

Regional Background of the Student Body at the Faculty of Law of the Francis Joseph I Royal University in Zagreb (1874-1918) and Student Circulation

The study is based on an examination of faculty admission papers and analyses of the regional composition of the student body at the Faculty of Law in the period from the establishment of the modern university in Zagreb in 1874 until the end of World War I. By applying quantitative analysis, the author considers whether the University of Zagreb, specifically the Faculty of Law, accomplished the goals set forth by its founders to play a significant role in connecting the long-separated parts of the Croatian lands and become a centre of enlightenment for all South Slavic peoples. Another issue discussed in the paper is the question of student circulation. It examines student mobility and provides insight into the extent to which law students in Zagreb combined their legal with academic education at universities abroad, especially in the major university centres of the Habsburg Monarchy. With regard to the political context and Austrian legislation stipulating the reciprocity of diplomas, the correlations between these two categories, student regional background, and student circulation can be underscored.

Introduction

The paper looks into the regional background of the student body at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb during the period from the establishment of the modern university in Zagreb until the First World War. An analysis of the geographical origin, as well as other variables, such as religion, mother tongue, and social origin of the student body after the modern university's establishment in Zagreb (1874) can answer research questions pertaining to the genesis of the domestic intelligentsia, but this issue also sheds light on the modernization of higher education in Croatian society at the turn of the century. Focusing on the regional background of student body at the Faculty of Law based on the share of enrolled students from particular regions, the issue of inclusiveness at the University in Zagreb and the Faculty of Law together with related limitations will be considered.

The issue of the student circulation determinates student mobility and facilitates insight into extent to which law students in Zagreb, as a significant element

in knowledge transfer, combined their legal education with academic work at universities abroad, especially in the significant university centres of Habsburg Monarchy, such as Vienna, Prague, Graz and Budapest. The correlation between student regional background and student circulation will be examined, considering the political context and the Austrian legislation stipulating the reciprocity of diplomas. Finally, a comparison will be made with the student population of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb in the same period.

Sources and literature

The basis for this research is a database made using unpublished archival data from student admission papers (*nacijonali*), that students completed when enrolling for study at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb, including the period from 1874 to 1918. All student admission papers are bound in the volumes of the *Imenici izvanrednih i redovitih slušača pravo-i državoslovnoga fakulteta* (Directories of full-time and part-time students at the Faculty of Law) which are kept as a serialized materials in the Croatian State Archives.¹ For the purpose of this research, data from this database related to the regional origin of students (place of birth) were used, as well as the data on the previous place of study (college or university where the student stayed for a semester prior to enrolling in the Faculty of Law in Zagreb). According to these data, the final examination was determined by using the quantitative method.

Only a part of the published data necessary for this research can be found in the statistics published in university memorials. The data about the student population are incomplete for the research question posed here. The data in the University memorial from 1900 are limited to the period from 1874 to 1899,² while the University Memorial from 1925 contains data on regional affiliation only for the period after the First World War.³

Previous historiographical research into the regional background of Zagreb students has resulted in several papers or parts of broader studies. Among the

¹ Hrvatski državni arhiv, fond. Pravni fakultet u Zagrebu, br. 501, serija: *Imenici izvanrednih i redovitih slušača pravo-i državoslovnoga fakulteta*, knj. 1-245 (henceforth: HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*). The database consisting of these 245 books indicates a total of 6,989 individually enrolled students at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in the period from 1874 to 1918, i.e. from the year of the modern university's establishment, within which the Faculty of Law was a constituent unit, until the end of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This number of 6,989 students includes all enrolled full-time and part-time students regardless of the duration of their study. The analyses and charts made in this paper are based on it. The total number of enrolled semesters of all law students between 1874 and 1918 is 31,840.

² SPOMENICA 1900: 143-153.

³ SPOMENICA 1925 :266-267.

relevant works, the paper by Igor Karaman, “Socijalna i regionalna obilježja studenata na zagrebačkim visokoškolskim ustanovama,” can be singled out.⁴ Karaman, among other things, broke down the social and regional structure of students, albeit at the level of the entire University of Zagreb. A brief analysis and commentary on the regional background of students in the entire university were provided by Jaroslav Šidak in the text “Sveučilište do kraja prvoga svjetskog rata,” published in the university memorial for 1969.⁵ In methodological terms, I would like to single out Damir Agičić’s work on Croatian students at the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague, in which Croatian students at that university are structurally analysed.⁶ A paper about the regional background of students at the Faculty of Philosophy in the period 1874-1914 has also been published.⁷ Dalibor Čepulo, in his extensive study of legal education in Croatia from the Middle Ages to 1918, dedicated a part to the student population of the Faculty of Law and their regional origins.⁸ Of the foreign studies that have served as an excellent methodological model, the papers by Gary B. Cohen can be highlighted.⁹ Regarding the issue of student circulation, or the issue of domestic students attending foreign universities, several papers have been published recently. In addition to the aforementioned titles by Agičić about Croatian students at the university in Prague, he published a paper on domestic doctoral students in Prague, as well as a chapter in his book on Croatian-Czech relations pertaining to students.¹⁰ Also worth mentioning is Harald Heppner’s paper on students from Istria studying in Graz,¹¹ Iskra Iveljić’s paper on Croatian students at the University of Vienna,¹² Vlasta Švooger’s paper on the experience of local students in the Viennese academic environment,¹³ and the paper on the experiences and circulation of Croatian students at the turn of the 19th into the 20th century.¹⁴

⁴ KARAMAN 2000: 129-145.

⁵ ŠIDAK 1969a: 91-123.

⁶ AGIČIĆ 1998: 291-315.

⁷ LUETIĆ 2007a: 103-117.

⁸ ČEPULO 2007: 141-142.

⁹ COHEN 1987: 290-316; COHEN 2015: 505-528.

¹⁰ AGIČIĆ 2000: 262.-290; AGIČIĆ 1995: 137-154.

¹¹ HEPPNER 1990: 139-148.

¹² IVELJIĆ 2015a: 291-356.

¹³ ŠVOGER 2020: 207-224.

¹⁴ LUETIĆ 2015a: 259-289.

