished the enactment, so during the 1918/1919 school year both French and German were taught as elective courses. XVI. Program Državne gimnazije u Zadru, 6.

⁵³ Uglešić 2019: 162-163.

⁵⁴ Vladan Desnica, at the end of the second grade (1917/1918 school year) had to take a remedial class in Drawing, seeing as he did not receive a passing grade in the course. He took his corrective examination on October 1st, 1918. Nataša Desnica received her diploma on June 27th, 1920, and she evidently left Zadar after that. Their father was the well-known, pre-war Serbian politician and attorney dr. Uroš Desnica. After the war he joined the Radical Party. HR-DAZD-246, Main Directory, 1917/1918, 1918/1919 and 1919/1920 school years.

1920./21., mjesto antitalijanske agitacije i kako učitelja, tako i učenika u duhu jugoslavenskog iredentizma.“⁵⁶ Sukladno takvu stavu, počeli su već 30. studenog 1918. prvi fizički napadi na Zavod. Prema izvješću ravnatelja Augustina Grgića⁵⁷ iz svibnja 1919., jasno se ocrtava stanje u kojem je djelovala ustanova:

„Od dana 30.11. pr. god. kada je okolišna svjetina samovoljno prodrila u gluho doba noći u prostorije ovoga zavoda, od toga dana zavod je pretrpio dosta toga od neobuzdane svjetine i raspuštene djece. Osim najgadnijih uvreda, koje su se često dobacivale učenicima i starješinama, osim zaglušne vike pred zavodom, raspuštena dječurlija nekoliko puta bacala je kamenje u dvorišne i prizemne prostorije zavoda... Dneva 13. o. mj. (svibanj 1919. op. a.) taj je teror došao do svog vrhunca. Pitomci, koji su se nalazili vani na šetnji bili su napadnuti od mnoštva, koje je došlo iz grada, a u kojem se viđalo i vojnika. Napadajući kamenjem gonila ih je sve do zavoda, u koji se jedva zakloniše... Zaklonilo se i nekoliko gospode i gospođica. Kad napadači ne moguše provalit u zgradu, onda stadoše udarati kamenjem u prozore tako, da polupaše mnoga stakla. Taj je napadaj prouzrokovao toliku paniku među đaštvom... Na zamolbu starješine zavoda došao je jedan major s nekoliko karabinjera, koji su odpratili zaklonjene građane svojim kućama. Sutradan u srijedu po ovom napadaju pritužio se je upravitelj kod starije školske vlasti i uslijed te pritužbe bio je kod njega nadporučnik karabinjera, koji mu je obećao, da će poslati oružanu pomoć, da se u ovom zavodu može i nadalje mirno školovati. I zbilja oko podne stigao je jedan odjel vojnika... U četvrtak ujutro nije bilo više nikakova vojnika oko zavoda. Radi toga upravitelj je pošao u namjesništvo kod dvorskog savjetnika Smirića (imenovan za namjesnika od talijanskih vlasti, potpisivao se Smirich, op. a.) da ga zamoli, nek se postara, da obezbijedi miran

despite all of the problems to which he was exposed.⁵⁵

More dangerous to the safety of the students and of the teachers were non-institutional pressures. As has already been mentioned, the teachers of the Preparandium were particularly exposed to attack. The perception of the Institute in the eyes of the pro-Italian public was negative, as is clearly written in an official report from 1923: “This Institute was, until the 1920/1921 school year, a place of anti-Italian agitation in the spirit of Yugoslavian irredentism, both for the teachers and for the students.”⁵⁶ As befits such a view, the first physical attacks on the Institute had already begun by November 30th, 1918. According to the report from Principal Augustin Grgić⁵⁷ from June of 1919 the state in which the Institute operated is clearly described:

“From November 30th of last year, when the surrounding mob in an unruly manner broke into this institute in the middle of the night, from that day the institute has suffered many things, from unruly mobs to disbanded children. In addition to the grossest insults, which are often given to students and elders, in addition to the deafening screams in front of the institute, disbanded children on several occasions threw rocks into the courtyard and first-story of the institute’s building... on the 13th of this month (January of 1919 – author’s remark), that terror achieved its peak. Innocent people, who happened to be outside for a walk, were attacked by a mob, which came from the city, and among which soldiers had been seen. The attackers chased them with rocks all the way to the institute, into which they barely were able to enter to find shelter... Some ladies and gentlemen also found shelter there. When the attackers found that they could not break into the building they began to throw rocks at the windows and thus broke many of the glass windows. That attack created such a panic among the students... at the behest of the elders of the institute one major along with several carabinieri came, who escorted the citizens to their houses. The next day, on Wednesday, the Principal filed a complaint concerning this attack to the elder school authorities, and

⁵⁶ HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 1, br. 1035, 13. 12. 1923.

⁵⁷ Klonimir Škalko, odgajatelj na Preparandiji, okarakterizirao je ravnatelja Grgića riječima: “A upravitelj Grgić, inače čestit, pošten, karakteran čovjek, dobar rodoljub, ali do krajnosti konzervativan. Zagovornik čvrste discipline.“ *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 104.

⁵⁵ HR-DAZD-246, Main Directory, 1918/1919 school year.

⁵⁶ HR-DAZD-119, bundle 1, no. 1035, 12/13/1923.

⁵⁷ Klonimir Škalko, an educator from the Preparandium, described Grgić in the following way: “Principal Grgić, is otherwise honourable, honest, a man of character, a great patriot, but is extremely conservative. He is a proponent of firm discipline.” *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 104.

rad u ovom zavodu... koji je obećao pomoć. Toga istoga dana oko jednog sata poslije podne učitelj Legine škole, Duka s dva svoja druga izvedoše ponovu navalu na zavod... jedan od provalnika pucao i iz samokresa. Međutim stigli su karabinjeri i zaštitili ih. Svjetina je tražila da joj se izruče neki pitomci.... Sinoć, dne 16.o.m. došao je poveći odio vojske i smjestio se u zgradi vježbaonice, radi čega je vježbaonica prestala da djeluje.“⁵⁸

Prema sjećanju odgajatelja Preparandije Klonimira Škalka zadnji veliki napad dogodio se 13. studenog 1920. kao oblik bijesa zbog, prema prosudbi dalmatinskih Talijana, nepovoljna Rapallskog ugovora:

“Ali jednog dana je došla i istina. Rapallo nas je utukao, porazio. Ipak smo izgubili Zadar... Ali i Talijani su bjesnili. Osobito arditi, fašisti (tada u Zadru ne postoje organizirani fašisti; prikaz je reminiscencija koja je uključila i naknadnu pojavu fašista, op. a.). Za njih je to bio sramotan ugovor, jer su svojoj usijanoj mašti već imali Šibenik, Split, pa čak i Dubrovnik. Ozbiljniji su uviđali u kakav je položaj došao Zadar, odsječen od svog zaleđa. Po Zadru su demonstrirali. Grdili su po običaju Nittija (talijanski političar, predsjednik vlade i ministar vanjskih poslova, op. a.), ali sad već i Giolittija (predsjednik vlade i vodeći talijanski prijeratni političar, op. a.), Sforzu (ministar vanjskih poslova, op. a.); uzvikivali su smrt Trumbiću, spremali napad na naše ljude, osobito na predsjednika Narodnog vijeća dr. Machieda (Jerko Machiedo, prije rata jedan od vodećih dalmatinskih političara; tijekom rata, kao politički sumnjiv, interniran od austrijskih vlasti, op. a.). Sve smo mi to u internatu pratili i znali. Najveće demonstracije odmah sutra 13. 11. 1920. Nisu dopuštali da učenici idu u grad, nego je samo jedan maturant išao kupiti novine. Već su uvečer prije 18 sati zatvorili vrata. Tada im je netko pokucao i rekao da otvore jer imaju poruku od Machieda. On je odgovorio da neće jer da se čuo s Machiedom. Čuo se pucanj vani, u internatu su bili on i Andrijašević od profesora. Što učiniti, savjetovali su se s starijim đacima. Povukli su učenike u potkrovlje i tamo

the First Lieutenant of the carabinieri came in regard to the complaint and promised to send him armed help, so that in this institute one could peacefully continue their studies. And at noon one military division arrived... On Thursday morning there were no more military personnel around the institute. Because of this, the Principal went to the Governor's office, to Smirić, a court advisor (named Governor by the Italian authorities, and signed himself as Smirich – author's remark) in order to ask him to care to secure peaceful operations in this institute... which he promised to do. That same day, at around one o'clock in the afternoon, a teacher from the Lega school, Duka, with two of his colleagues, made another attack on the institute... one of the burglars made shots with a gun. In the meanwhile, carabinieri arrived and protected them. The mob requested that some innocents be handed over to them... Last night, on the 16th of this month, a larger military section arrived and situated themselves in the gymnasium building, for which reason the gymnasium ceased operations.”⁵⁸