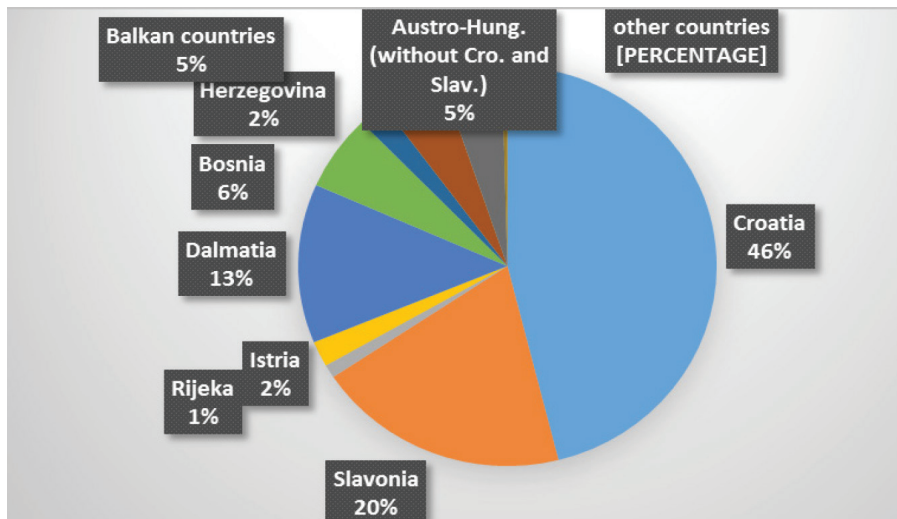
Students of Law in Zagreb by birthplace

Chart 1. Students of the Faculty of Law in Zagreb by birthplace (1874-1918)¹⁵

As shown in chart 1, 66% of students at the Zagreb Faculty of Law originated in the counties of Croatia and Slavonia, while the rest were born in the Croatian territories in the Austrian half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Dalmatia and Istria (15%), Bosnia and Herzegovina (8%), the town of Rijeka (1%), countries in the wider Balkans such as Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bulgaria (5%), other territories in the Austro-Hungarian Empire excluding Croatia and Slavonia (5%) and then other countries.¹⁶ In comparison to the regional background of students

¹⁵ HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*.

¹⁶ This group included students born in Africa (two students: Hinko Petrović, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 82; Dragutin Moderčin, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 195), America (four students: Viktor Orebica, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 27; Karlo Goga, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 139; Niko Glavinić, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 166; Ivo Matijević, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 243), Romania (one student: Franjo Kukuljević Sakcinski, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 30), the German lands (four students: Miroslav Kopf, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 100; Alberto Hertmann, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 125; Gustav Ludwig, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 214; Luka pl. Bajić, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 204); Russia (three students: Mose Njemirovsky, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 123; Makso Njemirovsky, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 191; Ivan Potočnjak, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 141); in Bessarabia (one student: Aleksandar Djaković, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 18), Italy (four students: Antun Čop, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 5; Guido Hreljanović, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 16; Vilim Zaucolo, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 185; Mojsija Violoni, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 148); and the Ottoman Empire (nine students: Svetislav Sapunov, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 6; Miroslav Fazinić, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 16; Eugen Veneti, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 123; Matija Glasnović, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 148; Ćirilo Stjepanović, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 166; Mihail Atanasov, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 166; Dimitar Trandafulov, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 160; Ivan Iliev, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 181; Stanko Hajduković, HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 243).

at the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy, the shares of local students from Croatia and Slavonia almost match: at the Faculty of Philosophy, 65% of students were born in the counties of Croatia and Slavonia. On the other hand, students originally from Dalmatia and Istria were half as much at the Faculty of Philosophy (6% and 1%).¹⁷

At first glance, it is noticeable that the University in Zagreb, and its Faculty of Law, failed in both of their tasks: in accomplishing the aim set forth by its founders to play a significant role in linking long-separated parts of the Croatian lands by educating youths from all Croatian regions, and to become an educational hub for the South Slav lands. Namely, the shares of law students from Dalmatia (13%) and Istria (2%) indicate that the new university in the Croatian capital did not accelerate change in terms of the more rapid connection of the divided Croatian regions, or at least not as rapidly as expected. Its Faculty of Law, and the university in general, were the centre of study for mostly local students from Croatia and Slavonia. The reasons lie mostly in the Austrian policy vis-à-vis the territories represented in the Imperial Council, which, to maintain separation, tailored decrees governing the reciprocity of university degrees in the Austrian and Hungarian halves of the Monarchy. Namely, students from the Austrian territories (i.e. Dalmatia and Istria) who studied at the University of Zagreb had to pass state and doctoral examinations before an Austrian commission if they wanted to get a job in the civil service in their homeland. In short: although the University of Zagreb and its instruction were organized on the model of Austrian universities, degrees earned in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy (i.e., from the University of Zagreb) were not recognized in the Austrian half, thus not in Dalmatia and Istria. Students from these Croatian territories had to pass state judicial and administrative examinations and doctoral examinations at an Austrian university.¹⁸ In 1904, Austrian authorities granted some privileges to students from the territories of the Imperial Council, but full reciprocity of degrees from the University of Zagreb was not instituted until the end of the Monarchy.¹⁹ Austrian Education Minister Wilhelm August Ritter von Hartel attempted to meet these demands for reciprocity through two resolutions in 1902 and 1904, but the problem was not resolved. These two instructions from 10 October 1902 and 24 April 1904 were provisional and did not meet the condition for full recognition of all examinations for graduates of the law and philosophy faculties. Namely, thereafter only the first state examination was recognized for law students, but an additional examination

¹⁷ LUETIĆ 2007a: 106.

¹⁸ AKADEMIČKI PROPISI 1898: 116-117; CUVAJ 1913: 442-443; GROSS 1969: 452-453; ŠIDAK 1969a: 105; KARAMAN 2000: 144-145; LUETIĆ 2007b: 174-175; ČEPULO 2007: 127. Extensively see in: LUETIĆ 2012a: 193-198.

¹⁹ CUVAJ: 442-443. See also: ŠIDAK 1969a: 105; GROSS 1969: 452-453; KARAMAN 2000: 144-145.

before a special commission in Vienna (although in the Croatian language) was required for completing the second and third state examination.²⁰ The following graphs show the impact of this legislation on the number of students from the Croatian territories in the Austrian half of the monarchy.

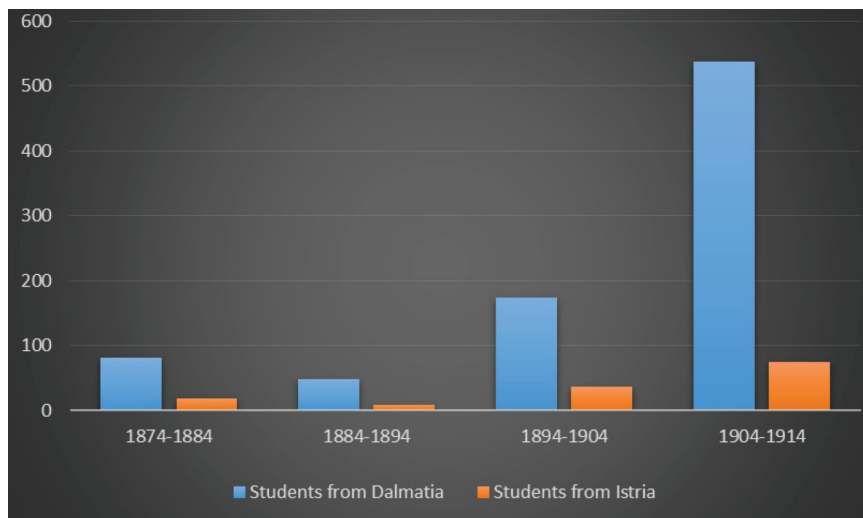


Chart 2. Number of students from Dalmatia and Istria at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in ten-year periods (1874-1914)²¹

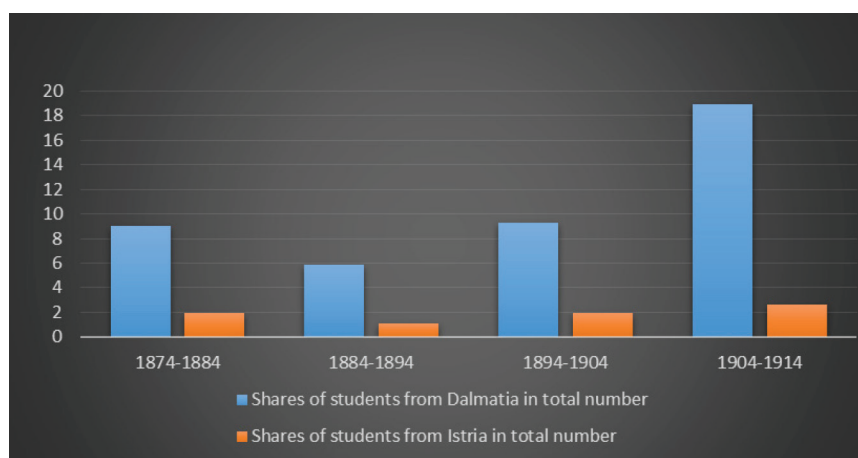


Chart 3. Shares of students from Dalmatia and Istria at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in the total number of students in ten-year periods (1874-1914)²²

²⁰ LUETIĆ 2012a: 195.

²¹ HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*.

²² HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*.

This “relief” was reflected rather quickly in the increasing number of students from Dalmatia and Istria, which can be seen in charts 2 and 3. These figures clearly show that there was a positive upward trend as of the onset of the 20th century, when a high number of students from these two regions decided to study in Zagreb. Such developments point to the fact that changes in the regional structure of students did occur, although complete reciprocity for the University of Zagreb was not achieved during this period. Progress in recognizing examinations in the Austrian part of the Monarchy was reflected in the arrival of Croatian youths from the Austrian provinces to the Zagreb Faculty of Law. Chart 2 shows the absolute numbers of enrolled students. An even more realistic indication of the fact that the ‘relief’ from 1904 influenced higher enrolment in Zagreb is the percentage shares of enrolled students from Dalmatia in the total number of the enrolled student body at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb. According to chart 3, it can be seen that the share of enrolled students from Dalmatia in the total number of students at the Faculty of Law in the decade before the First World War increased more than threefold: in the period 1884-1894, the share of Dalmatians in the total study body at the Faculty of Law was slightly less than 6%, while the share of students from Dalmatia was about 19% in the period 1904-1914. The growth trend of enrolment is also recorded among students from Istria, with the difference that their share in the total number has increased slightly less. While in absolute terms the number of enrolled students from Istria was twice as high in the period 1904-1914 compared to the period 1894-1904, or eight times higher than in the period 1884-1894, the percentage shares of students from Istria in the total student population at the Faculty of Law only increased by 1.5% (from the lowest share in 1884-1894, slightly more than 1%, to the highest share in 1904-1914, slightly more than 2.5%).

Considering the second proclaimed objective at the university’s establishment, it is worth researching the group of students from the Balkan South Slavic countries, the target population for whom the University of Zagreb was supposed to be an academic hub. With regard to the desire of the founders concerning the highest educational and scientific institutions in Zagreb, Bishop Strossmayer, Franjo Rački, and the first rector of the University in Zagreb, Matija Mesić, who openly invited and promoted the arrival of young people from other South Slavic countries to study to the Croatian capital in line with their policy of cultural unification of the South Slavs,²³ an analysis of student shares enrolled in Zagreb from these

²³ See Bishop J. J. Strossmayer’s speech in the Croatian Parliament delivered on 29 April 1861 (ŠIDAK 1969b: 336-340) and the speech by the first rector of the University of Zagreb delivered during the university’s opening ceremony on 19 October 1874 (ŠIDAK 1969b: 357-374). In his speech, Strossmayer emphasized the role of the University of Zagreb in the cultural and scientific life of these peoples: “(...) And in the Balkans, the dawn of a better future is already beginning to shine its light. On the other side of the Sava and Una Rivers, some are at least

regions provides some hints on the extent to which their wishes, i.e., how much the enlightening and almost “messianic” role of the University of Zagreb among the peoples of South Slavs of the southern Balkans, were fulfilled.

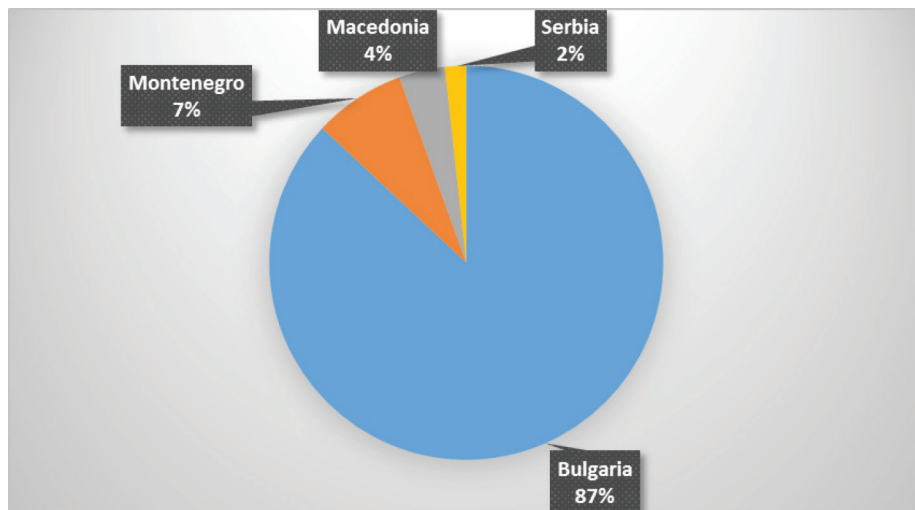


Chart 4. Students from Balkan countries at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb by place of birth (1874.-1918.)²⁴

They accounted for 5% share at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in the entire observed period. This share of South Slavic students among the student population of the Faculty of Law in Zagreb demonstrates that the policy promoted by the leading figures in Croatian science and culture did not have a great impact among this sector of youths. Breaking down the individual percentages of students from individual South Slavic countries, it can be seen that students from Bulgaria accounted for the highest number, who due to the crisis at their home University in Sofia came to study in Zagreb in a great wave during the 1906/07 academic year. As many as 87%, or 300, were Bulgarians.²⁵ However, with certain exceptions, Bulgarian students at the Zagreb Faculty of Law did not stay longer: most

beginning to feel the need for higher education. (...) Christianity across the Sava and the Una, the blood of our blood, the limb from our body. Our brothers on the other side have turned their eyes to us, they trust us, they stretch their hands to us. (...) I think we will help them if we build a university here in Zagreb, that is, right at their doorstep...” (ŠIDAK 1969b: 340). Rector Mesić also believed in the enlightening role of the University of Zagreb and the Croats among the peoples of the Slavic south, believing that the opening of the new university was “in the interest of his neglected tribesmen: to be a mediator between the progressive west and the backward east” (ŠIDAK 1969b: 372).