According to the recollections of Klonimir Šalko, an educator at the Preparandium, the last great attack occurred on November 13th, 1920, in the form of fury over, according to Dalmatian Italians, the unfavourable Treaty of Rapallo:

“But one day the truth came. Rapallo bowled us over, beat us down. We had lost Zadar... but the Italians were furious as well. Especially the Arditi, fascists (at that time there were no organized fascists in Zadar; this account is a reminiscence, which included the later arrival of the fascists – author's remark). For them it was a shameful treaty, for in their hot-headed fantasies they already held Šibenik, Split, and even Dubrovnik. The more serious among them could see the position of Zadar, cut-off from its hinterland. They demonstrated around Zadar. They railed in the manner of Nitti (an Italian politician, the government President and the Minister of External Affairs – author's remark), and now even in the manner of Giolitti (the government President and the leading pre-war Italian politician – author's remark) and Sforza (the Minister of External Affairs – author's remark); they called for the death of Trumbić, they prepared an attack on our people, especially on the President of the National Council, Dr. Machiedo (Jerko Machiedo, one of the leading Dalmatian politicians before the war; during the war, as a politically suspect person, the Austrian authorities interned him – author's remark).

⁵⁸ *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 1956: 60-61.

⁵⁸ *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 1956: 60-61.

se zaboravili. Preko konjušnice su ušli u zavod i počeli razbijati. Nakon uništavanja su se povukli. Djecu smo do jutra smjestili kod obitelji Krvavica u Arbanasima. Mlađi su i nekoliko dana kasnije spavali kod nekih obitelji. Grgić je ujutro išao kod Milla koji ga nije primio, ali ga je primio neki general. Nastava prekinuta, ali ostali su neki đaci u konviktu te je [budući] književnik Vjekoslav Kaleb tako bio udaren. Nakon toga smještena su dva karabinjera u zgradu. Prestali su napadi.⁵⁹

Napadi su se nastavili i 14. studenog te u noći na 15. studenog 1920. Osobito veliku ulogu u fizičkim napadima imali su pripadnici dobrovoljačkog bataljuna „Rismondo“.⁶⁰

Nakon utvrđivanja teritorijalne podjele Dalmacije, prestali su fizički napadi na hrvatske školske institucije. U analizi gore navedena izvješća i sjećanja vidljive su dvije stvari: s jedne strane, jasno je da napade vrši rulja koja je znala da zbog tih napada neće biti kažnjena od talijanskih vlasti, ali s druge strane, nakon intervencije upravitelja Zavoda Grgića, talijanske bi vlasti pružile fizičku zaštitu, iako na ograničeno vrijeme.

Pored svih gore navedenih napada na hrvatsku i srpsku zajednicu u Zadru kao i na njihove institucije, treba istaknuti da usprkos tomu brojnost učenika na hrvatskim školskim institucijama ne opada prve dvije godine okupacije, što je vidljivo iz broja učenika u Hrvatskoj gimnaziji i hrvatskome odsjeku Liceja sv. Dimitrija; naprotiv, školska godina 1919./1920. pokazat će povijesni maksimum broja učenika u Hrvatskog gimnaziji. Tek će zadnja školska godina 1920./1921. dovesti do nagla pada broja učenika.

We all followed this at the boarding school and knew of it. The greatest demonstrations were the next day, on November 13th, 1920. They did not allow the students to go to the city, only one graduating student was allowed to go buy a newspaper. The doors were already closed before 6 PM that evening. At that time, someone knocked and told them to open because they had a message from Machiedo. He said that he wouldn't, because he had already heard from Machiedo. A shot was heard outside, of the professors he and Andrijašević were in the boarding school. They took counsel with the elder students on what to do. They took the students to the attic and barricaded themselves there. They entered the institute through the stables and began breaking things. They left after their destruction. We placed the children with the Krvavica family in Arbanasi until the morning. The younger ones even slept for a few more days with some families. Grgić went to Millo in the morning, who would not receive him, but he was received by some general. Classes were cancelled, but some students stayed at the boarding school, and [future] author Vjekoslav Kaleb was thus hit. After that, two carabinieri were placed in the building. The attacks ceased.⁵⁹

The attacks continued on November 14th, and on the night of November 15th, 1920. An especially large role in the physical attacks was played by members of the voluntary battalion "Rismondo".⁶⁰

After the affirmation of the territorial division of Dalmatia, the physical attacks on Croatian school institutions ceased. In an analysis of the above quoted report and the recollections, two things are evident: On the one hand, it is clear that the attacks were made by a mob that knew that it would not be punished by the Italian authorities, and on the other hand, after the intervention of the institute's principal, Grgić, the Italian authorities would offer physical protection, but only for a limited time.

Along with all of the aforementioned attacks on the Croatian and Serbian communities in Zadar and on their institutions, it must be emphasized that, despite all of this, the abundance of the students in Croatian educational institutions was not diminished in the first two years of occupation, as may be seen from the number of students in the Croatian Gymnasium and in the Croatian Department of the Lyceum of St.

⁵⁹ *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 1956: 108-110.

⁶⁰ *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 1956: 62.

⁵⁹ *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 1956: 108-110.

⁶⁰ *Učiteljska škola Zadar 1866-1956*, 1956: 62.

Ukidanje hrvatskih školskih ustanova

Na početku treba istaknuti da su hrvatske školske ustanove prestale raditi krajem lipnja 1921. godine kada je završila školska godina 1920./1921. Naime, kako je ta školska godina započela prije Rapallskog ugovora, one su nastavile svoj rad. Istražujući arhivski materijal sačuvan u Državnom arhivu u Zadru, nije nađen dokument koji bi izravno govorio o njihovom ukidanju, ali posredno je utvrđeno kada je nedvojbeno zaključeno da će doći do prestanka njihova rada. U svibnju 1921. *Ufficio scolastico* (školski ured talijanskih vlasti) postavio je pitanje zadarskim srednjoškolskim ustanovama kada bi trebala započeti školska godina 1921./1922., budući da je u Kraljevini Italiji školska godina započinjala nešto ranije (tijekom rujna) nego na području bivše Austro-Ugarske (početak listopada). Ravnatelj Hrvatske gimnazije otpisao je na talijanskom jeziku predlažući da bi i sljedeća godina trebala početi kao i prijašnje godine. Ravnatelj Preparandije je u dvojezičnom (hrvatskom i talijanskom) dopisu odgovorio da nema primjedaba na početak nove školske godine. U rezimeu školskog ureda jasno se ističe da od sljedeće školske godine neće više raditi Hrvatska gimnazija, dok će „Preparandija raditi na drugim osnovama“.⁶¹ Nova osnova je jasno pozicionirana u izvješću o radu *Istituto magistrato* iz 1923. godine: „Od školske godine

Demetrius; in fact, the 1919/1920 school year would have the maximum number of students in the history of the Croatian Gymnasium. It is only during the final school year, 1920/1921, that there would be a sharp decline in the number of students.