²⁴ HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*.

²⁵ For a more extensive consideration of Bulgarian students at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb, see: LUETIĆ 2021: 237-267.

of them studied for one or two semesters (198 spent one semester in Zagreb, 83 two semesters, while only one student in Zagreb attended six, seven and eight semesters).²⁶ The situation with the Bulgarians was similar at the Faculty of Philosophy, where a significant number of Bulgarian students enrolled in this period (329).²⁷ The reasons for Bulgarians coming to study in Zagreb, both at the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Philosophy, are multiple. Austria-Hungary, as one of the major centres of education for Bulgarians from the latter half of the 19th century until the First World War, was an attractive environment not only because of its geographic proximity but also because of its multinational character with a strong Slavic element. Furthermore, the aspirations of Austrian foreign policy in the Balkans in that period included a benevolent policy toward the Bulgarians, who, given Austrian interests in those areas, were supposed to provide vital support against Russian claims. Austro-Hungarian educational policy was also focused in that direction. Austrian diplomatic actions toward Bulgarians since the 1880s mention the openness of Austrian universities to Bulgarians.²⁸ All of these were reasons that encouraged Bulgarians to come to Zagreb.²⁹ In addition to this state framework and the foreign policy of the country in which was located, the University of Zagreb had an even deeper basis for the arrival of Bulgarian youths to study there. This was achieved by centuries-old ties between Bulgarians and Croats and their traditionally good relations. The intensification of these ties and concrete cooperation took place in the latter half of the 19th century, which is closely related to Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer. Strossmayer, together with Franjo Rački, opened the doors of the central scientific and educational institutions in Croatia to Bulgarians as part of the idea of the cultural unity among the South Slavs: the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Science and the Royal Francis Joseph I University in Zagreb. By extending invitations and providing material support in the form of scholarships for pupils and students from Bulgaria, Bishop Strossmayer sought to help in the education of the Bulgarian intelligentsia.³⁰ Apart from these reasons, linguistic similarity and geographic proximity certainly contributed to making Zagreb an attractive educational destination for Bulgarian students. In terms of numbers within the group of students from Balkan countries, the Bulgarian majority was followed

²⁶ LUETIĆ 2021: 251-252.

²⁷ On Bulgarian students at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, see: LUETIĆ 2005: 227-265.

²⁸ ПРЕШЛИЕHOBA 2000: 207-212; ПРЕШЛИЕHOBA 2001: 613-615.

²⁹ On Bulgarian pupils and students in Zagreb, see: ЖЕЧЕВ 1978: 233-253; БОЖИЛЮВА 1991: 68-81.

³⁰ LUETIĆ 2005: 231-232. More details on the role of Bishop Strossmayer in educating Bulgarians in Zagreb in: СЕPEЛИЋ– PAVIĆ 1994, 622-669; KADIĆ 1970: 725-740; SLIŠKOVIĆ 2005: 325-338; LUETIĆ 2015b: 368-377.

by Montenegrin students (7%), and, in very modest percentages, students from Macedonia (4%) and Serbia (2%).³¹

A specific group of students at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb consisted of students who originally hailed from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its share was 8% in the total number of students at the Faculty of Law (Bosnia 6%, Herzegovina 2%). It should be noted that their number grew near the end of the observed period, especially after the annexation of Bosnia in 1908. In the ten-year period from 1904 to 1914, there was fourfold growth in the number of enrolled students from Bosnia and Herzegovina compared to the preceding period (1894-1904), and more than fifty times more students than in the earlier period (1884-1894).

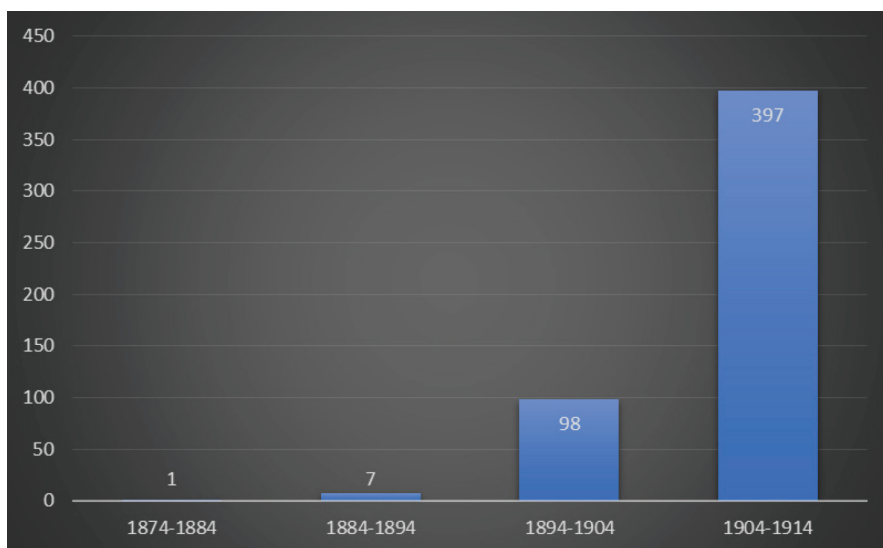


Chart 5. Students from Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb (in ten-year periods)³²

These figures should be viewed in the context of political circumstances during the period from the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austro-Hungary in 1878, through the annexation in 1908, and up to the Monarchy's dissolution. From the very beginning, the new government set up in Bosnia and Herzegovina confronted the lack of professional staff trained in western European universities and secondary

³¹ Ljubinka Trgovčević's research shows that the choice of a study place for Serbian students was greatly influenced by political considerations, so depending on certain periods during the 19th and early 20th century, Serbs mostly gravitated to Central European universities and French and Russian higher education institutions. Thus, for example, until 1905, when political circumstances changed, Serbs were mostly oriented toward German universities. Thereupon, the number of enrolled students of Serbian origin at French universities began to grow sharply (TRGOVČEVIĆ 1999: 163-173).

³² HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*.

school systems in order to establish a new administrative apparatus. This issue was an integral part of the educational policy of the Benjamin Kállay regime in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to educate a new elite upon which the regime could rely, the territorial government in Bosnia and Herzegovina granted scholarships to study at universities throughout the monarchy,³³ including study at the University in Zagreb. The obligation of graduates was to remain in the civil service in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Highly educated domestic bureaucrats, usually with law degrees, served Kállay as a reliable support in public administration, although a significant part of the administration still consisted of foreigners (officials from different parts of Austria-Hungary).³⁴ It should be only mentioned that the Austro-Hungarian government in Bosnia and Herzegovina for a time considered the idea of establishing a university in Sarajevo within the context of its cultural mission there, but given public opinion at the time the idea of a Sarajevo university was left for later times.³⁵

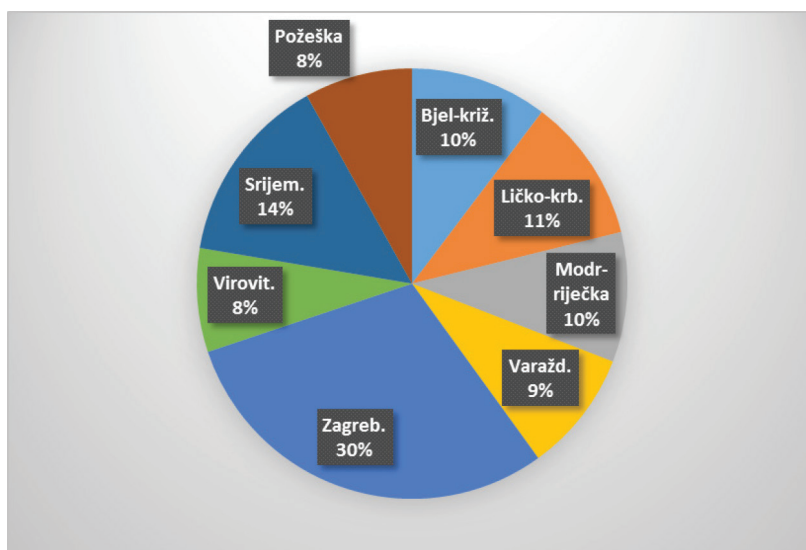


Chart 6. Students at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb from Croatian and Slavonian counties by place of birth (1874-1918)³⁶

³³ Thanks to Benjamin Kállay, an institute for Bosnian students who studied at the University of Vienna was established in Vienna (LIS 2020: 634).

³⁴ LIS 2020: 630, 633-634.

³⁵ This idea was opposed by the growing nationalism of the local population and political circumstances that forced the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to pursue policies on the periphery cautiously. On the one hand, Austria-Hungary continued to believe that the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina had not attained the desired cultural level, but on the other there was the danger that a university in Sarajevo would become a centre of revolutionary youth, as well as opposing views on the idea in the national press (KASUMOVIĆ 2020: 157-171).

³⁶ HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*.

With regard to the internal framework of student regional background (counties in Croatia and Slavonia), the highest shares of students were those born in Zagreb County (32%). Srijem County had the next highest share, 13% of students, followed by other counties with shares ranging from 7 to 11%. Such a high share of students from Zagreb County is not surprising. It includes students from the city of Zagreb, the political capital and centre of culture and education, which was the strongest recruiting point for students at the University of Zagreb. The numerical superiority of students from Srijem County can be explained by its size and development compared to others. In the latter half of the 19th century, Srijem County had the highest population in the eastern part of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia. Furthermore, its economic development, and thus the development of its bourgeoisie, accelerated in that period. Situated on the Danubian transit route, Srijem County became economically significant to the state, since Vienna sought to make better use of its Danube waterway.³⁷ Those born in the Virovitica and Požega Counties had the lowest shares among Zagreb law students. If we compare the regional picture to that at the Faculty of Philosophy, the county shares virtually coincide.³⁸

Student Circulation

Another issue discussed in this paper is the question of student circulation. It is analysed on the basis of the data about the students' former educational institutions. In the *nacijonali* (admission papers), when enrolling in a faculty, students needed to bring confirmation of attendance of a foreign university or college during the preceding semester (in the case they were not secondary school graduates). This determines student mobility and facilitates insight into the extent that law students in Zagreb, as a significant element in the transfer of knowledge, combined their legal and academic education at universities abroad, especially in the Habsburg Monarchy's significant university centres, such as Prague, Vienna, Graz or Budapest. The influence of circulation by Croatian students at the turn of the century, observed as *longue durée* processes, was strong not only for individual development but also for Croatian society in general.³⁹ The foreign influence conveyed by academic youth to Croatian political, social and cultural life over the last decades of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century had great importance.⁴⁰

³⁷ ŽIVAKOVIĆ-KERŽE 2010: 197-211.

³⁸ At the Faculty of Philosophy, the share of students from Zagreb and Zagreb County was 32%, and it was followed by the group of students born in Srijem County, with 16% (LUETIĆ 2007a: 107).

³⁹ LUETIĆ 2015a: 263.

⁴⁰ This matter was previously discussed. See more about these influences in: LUETIĆ 2015a: 287-289.

In the period leading to the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, student circulation between universities did not require a complicated administrative procedure. Like other universities in the Empire, the University in Zagreb allowed transfers to a foreign university and vice-versa. The only required document was the confirmation of class attendance (the index, or in some cases *dimisorium*, confirmation of leaving the faculty). The university enrolled any student who proved regular status in the preceding semester at a previous university, or had graduated from secondary school and had the diploma to prove it.⁴¹ Croatian students entering Austro-Hungarian universities had to undergo through the same procedure.⁴²

Comparing the total number of individually enrolled law students in Zagreb and the number of those who have spent part of their studies abroad, we come to an extremely large share: 30% of the entire student population at that Faculty of Law in Zagreb had studied abroad at some point in their university education (in a total number 2,115 students).⁴³ This share coincides with the analysis made for the entire university for the 1905/06 academic year: almost a third of the entire student population at the University in Zagreb attended universities and technical colleges elsewhere in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁴⁴ Comparing students at the Faculty of Law and Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb in the same period, we find that the percentage of philosophy students who studied abroad during their studies was slightly lower (there were 20% of such students at the Faculty of Philosophy).⁴⁵

Observing the motives for studying abroad, it should be noted first and foremost that student circulation was a typical phenomenon in the academic population. Their circulation between universities, especially those inside the Monarchy, was a regular student practice throughout the observed period. Among the more common motives for going abroad to study was the lack of certain professions and professors at the University of Zagreb, departures due to regulations governing university reciprocity, and the desire to improve knowledge. However, student trips

⁴¹ AKADEMIČKI PROPISI 1898: 3. According to these provisions, which also applied to enrolment in other universities in the Monarchy, the status of full-time student could also be secured by those who were already “regularly enrolled in this or another university” or “foreigners” who had completed the required education according to the regulations of their country “or if they come from a foreign university and present the proper university certificate.”