The abolition of Croatian school institutions

It must be emphasized at the beginning that Croatian school institutions ceased operations at the end of June of 1921, when the 1920/1921 school year ended. As that school year began before the Treaty of Rapallo, they continued their operations. In researching the archival material preserved in the State Archives in Zadar, not a single document was found which directly addressed their abolition, but it was indirectly confirmed when it was unequivocally concluded that they would stop their operations. In June of 1921 the *Ufficio scolastico* (the school agency for the Italian administration) posed the question to the secondary school institutions of Zadar of when the 1921/1922 school year would commence, seeing as in the Kingdom of Italy the school year began somewhat earlier (during September) than in the former territories of Austro-Hungary (the beginning of October). The Principal of the Croatian Gymnasium wrote back in Italian, suggesting that school should begin the next year at the same time as in previous years. The Principal of the Preparandium, in a bilingual (Croatian and Italian) report, replied that he had no issues with the beginning of the school year. In a summary of the school administration it was clearly emphasized that the Croatian Gymnasium would not operate from the following school year, while the „Preparandium would operate in a different manner“.⁶¹ This new manner was clearly positioned in

⁶¹ Zadnji dopis iz Preparandije bio je 30. lipnja 1921. godine kada je upravitelj Grgić uputio dvojezičan dopis tražeći uplatu režijskih troškova. Zadnji upravitelj Hrvatske gimnazije Marko Granić uputio je istovrstan dopis, ali samo na talijanskom jeziku 26. srpnja 1921. godine. Inače se zadnje dvije godine Hrvatska gimnazija nazivala u dopisima talijanski *Ginnasio superiore con lingua d'istruzione croata*, što se razlikuje od naziva jezika u svjedodžbama. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 201, br. 1797, 26. 7. 1921, br. 1793, 26. 7. 1921., br. 1610, 3. 7. 1921. Također kao posredan dokument o ukidanju Hrvatske gimnazije može poslužiti dopis *Commissario civile di Zara e della Dalmazia occupata dal r. Esercito* od 6. listopada 1921. gdje se reguliraju odnosi s vlasnicima zgrade „ukinute“ Gimnazije. Zanimljivo je da je dopis, među ostalima poslan i *Alla Presidenza del soppresso Ginnasio sup. con lingua d'ins. croata*. Zgrada je bila u vlasništvu Amalije de Vidović, Blaža Radakovića i Manina Babića. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 169, br. 2346.

⁶¹ The final report from the Preparandium dates from June 30th, 1921, when Principal Grgić sent a bilingual report requesting the payment of utility expenses. The final principal of the Croatian Gymnasium, Marko Granić, sent an analogous report, only written in Italian, on July 26th, 1921. The Croatian Gymnasium, in fact, in its final two years was called, in Italian *Ginnasio superiore con lingua d'istruzione croata* in the reports, which is different from the language of its name on school reports. HR-DAZD-98, box 201, no. 1797, 7/26/1921, no. 1793, 7/26/1921, no. 1610, 7/3/1921. Also, the report of the *Commissario civile di Zara e della Dalmazia occupata dal r. Esercito* from 10/6/1921 may serve as an indirect document on the abolishment of the Croatian Gymnasium, in which the relations with the owners of the building in which the “abolished” Gymnasium was housed are regulated.

1921./22. izvršena je radikalna reforma duha i intencija Zavoda. Misleći na časni zadatak, ali i tešku odgovornost ovog Zavoda, jedine škole u starim i novim provincijama koji je pozvan formirati učitelje i odgajatelje čvrstog talijanskog duha za osnovne škole na hrvatskom jeziku.⁶² Prvi spomen o novoj školi nalazimo u dokumentima iz mjeseca kolovoza 1921. kada se spominje „*neo-istituta r. Scuola magistrato di Borgo-Erizzo*“.⁶³

Iako su ravnatelji hrvatskih školskih ustanova nakon Rapalla komunicirali s talijanskim vlastima kao da će nastaviti svoj rad i dalje, ipak je prema sjećanju suvremenika bilo jasno da te ustanove neće opstati. Navodno su nove jugoslavenske vlasti, uz suradnju s ravnateljem Grgićem, već nakon Rapalla radile na prebacivanju Preparandije u Dubrovnik. U svakom slučaju ravnatelj Grgić ostao je neko vrijeme u Zadru i nakon prestanka rada ustanove jer je 2. studenog 1921. preko Jugoslavenskog konzulata u Zadru dobio obavijest da dođe raditi u Dubrovnik, kamo je preseljen rad Preparandije.

Zadnje dana rada Preparandije opisao je odgajatelj Klonimir Škalko:

„Kako nisu mogli u grad, organizirali su sami predstave. F. Lederer pripremio je ‘Male ptičare’, dječju operetu, pa Nušićev ‘Običan čovjek’, i autorova ‘Nadu Istre’ (K. Škalko, op. a). Na kraju godine organizirali su turneju. Pod vodstvom Ilije Dizdara i Vande Barani, obišli su Šibenik, Skradin, Drniš, Knin, Split i Sinj. U ondašnjim prilikama, kad se u većini tih mjesta još nije počeo razvijati naš kulturno-prosvjetni život poslije talijanske okupacije, svakako da smo mi morali biti senzacija. A to je: dolazimo iz ‘izgubljenog’ našeg Zadra. To je onda mnogo značilo. U noći prije odlaska, odlaska krajem lipnja nije mogao spavati. Obišao je školski vrt koji je bio u cvatu.“

Ipak, nije došlo do trenutna ukidanja školskih ustanova na hrvatskom jeziku u Zadru. Iako je Preparandija ukinuta u onom obliku u kojem je postojala kao hrvatska školska ustanova još od 1879. godine, talijanske vlasti odmah

the work report on the *Istituto magistrato* from 1923: “From the 1921/1922 school year a radical reform of the spirit and intent of the Institute was undertaken. Thinking of the honourable task, and also of the heavy responsibility of this Institute, the only schools in the old and new provinces which were invited to form teachers and educators of firm Italian spirit for elementary schools with Croatian as the language of instruction.”⁶² The first mention of a new school is found in documents from the month of August, 1921, in which the “*neo-istituta r. Scuola magistrato di Borgo-Erizzo*” is mentioned.⁶³

Even though the principals of Croatian school institutes communicated with the Italian authorities after the Treaty of Rapallo as though they would further continue their operations, according to the reminiscences of a contemporary it was clear that the institutions would not survive. Apparently, the new Yugoslavian authorities, in conjunction with Principal Grgić, already began to work after the Treaty of Rapallo on the transfer of the Preparandium to Dubrovnik. In any case, Principal Grgić remained in Zadar for some time even after the cessation of operations of the institution, for on November 2nd, 1921 he received a notice through the Yugoslavian consulate in Zadar to come to work in Dubrovnik, to which the operation of the Preparandium was transferred. The final day of the operations of the Preparandium was described by Klonimir Škalko, an educator:

“As we could not go to the city, we organized plays ourselves. F. Lederer prepared ‘Small Birdcatchers’, a child’s operetta, and then Nušić’s ‘An Ordinary Man’, and the author’s own ‘The Hope of Istria’ (K. Škalko – author’s remark). At the end of the year they organized a tour. Under the leadership of Ilija Dizdar and Vanda Barani, they toured Šibenik, Skradin, Drniš, Knin, Split and Sinj. In the conditions of the time, when in most of those places our cultural-intellectual life had not yet begun to develop following the Italian occupation, of course we had to be a sensation. And that is: we come from our ‘lost’ Zadar. That meant a lot at the time. During the night before the departure at the end of June he

⁶² HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 1, br. 1035, 13. 12. 1923.

⁶³ HR-DAZD-98, kutija 201, br. 2115, 26. 8. 1921.

It is interesting that the report was sent to, among others, *Presidenza del soppresso Ginnasio sup. con lingua d’ ins. croata*. The building was owned by Amalija de Vidović, Blaž Radaković and Manin Babić. HR-DAZD-98, box 169, no. 2346.

⁶² HR-DAZD-119, bundle 1, no. 1035, 12/13/1923.

⁶³ HR-DAZD-98, box 201, no. 2115, 8/26/1921.

su nastavile njen rad u obliku utrakvističke učiteljske škole. Ona je trebala kao jedina škola u „novim provincijama“, u prvom se redu misli na Dalmaciju i Istru, nastaviti školovati učitelje na hrvatskom jeziku, ali prožete talijanskim duhom. Također su učitelji trebali dio svojih predmeta, barem u višim razredima, slušati na talijanskom jeziku. Talijanske su vlasti tijekom jeseni 1921. izvršile pripreme za otvaranje nove učiteljske škole *Istituto magistrato*, koja bi imala odjele na hrvatskom i talijanskom jeziku. U prijedlogu (talijanskog) Ureda za školstvo za osnivanje nove učiteljske škole piše: „Zavod, preciznije rečeno utrakvistički, ima za cilj obrazovati talijanske i hrvatske učenike, da mogu dobiti sposobnost učiteljevanja na oba jezika. Treba educirati učitelje u više talijanskom duhu, da bi mogli našem narodu, hrvatskog govora, ugraditi svijest pripadnosti talijanskoj državi. ... Davat će se 30 punih i 40 polovičnih stipendija za konvikt kako talijanskim tako i hrvatskim učenicima.“⁶⁴ Imenovan je privremeni upravitelj Amato Filippi (radio u Hrvatskoj gimnaziji zadnje dvije godine njena rada).⁶⁵ Škola je započela s radom 16. siječnja 1922. godine.⁶⁶ Uz učenike iz novoformirane provincije Zadar (grad Zadar s neposrednom okolicom i otok Lastovo) pristup novom zavodu imali su i hrvatski govornici iz Istre,⁶⁷ osobito zato što je hrvatska Učiteljska škola u Kastvu ostala u sastavu nove jugoslavenske države.⁶⁸ Talijanska

⁶⁴ HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 1, br. 2176, 30. 8. 1921.

⁶⁵ HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 1, br. 3745, 7. 12. 1921. Amato Filippi nije dugo bio ravnatelj škole jer se pokazao nedovoljno pouzdan novim vlastima. On nije pravovremeno prijavio odlazak u „Jugoslaviju“ ekonomu zavoda G. Machieda te je ubrzo zamijenjen privremenim upraviteljem Santuccijem. HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 4, br. 3612, 11. 10. 1922.

⁶⁶ Školska 1921./1922. započela je tek u siječnju 1922. godine zbog preuređenja Zavoda. HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 4, br. 1035, 13. 12. 1923.

⁶⁷ HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 2, br. 2422, 22. 9. 1921., br. 0245, 17. 1. 1922. Iz Istre je došlo 5 novih učenika. HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 2, br. 764, 21. 2. 1922.

⁶⁸ Učiteljska škola u Kastvu zasigurno je nastavila raditi u školskoj godini 1918./1919. jer je u zadarskome Državnom arhivu sačuvan dvojezičan Program škole za tu nastavnu godinu. Dapače, iz te će škole doći svećenik prof. Kuzma Jadretić koji će u utrakvističkoj Preparandiji u Arbanasima

couldn't sleep. He visited the school garden, which was then in bloom.”

It did not, however, come to an immediate abolishment of school institutions with Croatian as the language of instruction in Zadar. While the Preparandum was abolished in the form in which it had operated from its inception as a Croatian school institution in 1879, the Italian authorities immediately continued its operations in the form of a bilingual teaching school. It was meant to be the only school in the “new provinces”, notably Dalmatia and Istria, in which teaching education would be held in Croatian, but imbued with the Italian spirit. Also, teachers would have to attend part of their classes, at least in the higher grades, with Italian as the language of instruction.

During the autumn of 1921 the Italian authorities made preparations for the opening of a new teaching school, the *Istituto magistrato*, which would have both Croatian and Italian language departments. In the proposal of the (Italian) School Administration for the founding of a new teaching school, it is written: “The Institute, more precisely the bilingual one, has as a goal to educate Italian and Croatian students, so that they might gain the ability to teach in both languages. Teachers should be educated more in the Italian spirit, so that in our people, who speak Croatian, they might build consciousness of the fact that they belong to the Italian state. ... Thirty full and forty partial scholarships for the Boarding School will be given to both Italian and Croatian students.”⁶⁴ A temporary principal, Amato Filippi (who worked in the Croatian Gymnasium during its last two years of operation), was appointed.⁶⁵ The school began to operate on January 16th, 1922.⁶⁶ Along with the students from the newly formed Province of Zadar (the city of Zadar and its immediate surroundings, as well as the island of Lastovo) Croatian speakers from Istria were given access to the new

⁶⁴ HR-DAZD-119, bundle 1, no. 2176, 8/30/1921.

⁶⁵ HR-DAZD-119, bundle 1, no. 3745, 12/7/1921. Amato Filippi was not the principal of the school for long, as he showed himself to not be reliable enough for the new authorities. He did not report his departure to “Yugoslavia” to the bookkeeper of the institute of G. Machiedo on time, and was soon replaced with Santucci, a temporary principal. HR-DAZD-119, bundle 4, no. 3612, 10/11/1922.

⁶⁶ The 1921/1922 school year did not begin until January of 1922 due to the renovation of the Institute. HR-DAZD-119, bundle 4, no. 1035, 12/13/1923.

je vlada i nakon dolaska fašista na vlast 1922. godine nastavila rad te škole i osiguravala je stipendije i smještaj za hrvatske učenike iz Istre. Prije dobivanja stipendije molitelji su prolazili proceduru „nacionalno-političke“ podobnosti, gdje su istarska kotarska poglavarstva davala mišljenje o navedenom kandidatu i njegovoj obitelji. Gotovo je bilo pravilo ako bi se kandidata okarakteriziralo da ima „hrvatske osjećaje“, da bi tada došlo do uskrate stipendije. S druge strane, ako bi kandidat dobio oznaku da je samo „*slavo*“ i da je politički indiferentan ili lojalan talijanskim vlastima, učenik bi dobivao stipendiju.⁶⁹ Kako je prve školske godine bilo više hrvatskih od talijanskih đaka, to je natjeralo školske vlasti da ustvrde da sustav stipendija potpomaže hrvatsku većinu u školi i da bi taj broj stipendija trebalo smanjiti.⁷⁰ Utrakvistička učiteljska škola radila je do 1924. godine i trebalo bi izvršiti daljnja istraživanja kako bi se utvrdilo vrijeme prestanka njena rada kao takve ustanove.⁷¹ Što se tiče Hrvatskog jezika kao nastavnog predmeta, on se zadržao u zadarskim srednjim školama do 1931. godine. Glede pučkog školstva na hrvatskom jeziku u gradu Zadru, nakon svršetka školske godine 1920./1921. došlo je do objedinjavanja muške i ženske pučke škole u miješanu pučku

institute,⁶⁷ especially because the Croatian Teaching School in Kastav remained in the system of the new state of Yugoslavia.⁶⁸ The Italian government, even after the arrival of fascists into power in 1922, continued the operations of the school and ensured scholarships and boarding for Croatian students from Istria. Before obtaining their scholarships, applicants went through a procedure of “national-political” suitability, where the Istrian municipal government gave its opinion on the candidate in question and his family. It was practically a rule that if a candidate was described as having “Croatian national feelings”, he would not obtain the scholarship. On the other hand, if the candidate was marked as being only a “*slavo*”, and that he was politically indifferent or loyal to the Italian authorities, the student would receive the scholarship.⁶⁹ As there were more Croatian than Italian students during the first school year, it compelled the school authorities to confirm that the scholarship system was helpful to the Croatian majority in the school, and that the number of scholarships given should be lowered.⁷⁰ The bilingual Teaching School was in operation until 1924, and further research should be undertaken in order to determine

držati Vjeronauk i Hrvatski jezik. On će se dosljedno potpisivati s „-ć“ na kraju prezimena. HR-DAZD, Fond Ured za školstvo, svežanj 3, bez broja. Prema nekim podacima u školskoj godini 1919./1920. uveden je talijanski jezik kao nastavni. V. Jugo Superina 2014: 219-227.