⁴² LUETIĆ 2015a: 268.

⁴³ The total number of individually enrolled students at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in the period 1874-1918 was 6,989. Dividing this number by 2,115 points to the conclusion that a third of the entire student population at that Faculty of Law in Zagreb studied abroad for some period of their education.

⁴⁴ The number of Croatian academics who studied abroad in the 1905/06 academic year was 423, and the number of students enrolled in the University of Zagreb that year was 1,092 (STATISTIČKI GODIŠNJAK 1913: 754). See more in: LUETIĆ 2015a, 264.

⁴⁵ LUETIĆ 2007b: 45.

abroad were not only dictated by academic reasons: political circumstances also forced students to leave Zagreb. The most significant waves of student departures from Zagreb happened in 1895 after the incident involving students burning the Hungarian flag during the emperor's visit⁴⁶ and in 1908 when a major student strike occurred in response to the curtailment of the university's autonomy.⁴⁷ There were also many entangled reasons of a personal nature, youthful curiosity, fascination with certain university centres and the tradition of studying abroad at specific places.⁴⁸

Among these students who studied abroad for one or more semesters, some of them combined study in different terms in different university centres. Of the individually enrolled students at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb who came from a foreign university or spent at least one semester abroad during their studies (2,115 students), 1,985 of them studied at one foreign university, while 130 of them attended two or more foreign universities (which accounts for roughly 6%). The most frequent combination of studying abroad was a combination of study in Vienna and Prague or Vienna and Graz. Some combined study at several universities for different reasons, such as Franjo Brelić, who combined his legal education studying in four different university centres.⁴⁹ Some repeatedly frequented different universities in different periods; for example, Teodor Kušević combined studies in Zagreb and Graz.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ On the political events in 1895, see: JANJATOVIĆ 1997: 91-108; HRVATSKI ĐACI 1995; RACKO 1990: 233-245; KENT 2007: 162-177; ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ 2014.

⁴⁷ The second major "exodus" of Croatian students occurred during the summer term of 1907/08. This time students were motivated by the retirement and suspension of university professors Đuro Šurmin and Gavro Manojlović, imposed by the regime of Ban Pavao Rauch. In this way, the regime violated the university's honour and autonomy. Students boycotted classes and did not enrol in the summer term. They left Zagreb and continued their studies in foreign university centres. According to the student magazine *Hrvatski djak*, 650 students left Zagreb (*Hrvatski djak* 1908: 163-164). More on this strike in: LUETIĆ 2012b: 295-326.

⁴⁸ More about motives for studying abroad in: LUETIĆ 2015a: 268-277.

⁴⁹ Franjo Brelić – a future lawyer in Rijeka – studied at four universities (Budapest, Zagreb, Vienna, and Graz). He completed the first semester of his legal education in Budapest. After that, he enrolled in Zagreb for 3 semesters (as of the second term in 1893/94). After he was expelled from the University in Zagreb in autumn 1895 (for the political crime), he continued his studies in Vienna and Graz, where he finally finished his academic education (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 33, 34; HR-HDA, 501, kut. 31, br. spisa 188/1902, absolutorij br. 56/1897/1898).

⁵⁰ Teodor Kušević's academic years: he studied at the Faculty of Law in Graz in 1882/83, at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in 1883/84, and at the Faculty of Law in Graz in the first term of 1885/86 and at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb in the second term of 1885/86 (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 21, 24; HR-HDA, 501, kut. 8, absolutorij br. 16/1886).

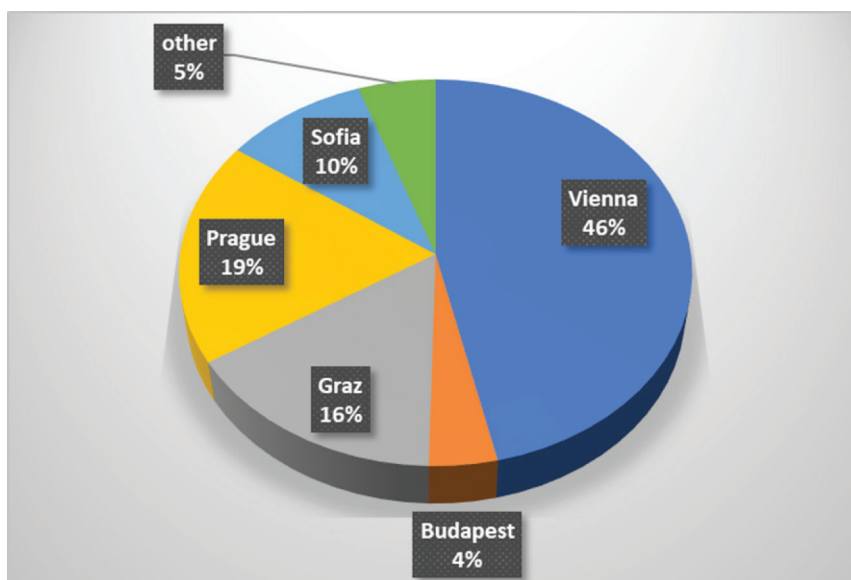


Chart 7. Students of the Faculty of Law in Zagreb (1874-1918) studying abroad⁵¹

In order to provide some basic insight into the number of law students from Zagreb at foreign universities, chart 7 presents their proportions at universities and technical colleges abroad, where they studied in combination with education in Zagreb. According to this analysis, which includes all semesters of Zagreb law students spent abroad, it is clear that the University of Vienna had a major advantage over other universities in terms of being chosen for foreign study. Nearly half (46%) of those Zagreb law students who spent part of their education abroad chose the Monarchy's capital for their studies.⁵² Looking into this significant share, it should be mentioned that the majority of them studied at the Faculty of Law in Vienna, while five of them studied at the Vienna Medical School,⁵³ and four at the Vienna Faculty of Philosophy.⁵⁴ Apart from universities, three law students from

⁵¹ HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*.

⁵² More details on Croatian students and professors in Vienna during the "long" 19th century in: IVELJIĆ 2015a: 291-356. On the experience of Croatian students in Vienna, see: ŠVOGER 2020: 207-224. See also Božena Vranješ-Šoljan's paper: VRANJEŠ ŠOLJAN 2015: 357-378.

⁵³ Students attending medical school in Vienna prior to studying law in Zagreb were: Janko Ašperger (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 37); Srećko Šilović (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 167); Milan Miličić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 100); Vilim Pukljak (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 141) and Adolf Beck (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 32).