⁶⁹ HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 3, br. 3358, 27. 9. 1922., br. 3378, 28. 9. 1922., br. 3521, 6. 10. 1922., br. 3490, 4. 10. 1922. i br. 3494, 4. 10. 1922. Također, u istom fondu, svežanj 4, 3677, 15. 10. 1922.

⁷⁰ Prema tajnom izvješću Civilnog komesarijata iz Zadra prema Općoj direkciji za srednje škole – posebnom uredu za nove provincije Ministarstva obrazovanja utvrđuje se da ideja o sve većem uključivanju talijanskog jezika i kulture u nastavu ne ide baš dobro jer je hrvatskih đaka više, čemu zasigurno doprinosi to što su dobili besplatan smještaj u konviktu. Ovakav način organizacije ugrožava rad talijanskog dijela Zavoda. HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 2, br. 764, 21. 2. 1922.

⁷¹ Pri školi je ponovno osnovana vježbaonica, sada šesterorazredna i dvojezična (hrvatska i talijanska). Na Vježbaonici nastavu vjeronauka drži don Fausto Motušić, župnik arbanaški, koga su talijanske vlasti smatrale nepouzdanim. HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 4, br. 3923, 29. 10. 1922.

⁶⁷ HR-DAZD-119, bundle 2, no. 2422, 9/22/1921, no. 0245, 1/17/1922. Five new students came from Istria. HR-DAZD-119, bundle 2, no. 764, 2/21/1922.

⁶⁸ The teaching school in Kastav assuredly continued to operate in the 1918/1919 school year, for a bilingual school Curriculum for that school year has been preserved in the State Archives in Zadar. In fact, prof. Kuzma Jadretić, a priest who taught Religion and Croatian at the bilingual Preparandum in Arbanasi came from that school. He consistently wrote his last name with a “ć” at the end. HR-DAZD, Fond for School Administration, bundle 3, without a number. According to some reports, the Italian language was introduced as the language of instruction in the 1919/1920 school year. V. Jugo Superina 2014: 219-227.

⁶⁹ HR-DAZD-119, bundle 3, br. 3358, 9/27/1922, no. 3378, 9/28/1922, no. 3521, 10/6/1922, no. 3490, 10/4/1922. and no. 3494, 10/4/1922. Also, in the same fond, bundle 4, 3677, 10/15/1922.

⁷⁰ According to the secret report of the Civil Commissariat from Zadar to the General Directive of Secondary Schools – to a special office of the new provinces of the Ministry of Education, the idea of a greater inclusion of Italian as the language of instruction and culture in teaching was not particularly successful, as there were more Croatian students, likely in part due to the reason that they received free room and board in the Boarding School. This manner of organization endangered the operations of the Italian part of the Institute. HR-DAZD-119, bundle 2, no. 764, 2/21/1922.

školu koja je radila na hrvatskom jeziku do kraja školske godine 1926./1927. godine.⁷² Možemo konstatirati da na početku okupacije talijanska vlast nije imala jasno definiran odnos prema nastavi na hrvatskom jeziku. Ona ga nije htjela, barem ne odmah, u potpunosti ukinuti,⁷³ ali ga je htjela radikalno preoblikovati u smjeru prihvaćanja talijanske kulture i novih talijanskih vlasti. Nastava na hrvatskom jeziku trebala je biti ideološki dekretoizirana.⁷⁴ Nakon početnog dopuštanja nastave, sve veći utjecaj fašizma i sve radikalnija talijanizacija postupno je doveo do ukidanja nastave na hrvatskom jeziku, a završni čin je bilo izbacivanje Hrvatskog jezika kao nastavnog predmeta.

when it ceased operating as an institution of that sort.⁷¹ With regard to the Croatian language as a course subject, it continued to be taught in the secondary schools of Zadar until 1931. With regard to elementary school in the Croatian language in the city of Zadar, after the end of the 1920/1921 school year the male and female elementary schools were joined as a mixed-sex elementary school which operated with Croatian as the language of instruction until the end of the 1926/1927 school year.⁷² We can conclude that at the beginning of the occupation, the Italian authorities did not have a clearly defined attitude toward schooling held in the Croatian language. They did not want, at least at first, to completely abolish it,⁷³ but they did wish to radically redesign teaching with the goals of the acceptance of Italian culture and the new Italian authorities. Teaching in Croatian had to be ideologically de-Croatized.⁷⁴ After initially allowing for Croatian as the language of teaching instruction, the growing influence of fascism and ever more radical Italianization gradually led to the abolition of teaching in the Croatian language, and the concluding act was the abolition of the Croatian language as a teaching subject.

⁷² Belich 1992: 79-83.

⁷³ Da talijanske vlasti nisu odmah planirali ukinuti hrvatske školske institucije govori podatak da su u svibnju 1921., znači nakon Rapalla kada je Zadar i formalno potpao pod talijansku vlast, obnovile ugovor o najmu s Alfonsom grofom Borelijem, vlasnikom zgrade za objedinjenu hrvatsku mušku i žensku pučku školu, a u studenom iste godine su ugovorile popravke u školi. HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 1, br. 1110, 11. 5. 1921. i br. 3191, 6. 11. 1921.

⁷⁴ O školskoj i prosvjetnoj politici talijanskih vlasti na novopripojenim pokrajinama v. Dessardo 2013a: 5-22, Dessardo 2013b: 609-624, Dessardo 2013c: 93-114. U Italiji je vladalo uvjerenje unutar učiteljskih krugova da se može dobiti radno mjesto u „novim“ provincijama. Intervencije za zaposlenje išle su preko zastupnika u talijanskom parlamentu, vojnog zapovjednika okupacijskih snaga admirala Milla do predsjednika Pokrajinskog školskog vijeća Lane. „Navala“ je bila tolika da je Lana osmislio poseban obrazac u kojima obavještava potencijalne molitelje da nema slobodnih učiteljskih mjesta na „okupiranom teritoriju“. HR-DAZD-119, svežanj 1, bez datuma i broja.

⁷¹ In the school the training centre was again instated, now with six grades and two languages (Croatian and Italian). In the training centre don Fausto Motušić, a parson in Arbanasi whom the Italian authorities believed to be unreliable, held religion classes. HR-DAZD-119, bundle 4, no. 3923, 10/29/1922.

⁷² Belich 1992: 79-83.

⁷³ The fact that in June of 1921, that is, after the Treaty of Rapallo when Zadar formally came under Italian rule, the Italian authorities renewed their rental contract with Count Alfonso Borelli, the owner of the building in which the conjoined male and female elementary schools were housed, speaks to the fact that the Italian authorities did not plan to immediately abolish Croatian school institutions, and in November of the same year they contracted repairs in the school. HR-DAZD-119, bundle 1, no. 1110, 5/11/1921 and no. 3191, 11/6/1921.

⁷⁴ On the school and intellectual politics of the Italian authorities in the newly acquired territories see Dessardo 2013a: 5-22, Dessardo 2013b: 609-624, Dessardo 2013c: 93-114. In Italy, the belief reigned among teachers that one could find a job placement in the “new” provinces. Interventions for employment went through representatives in the Italian parliament, the military commanding officer of the occupied forces, Admiral Millo, to the president of the Provincial School Board, Lana. The “onslaught” was such that Lana made up a special form in which he informed potential applicants that there were no open jobs for teachers in the “occupied territory”. HR-DAZD-119, bundle 1, without date or number.

Statistička analiza socijalne, vjerske i jezične strukture učenika Hrvatske gimnazije

Obrađene su zadnje tri godine rada Hrvatske gimnazije, a podatci su uzeti iz Glavnih imenika. Prve tri tablice obrađuju učenike prema zanimanju njihovih roditelja. Kod najbrojnije kategorije roditelja – „činovnici i učitelji“ – ubrojani su državni, privatni, pokrajinski, umirovljeni i ostali činovnici kao i njihove udovice u slučaju samohranih majki. Jednak je slučaj s učiteljima gdje su uključene sve provenijencije kao što su profesori, pučki učitelji, umirovljeni učitelji i njihove udovice.

Rezultati statističke obrade kod zanimanja roditelja su očekivani. Najveći broj učenika (preko 50%) imao je za roditelje učitelje i činovnike. Više je razloga za to. Prvi je i uobičajen razlog to što su ta djeca nasljeđivala „socijalni“ kapital svojih roditelja, te su u obrazovanju vidjela način kako se može osigurati socijalna egzistencija. Drugi je razlog što je najveći dio tih roditelja bio smješten u gradu Zadru, te im je bilo materijalno kudikamo lakše osigurati školovanje svoje djece. Kad tomu pridodamo da je grad Zadar po svome habitusu bio činovnički grad, onda nas pretežnost broja djece iz činovničkih i učiteljskih obitelji ne iznenađuje. Unutar pravoslavne zajednice sjeverne Dalmacije očitu elitu predstavljaju pravoslavni parosi, što vidimo prema broju djece koji pohađaju Hrvatsku gimnaziju. U navedenom razdoblju nije bilo bitnih promjena glede socijalne strukture.

A statistical analysis of the social, religious and linguistic structure of the students of Croatian Gymnasia

The three final years of operation of the Croatian Gymnasium are here addressed, and the facts are taken from the Main Directories. The first three tables process the students according to the occupation of their parents. In the most numerous category of parental occupations, “clerks and teachers”, state, private, provincial, retired and other clerks are counted, as well as their widows in the case of single mothers. The same is true of teachers, in which teachers of all provenance are included, as well as professors, elementary school teachers, retired teachers, and their widows.

The results of the statistical analysis with regard to the occupations of the parents are as expected. The greatest number of students (over 50%) had parents who were teachers and clerks. There are several reasons for this. The first and most common reason is that those children inherited the “social” capital of their parents and saw in education a means to secure their social existence. The second reason is that most of those parents lived in the city of Zadar, and it was much easier for them from a material perspective to ensure their child’s education. When we add to that the fact that Zadar was a “clerk” city by nature, we should not be surprised by the fact that most of the children came from families of clerks and teachers. In the Orthodox Christian communities of northern Dalmatia, a clear elite was represented by the families of Orthodox parsons, which we see by the number of children who attend the Croatian Gymnasium. In the time frame represented there were no important changes with regard to social structure.

Razred / Class	Roditelji / Parents					
	Seljaci i radnici / Peasants and workers	Posjednici / Landowners	Obrtnici / Craftsmen	Sl. zanimanja / Liberal professions	Činovnici i učitelji / Clerks and teachers	Ostalo / Others
I.a	9	11	7	2	36	-
I.b	6	3	13	1	30	6 (2 paroha / parsons)
II.a	11	1	3	2	20	4
II.b	3	2	4	-	27	10 (3 paroha / parsons)
III.a	1	1	4	3	20	2
III.b	7	4	8	2	20	2 (1 paroh / parson)
IV.	2	3	8		36	1 (paroh / parson)
V.	9		8	2	19	-
VI.	10		4	2	22	1
VII.	11	5	8	1	17	2
VIII. nema / nonexistent						
Ukupno / Total:	69 15,1%	30 6,6%	67 14,7%	15 3,3%	247 54,2%	28 6,1%

Tablica 7. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije školske godine 1918./1919. Zanimanje roditelja.

Table 7. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium in the 1918/1919 school year – parents' occupation

Razred / Class	Roditelji / Parents					
	Seljaci i radnici / Peasants and workers	Posjednici / Landowners	Obrtnici / Craftsmen	Sl. zanimanja / Liberal professions	Činovnici i učitelji / Clerks and teachers	Ostalo / Other
I.a	5	4	9	-	32	2
I.b	7	5	7	-	27	2
I.c	1	6	4	2	34	5
II.	1	7	10	6	49	8 (2 paroha / parsons)
III.	10	3	8	2	40	13 (2 paroha / parsons)
IV.	5	6	6	6	35	2 (paroha / parsons)
V.	2	-	5	-	29	1 (paroh / parsons)
VI.	7	1	3	1	17	-
VII.	7	-	-	5	16	1
VIII.	8	3	9	1	17	1
Ukupno / Total:	53 10,5%	35 7,0%	61 12,1%	23 4,6%	296 58,8%	35 7,0%

Tablica 8. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije školske godine 1919./1920. Zanimanje roditelja.

Table 8. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium in the 1919/1920 school year – Parents' occupation

Razred / Class	Roditelji / Parents					
	Seljaci i radnici / Peasants and workers	Posjednici / Landowners	Obrtnici / Craftsmen	Sl. zanimanja / Liberal professions	Činovnici i učitelji / Clerks and teachers	Ostalo / Other
I.a	9	1	12	1	30	
I.b	1	4	11	1	24 (često oznaka bivši) / 24 (often noted as "former")	12 (3 paroha / parsons)
II.a	7	3	6		29	
II.b	1	5	5	2	28	5 (paroha / parsons)
III.	1	6	11	4	38	5 (paroha / parsons)
IV.	4	1	7	1	22	12 (2 paroha / parsons)
V.*	-	-	-	-	-	-
VI.	3	-	1	-	25	-
VII.	6	1	2	-	11	-
VIII.	7	-	5	2	10	-
Ukupno / Total:	39 10,2%	22 5,7%	60 15,7%	11 2,9%	217 56,6%	34 8,9%

Tablica 9. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije školske godine 1920./1921. Zanimanje roditelja.

* V. i VI. razred su integrirani.

Što se tiče materinskog jezika učenika, hrvatski jezik čini preko 95% udjela. Od ostalih jezika nešto je brojnija zajednica učenika kojima je materinski jezik arbanasčki. U radu se koristi taj termin jer se radi o stanovnicima tadašnjega zadarskog predgrađa Arbanasa i po njima je nazvan taj dijalekt albanskog jezika. Asimilacijska moć hrvatske većine u Dalmaciji, koja je bila manjina u gradu Zadru, imala je svoja jasna ograničenja, što je vidljivo iz podatka da gotovo da i nema učenika kojima je materinski jezik bio talijanski. Ovdje se može napomenuti da je hrvatskih govornika bilo ipak nešto više u obrazovnim ustanovama na talijanskom jeziku.⁷⁵ Što se tiče vjeroispovijesti učenika, udio pravoslavnih

⁷⁵ U Talijanskoj gimnaziji od 223 učenika u školskoj godini 1916./1917. – dakle nakon početka rata s Italijom, što je uzrokovalo pogoršanje položaja talijanske zajednice – bilo je 29 hrvatskih govornika, što je iznosilo 11,6% od ukupnog broja učenika. HR-DAZD-98, kutija 207, bez broja.

Table 9. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium in the 1920/1921 school year – Parents' occupation

*The fifth and sixth grade are integrated

With regard to the mother tongue, students with Croatian as a mother tongue number 95%. Of the other languages, there is a slightly larger community of students with Albanian as their mother tongue. In this paper we use the term Arbanasi dialect, as the students in question were from Arbanasi, which was a suburb of Zadar at the time, and after which that Albanian dialect takes its name. The power of assimilation held by the Croatian majority in Dalmatia, which was a minority in the city of Zadar, had clear restrictions, as can be seen from that fact that there were almost no students whose mother tongue was Italian. It can be mentioned here that there were, however, somewhat higher numbers of Croatian speakers in educational institutions whose language of instruction was Italian.⁷⁵ As to the denomination

⁷⁵ In the Italian Gymnasium, with 223 students in the 1916/1917 school year, that is, after the beginning of the war

vjernika relativno je malen uspoređujući ga s udjelom pravoslavnog stanovništva u pokrajini, a osobito u zaleđu sjeverne Dalmacije. Ipak, kako je gradska pravoslavna zajednica malena (600-700 pripadnika), a školovanje izvan mjesta boravka velik trošak, to objašnjava manji udio pravoslavnih učenika. Gimnazijska je uprava kod slučaja paralelni grupirala pravoslavne učenike u jedno odjeljenje radi lakšeg održavanja pravoslavnog vjeronauka.

of the students, the percentage of Orthodox Christian believers was relatively small in comparison to the percentage of Orthodox Christians in the population of the region, especially in the hinterlands of Northern Dalmatia. As the urban Orthodox Christian community was small in number (600-700 members), however, and education outside of the place of residence represented a great expense, that would explain the smaller percentage of Orthodox Christian students. The administration of the gymnasiums, in the cases of parallel classes, grouped Orthodox Christian students into one class in order to facilitate Orthodox religion classes.