⁵⁴ Students attending the Philosophy Faculty in Vienna prior to studying law in Zagreb were Luka Domančić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 204); Stjepan Janković (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 111); Alfred Singer (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 156) and Franjo Fancev (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 176).

Zagreb studied at the Vienna Technical College (*Technische Hochschule*),⁵⁵ six at the Academy of Commerce (*Handelsakademie*),⁵⁶ ten at the College for Agriculture (*Hochschule für Bodenkultur*)⁵⁷ and eleven at the College of Veterinary Science (*Tierärztliche Hochschule*).⁵⁸ Law students who were enrolled in Zagreb after studying in Prague account for a total of 462 (19%). Between them, 459 studied at the Faculty of Law in Prague, one at the Prague Medical Faculty,⁵⁹ and two at the Prague Technical College.⁶⁰ Before enrolling at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb, 385 Croatian students were enrolled in Graz. Two of them studied at the Technical College,⁶¹ four at the Graz Medical Faculty,⁶² and one at the Faculty of Philosophy,⁶³ while rest studied law in Graz (373). Among the Monarchy's other

⁵⁵ Students attending the Vienna Technical College prior to studying law in Zagreb were Juraj Jellačić de Buzin (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 176), Vladimir Trifković (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 192); Stjepan Kuturović (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, knj. 82).

⁵⁶ Students attending the Vienna Academy of Commerce prior to studying law in Zagreb were Josip Vladimir Smolčić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 185), Juraj Kolak (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 176); Savo Korica (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 176); Aleksandar Isaković (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 23); Josip Schliff (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 148) and Petar Kihn (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 156).

⁵⁷ Students attending the Vienna College of Agriculture prior to studying law in Zagreb were Ante Čosić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, knj. 174), Ivan Radošević (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, knj. 202), Asim Ugljen (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, knj. 174), Muhamed Uvejs (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, knj. 174); Mihovil Vujičić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 205); Stjepan Vukadin (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 174); Franjo Piskač (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 148); Milan Kraus (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 166); Iztok Tkalčić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 123) and Armin Mosković (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 166).

⁵⁸ Students attending the Vienna College of Veterinary Science prior to studying law in Zagreb were Dragutin Hary (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 141); Josip Jarić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 177); Žarko pl. Kraljić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 214); Stjepan Plasaj (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 176); Mihajlo Vidaković (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 174); Ljubomir Žanko (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 177); Mirko Vranić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 111), Mladen Dungenjović (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 185); Frano Bonacci (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 166), Franjo Gabrek (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 123); Vladimir Markuš (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 156).

⁵⁹ Vladislav Kostić attended the Prague Medical Faculty prior to studying law in Zagreb (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 131).

⁶⁰ Students attending the Prague Technical College prior to studying law in Zagreb were Tomislav Švacov (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 194) and Zvonimir Piškulić (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 156).

⁶¹ Jakov pl. Machiedo attended the Technical College in Graz prior to studying law in Zagreb (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 166) and Uroš Ivanišević (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 112).

⁶² Students attending the Medical Faculty in Graz prior to studying law in Zagreb were Jerko Machiedo (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 205); Baldo Poković (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 243), Aleksandar Weiss (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 243) and Mato Latković (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 30).

⁶³ Damjan Sokol attended the Faculty of Philosophy in Graz prior to studying law in Zagreb (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 156).

universities, the University of Budapest stands out. It was to a lesser extent the choice of Zagreb law students who studied abroad: 97 of them chose Budapest (4%). Among them, 93 studied at the Faculty of Law, three at the Budapest Medical Faculty⁶⁴ and one at the Budapest College of Veterinary Science.⁶⁵ A significant share, 10%, consisted of students who studied at the University of Sofia, while in the remaining 5% included students from other universities and colleges in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy⁶⁶ and outside of it.⁶⁷ It should be mentioned that the situation was quite similar with the students of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb: 40% of these Zagreb students who received a part of their education abroad chose Vienna as a place of study. The University of Vienna was followed by the universities in Prague (19%) and Graz (16%).⁶⁸

Vienna was known as the “Mecca for Croatian students,” since it accounted for most of the Croatian student transfers. However, the importance of the Czech university in Prague to all South Slavic students increased with the onset of the 20th century.⁶⁹ The statistics for Zagreb law students bear this out: by analysing the number of enrolments of those who transferred to Zagreb from the University of Prague until the beginning of the 20th century, only twenty of them studied in the Czech capital, while in the first decade of the 20th century 440 of them at the university there for at least one semester.⁷⁰ However, the great student strike that took place in the summer semester of 1907/08, should be taken into account. The majority of the domestic student transfers went to Prague for one or two semesters.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Students attending the Medical Faculty in Budapest prior to studying law in Zagreb were Stjepan Dvorneković (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 214); Đorđe Surdučki (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 141) and Dragutin Sary (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 141).

⁶⁵ Ignjat Trajbar attended the Budapest College of Veterinary Science prior to studying law in Zagreb (HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*, br. 141).

⁶⁶ According to admissions papers, other universities and colleges in the Habsburg Monarchy attended by students prior to their enrolment in Zagreb’s Faculty of Law included: Debrecen, Innsbruck, Kecskemét, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Krakow, Lviv, Mödling, Pécs, Bratislava (Pozsony), Příbram and Ščavnica.

⁶⁷ According to admissions papers, other universities outside of the Habsburg Monarchy attended by students prior to their enrolment in Zagreb’s Faculty of Law included: Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Marburg and Munich in Germany, Brussels in Belgium, Bern, Fribourg, Geneva and Lausanne in Switzerland, Paris in France and Moscow in Russia.

⁶⁸ LUETIĆ 2015a, 267.

⁶⁹ SUPPAN 1999: 243-244, 246.

⁷⁰ HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*.

⁷¹ For more details on Croatian students in Prague, see: AGIČIĆ 1995: 137-154; AGIČIĆ 1998: 291-315; AGIČIĆ 2000: 262-290.