Razred / Class	Vjeroispovijest / Denomination			Materinski jezik / Mother tongue		
	Rkt. / Roman Catholic	Prav. / Orthodox Christian	Ostali / Other	Hrvatski / Croatian	Talijanski / Italian	Ostalo / Other
I.a	65	-	-	59	1	5 arbanaški / Arbanasi dialect
I.b	41	18	-	59	-	-
II.a	41	-	-	37	1	3 arbanaški / Arbanasi dialect
II.b	30	16	-	46	-	-
III.a	31	-	-	29	-	2 (1 češki+1 slovenski) / 2 (1 Czech +1 Slovenian)
III.b	31	12	-	43	-	-
IV.	42	8	-	45	1	4 (2 njemački + 1 češki + 1 slovenski) / 4 (2 German + 1 Czech + 1 Slovenian)
V.	37	1	-	38	-	-
VI.	33	6	-	38	-	1 arbanaški / Arbanasi dialect
VII.	40	4	-	44	-	-
VIII. nema / VIII non existent						
Ukupno / Total:	391	65	-	438	3	15
	85,7%	14,3%		96,1%	0,6%	3,3%

Tablica 10. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije u školskoj godini 1918./1919. po vjeroispovijesti i materinskom jeziku.

Table 10. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium in the 1918/1919 school year – according to denomination and mother tongue

with Italy, which exacerbated the position of the Italian community, there were 29 speakers of Croatian, or 11.6% of the total percentage of students. HR-DAZD-98, box 207, without number.

Razred / Class	Vjeroispovijest / Denomination			Materinski jezik / Mother tongue		
	Rkt. / Roman Catholic	Prav. / Orthodox Christian	Ostali / Other	Hrvatski / Croatian	Talijanski / Italian	Ostalo / Other
I.a	52	-	-	44	-	8 (2 slovenski+6 arbanaški) / 8 (2 Slovenian + 6 Arbanasi dialect)
I.b	39	9	-	48	-	-
I.c	46	6	-	52	-	-
II.	71	10	-	81	-	-
III.	63	13	-	74	-	2 arbanaški / Arbanasi dialect
IV.	52	8	-	57	-	3 (2 njemački+1 slovenski) / 3 (2 German + 1 Slovenian)
V.	33	4	-	37	-	-
VI.	28	1	-	29	-	-
VII.	26	3	-	29	-	-
VIII.	35	4	-	39	-	-
Ukupno / Total:	445	58	-	490	-	13
	88,5%	11,5%		97,4%		2,6%

Tablica 11. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije u školskoj godini 1919./1920. po vjeroispovijesti i materinskom jeziku.

Glede mjesta rođenja učenika (ne i trenutnog stanovanja) uzet je kao kriterij najbližeg okružja Zadar, što predstavlja kotar Zadar (općine Biograd, Novigrad, Nin, Pag, Rab, Silba, Sali i Zadar), tj. cilj je bio utvrditi koliko je grad Zadar bio privlačna sredina za svoje okruženje te ima li promjena u vezi s udjelom „izvan-zadarskih“ učenika uzrokovanih političkom situacijom, budući da se dobar dio srednje i čitava južna Dalmacija našla izvan talijanskoga okupiranog područja. Iz rezultata statističkog istraživanja vidljivo je da je Zadar privlačio dosta učenika izvan svoga bližeg područja budući da je bio glavni grad austrijske pokrajine Dalmacije. Također je očito da je uslijed političkih previranja smanjen broj učenika rođenih izvan zadarskog kotara. Kod spolne razdiobe učenika udio učenica konstantno raste te je u 11 godina, koliko je bio dozvoljen upis djevojaka u gimnaziju, njihov udio narastao do 1/5 ukupnog broja učenika ili 4 puta više nego su austrijske vlasti prvobitno bile dozvolile 1910. godine. Vidljiva je intencija uprave gimnazije da, ako su u mogućnosti, odvoje učenice u posebne razrede.

Table 11. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium in the 1919/1920 school year – according to denomination and mother tongue

With regard to the place of birth of the students (but not their actual place of residence), the most immediate Zadar surroundings was taken into account, which represents the District of Zadar (the municipalities of Biograd, Novigrad, Nin, Pag, Rab, Silba, Sali and Zadar), i.e., the aim was to confirm to what degree the city of Zadar was an attractive centre for its surroundings, and whether or not there were any changes regarding “outside-of-Zadar” students that were the result of the political situation, as a large part of Central and all of Southern Dalmatia found itself outside of the area occupied by Italy. The results of the statistical survey show that Zadar attracted many students from outside of its immediate area, seeing as it was the capital city of the Austrian province of Dalmatia. It is also evident that the number of students born outside the county of Zadar was smaller due to political turmoil. With regard to the distribution between the sexes, the number of female students grew continually, and in the 11 years that women were allowed to attend the gymnasium their share rose to 1/5 of the total number of students, or 4 times what the Austrian authorities allowed in 1910. The intention of the administration of the gymnasium to, if possible, separate the female from the male students into different classes is evident.

Razred / Class	Vjeroispovijest / Denomination			Materinski jezik / Mother tongue		
	Rkt. / Roman Catholic	Prav. / Orthodox Christian	Ostali / Other	Hrvatski / Croatian	Talijanski / Italian	Ostalo / Other
I.a	53	-	-	53	-	-
I.b	34	19	-	52	-	1 češki / Czech
II.a	45	-	-	43	-	2 arbanaški / Arbanasi dialect
II.b	37	9	-	46	-	-
III.	58	8	-	56	1	1 arbanaški / Arbanasi dialect
IV.	37	10	-	46	-	1 ruski / Russian
V.*	-	-	-	-	-	-
VI.	26	3	-	29	-	-
VII.	20	-	-	20	-	-
VIII.	21	3	-	23	-	1 arbanaški / Arbanasi dialect
Ukupno / Total:	331	52	-	376	1	6
	86,4%	13,4%		98,2%	0,2%	1,6%

Tablica 12. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije u školskoj godini 1920./1921. po vjeroispovijesti i materinskom jeziku.

* V. i VI. razred su integrirani.

Table 12. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium in the 1920/1921 school year – according to denomination and mother tongue

*The fifth and sixth grades are integrated

Razred / Class	Spol / Sex		Mjesto rođenja / Place of birth	
	Muški / Male	Ženski / Female	Zadar – kotar / Zadar – the District	Ostalo / Other
I.a	55	10r	40	25
I.b	48	11 (8r + 3p)*	40	19
II.a	41	-	27	14
II.b	36	10 (9r + 1p)	21	25
III.a	23	8r	17	14
III.b	43	-	21	22
IV.	47	3r	23	27
V.	36	2 (1r + 1p)	15	23
VI.	37	2r	22	17
VII.	43	1r	29	15
Ukupno / Total:	409	47	255	201
	89,7%	10,3%	55,9%	44,1%

Tablica 13. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije u školskoj godini 1918./1919. po spolu i mjestu rođenja.

* „r“ – rimokatolkinje, „p“ – pravoslavke.