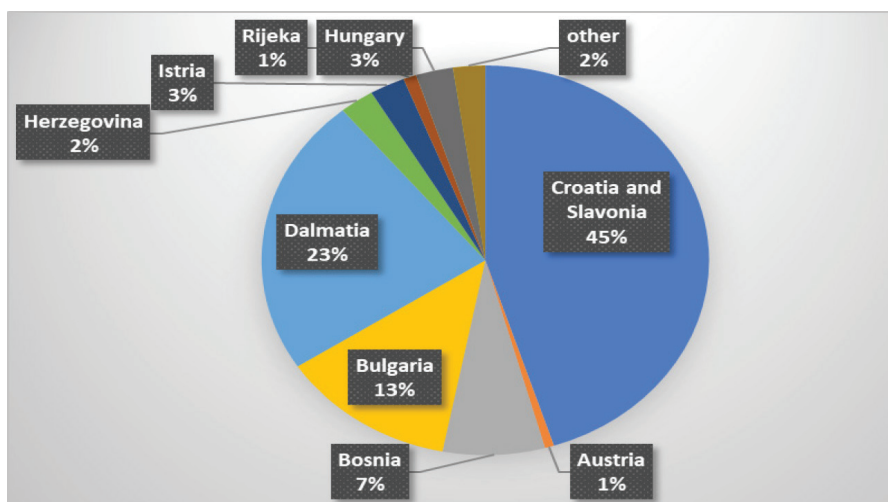


Chart 8. Regional background of the students from the Faculty of Law in Zagreb studying abroad (1874-1918)⁷²

Finally, regarding the Austrian legal acts about the reciprocity of diplomas, the correlation between these two examined categories, student regional background and student circulation, needed to be examined. Analysis of the regional background of students in the Faculty of Law in Zagreb studying abroad was conducted and the results are presented in chart 8. After the majority, consisting of students from Croatia and Slavonia, the largest proportion among those studying abroad consisted of students from Dalmatia (23%), the Croatian territory in the Austrian part of the Monarchy whose students were forced to move to Austrian universities by regulations governing reciprocity. It is obvious that the proportion of Dalmatians who studied abroad is 10% higher than their proportion in the general student population (which was 13%).⁷³ If Bulgarian students, who were in Zagreb due to an exceptional situation (which was, in fact, an anomaly), are excluded from the analysis, then the share of academic youth from Dalmatia studying in Zagreb and abroad is even higher (27%).

If we consider the regional background of those studying in Vienna and Graz, the results show that out of the total number of enrolments of law students from Zagreb in Vienna, 22% were from Dalmatia, while at the faculty in Graz, 46% of students who also studied in Zagreb originally came from Dalmatia. These figures are supported by the data from the University of Graz on the share of students from Dalmatia in the total number of students in the 1902/03 academic

⁷² HR-HDA, 501, *Imenici*.

⁷³ See charts 8 and 1.

year: in that year, the share of Dalmatians in Graz was a high 10%.⁷⁴ There is no doubt that Croatian student circulation was directly influenced by political circumstances.

It can be conclusively stated that the analysis of student regional background showed that the Faculty of Law in Zagreb did not entirely fulfil its anticipated role in connecting the long-separated parts of the Croatian territories (Dalmatia and Istria with Croatia and Slavonia). The majority of law students in Zagreb came from Croatian and Slavonian counties, among whom students from Zagreb County were the most numerous. However, it should be noted that the increase in enrolled students from the Austrian provinces of Dalmatia and Istria showed positive trends and certain modernization processes in linking the divided Croatian regions and the growth of inclusiveness at Zagreb's Faculty of Law. The other planned role for the University of Zagreb, including its Faculty of Law, i.e., playing a crucial educational role among South Slavic students, was also not achieved. The evidence includes modest percentages of students from other South Slavic countries.

In the analysis of student circulation, it is noticeable that it was significant in the late 19th and early 20th centuries: 30% of law students in Zagreb spent a part of their academic education at foreign universities, especially Austrian university centres. Among other reasons, Croatian student circulation was directly influenced by political causes and regulations governing the reciprocity of diplomas.

⁷⁴ OTRUBA 1975: 133.

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Regionalno porijeklo studenata Pravnog Fakulteta Kr. sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu (1874-1918) i studentska cirkulacija

Analize različitih obilježja studentske populacije u razdoblju od osnutka modernog sveučilišta u Zagrebu 1874. do kraja Prvoga svjetskog rata, govore o porijeklu domaće inteligencije, ali i o širenju pristupa visokom obrazovanju, što je predstavljalo postupni i polagani proces modernizacije. Stavljajući fokus na analizu regionalnog porijekla studenata u ovom radu, raščlambe mogu odgovoriti na pitanje je li i u kolikoj mjeri Sveučilište u Zagrebu, odnosno njegov Pravni fakultet, odgovorilo na ciljeve koji su bili postavljeni prilikom njegova osnutka: da bude katalizator promjena u bržem povezivanju stoljećima odvojenih hrvatskih krajeva, te da preuzme prosvjetiteljsku ulogu među ostalim južnoslavenskim narodima.

Osim regionalne slike studenata zagrebačkog Pravnog fakulteta, na temelju podataka u upisnom listu o učilištu na kojemu je student boravio u prethodnom semestru, može se dobiti slika studentske mobilnosti, odnosno njihove cirkulacije, te dobiti predodžba o tome u kojoj su mjeri studenti prava u Zagrebu visokoškolsko obrazovanje kombinirali s pravnom izobrazbom na inozemnim sveučilištima, poglavito u većim sveučilišnim centrima Habsburške Monarhije. Naposljetku, u kontekstu političkih okolnosti i zakonskih akata austrijske politike o reciprocitetu diploma, mogu se uočiti korelacije tih dviju ispitivanih kategorija, studentske zavičajnosti i njihove mobilnosti.

Raščlanivši regionalno porijeklo studenata došlo se do zaključka kako zagrebački Pravni fakultet nije u potpunosti ispunio očekivanja, u smislu priljeva studenata iz Dalmacije i Istre, pokrajina u austrijskom dijelu Monarhije. Većina studenata prava u Zagrebu dolazila je iz županija Hrvatske i Slavonije, među kojima su prednjačili studenti iz Zagrebačke županije. Ipak, treba istaknuti kako porast broja upisanih studenata iz austrijskih pokrajina prema kraju promatranog

razdoblja pokazuje pozitivan trend, ukazujući na određene pomake u procesima povezivanja hrvatskih krajeva. Druga uloga koja je bila postavljena pred Sveučilište i njegov Pravni fakultet bila je vezana uz preuzimanje vodeće uloge u visokoškolskom obrazovanju za ostale južnoslavenske narode. Prema analizama koje pokazuju skromne brojke upisanih studenata iz tih zemalja, zaključuje se kako ovaj cilj nije ostvaren.

Iz analiza studentske cirkulacije, vidljivo je kako je ona krajem 19. i početkom 20. st. bila značajna: 30% studenata prava u Zagrebu provelo je dio svojeg akademskog obrazovanja na inozemnim sveučilištima, prije svega u austrijskim sveučilišnim centrima. Uz ostale razloge, cirkulacija domaćih studenata bila je izravno uvjetovana političkim razlozima, odnosno, zakonskim aktima o reciprocitetu diploma.

Ključne riječi: studenti, studentska cirkulacija, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Pravni fakultet, 19. st., 20. st., sveučilišna povijest, kvantitativna analiza

Keywords: Students, Student Circulation, University in Zagreb, Faculty of Law, 19th Century, 20th Century, History of the Universities, Quantitative Analysis

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