Table 13. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium in the 1918/1919 school year – according to sex and place of birth

* „r“ – Roman Catholic, „p“ – Orthodox Christian

Razred / Class	Spol / Sex		Mjesto rođenja / Place of birth	
	Muški / Male	Ženski / Female	Zadar – kotar / Zadar – the District	Ostalo / Other
I.a	52	-	39	13
I.b	48	-	37	11
I.c	-	52 (47r + 5p)	38	14
II.	62	19 (16r + 3p)	49	32
III.	63	13 (12r + 1p)	44	32
IV.	54	6r	39	21
V.	32	5r	20	17
VI.	26	3r	11	18
VII.	28	1r	20	9
VIII.	38	1r	26	13
Ukupno / Total:	403 80,1%	100 19,9%	323 64,2%	180 35,8%

Tablica 14. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije u školskoj godini 1919./1920. po spolu i mjestu rođenja.

Table 14. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium in the 1919/1920 school year – according to sex and place of birth

Razred / Class	Spol / Sex		Mjesto rođenja / Place of birth	
	Muški / Male	Ženski / Female	Zadar – kotar / Zadar – the District	Ostalo / Other
I.a	53	-	37	16
I.b	37	16 (14r + 2p)	33	20
II.a	45	-	35	10
II.b	13	33 (32r + 1p)	36	10
III.	51	15 (12r + 3p)	39	27
IV.	37	10 (9r + 1p)	29	18
VI.	27	2r	14	15
VII.	19	1r	7	13
VIII.	23	1r	18	6
Ukupno / Total:	305 79,6%	78 20,4%	248 64,8%	135 35,2%

Tablica 15. Broj učenika Hrvatske gimnazije u školskoj godini 1920./1921. po spolu i mjestu rođenja.

* V. i VI. razred su integrirani.

Table 15. The number of students in the Croatian gymnasium in the 1920/1921 school year – according to sex and place of birth

*The fifth and sixth grade are integrated

Školska godina / School year	Maturanata / vojnika / Senior-class students / military personnel	Od toga učenica / Of which female students
1913./1914.	14 / -	-
1914./1915.	11 / -	-
1915./1916.	24 / 12	-
1916./1917.	29 / 2	-
1917./1918.	37 / 17	2*
1918./1919.	36 / 2	5
1919./1920.	52 / 6	1
1920./1921.	26	1

Tablica 16. Broj maturanata u Hrvatskoj gimnaziji.

* Prve maturantice Hrvatske gimnazije bile su Nada Amanović (Dušanova) iz Knina te Antica Ljubić (Josipova) iz Splita. Iste godine izašla je prva maturantica s Talijanske gimnazije te su njih tri prve zadarske maturantice.

U zadnjoj školskoj godini 1920./1921. održan je samo ljetni redoviti ispitni rok, što znači da je broj učenika koji su maturirali vjerojatno bio još veći, međutim te su se moguće mature održavale na drugim gimnazijskim institucijama.

Zaključna razmatranja

U turbulentnu razdoblju mogu se uočiti neke promjene u strukturi učenika. U prvom redu, broj učenika u Hrvatskoj gimnaziji, pored svih problema, u prvim dvjema poratnim godinama nije padao nego je rastao. Štoviše, u školskoj godini 1919./1920. dosegno je svoje povijesne vrhunce. Tek će se u zadnjoj godini očitovati utjecaj neposrednih političkih okolnosti na pad broja učenika u zadarskoj Hrvatskoj gimnaziji. Jedan od razloga bilo je ubrzano iseljavanje hrvatske i srpske elite iz grada, a time i najvećeg izvora učenika za školu. Drugi proces koji je postao očit tijekom rata, a još više u poraću, jest porast broja učenica u Gimnaziji. Očito su procesi modernizacije počeli djelovati i na mikrosferi obiteljskog odnosa prema ciljevima odgoja. Povećanju broja učenica zasigurno je poticaj dao rat, kada su žene preuzele jedan dio do tada gotovo isključivo „muških“ poslova, a ovdje se ponajprije referira na činovničke poslove. Ulazak žena u činovnički stalež naglasio je važnost obrazovanja kod žena. Brojnost učenika u Preparandiji tijekom rata oštro opada, a taj se trend nastavlja sve do ukidanja škole. Dva su

Table 16. The number of senior-class students in the Croatian Gymnasium

*The first female graduates of the Croatian Gymnasium were Nada Amanović (daughter of Dušan) from Knin and Antica Ljubić (daughter of Josip) from Split. The same year, the first female student graduated from the Italian Gymnasium, with those three being the first female students to graduate secondary school in Zadar.

In the final school year of 1920/1921 only the summer regular examination term was held, which means that the number of students who graduated was likely even higher; it was possible, however, that the final examinations were held in other secondary school (gymnasium) institutions.

Concluding remarks

Changes in the structure of the students can be noted during this turbulent period. In the first place, number of students in the Croatian Gymnasium, despite all of the problems at large, did not wane during the first two years of the war, but rather grew. In fact, in the 1919/1920 school year it reached its historical peak. It is only during the final year that the influence of the immediate political circumstances led to a fall in the number of students in the Croatian Gymnasium of Zadar. One of the reasons for this was the rapid emigration of the Croatian and Serbian elite from the city, and with them the greatest source of students for the school. The second process which became obvious during the war, and even more so in the post-war period, was the increase of the number of students in the Gymnasium. It is evident that the processes of modernization began to take effect even on the microsphere of familial attitudes to civil education. The war was surely also a stimulus for the increase in the number

razloga za to: prvi je socijalna degradacija pozicije pučkog učitelja tijekom rata. Naime, učitelji nisu bili državni činovnici, tj. na plaći središnje države kao srednjoškolski profesori, nego su zaposlenici pokrajine. Plaće, a osobito ratni dodatci bili su nedostatni za osnovno egzistencijalno preživljavanje. Poseban problem predstavljalo je organiziranje prehrane učenika u konviktu. Drugi razlog bila je fizička nesigurnost učenika i nastavnika na Preparandiji koja se percipirala kao bastion antitalijanstva i kao takva bila je izložena napadima.

Zaključno se može reći da su hrvatske školske institucije dijelile sudbinu hrvatske i srpske zajednice u gradu Zadru. Nestankom državnog okvira Austro-Ugarske i ulaskom u novi državni okvir Kraljevine Italije zapečaćena je njihova sudbina. U tom gotovo trogodišnjem razdoblju talijanske okupacijske vlasti tolerirale su rad srednjoškolskih institucija te su ih ujedno nastojale podvrgnuti kontroli. Pritom su se služile raznim mjerama prisile: od protjerivanja nastavnika i učenika, smanjivanja dotacija do izvaninstitucionalnih oblika nasilja. Ubrzo će preostale hrvatske institucije uslijed fašizma i sve veće talijanizacije prestati raditi, a tek će se 1945. godine ponovno otvoriti hrvatske školske ustanove u Zadru.

of students, during which women took over one of the hitherto almost exclusively 'male' occupations; here, that is primarily in reference to clerical work. The entering of women into the clerical class emphasized the importance of education for women. The number of students in the Preparandium steeply fell during the war, and this trend continued until the closing of the school. There are two reasons for this: the first reason is the social degradation of the position of primary-school teachers during the war. Namely, teachers were not civil servants, i.e., they were not paid from the funds of the central state, as were secondary school professors, but rather they were under the employ of the province. Wages, and especially war-time supplemental wages, were insufficient for basic existential survival. A particular problem was represented by the organization of meals for the students in the boarding school. The other reason was the physical uncertainty of the students and teachers at the Preparandium, which was perceived as an anti-Italian bastion, and as such, was exposed to attack.

It can be concluded that Croatian school institutions shared the fate of the Croatian and Serbian communities in the city of Zadar. The disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian state framework and the entrance into the new state framework of the Kingdom of Italy stamped their fate. In that essentially three-year period, the Italian occupational authorities tolerated the operation of secondary school institutions and they thereby attempted to subject them to their control. In light of this, they used various methods of coercion: the expulsion of teachers and students, the minimizing of grants, and even non-institutional methods of force. The remaining Croatian institutions would soon cease to exist due to fascism and increasing Italianization, and Croatian educational institutions would not again reopen in Zadar until 1945.

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