

**PRAVNI FAKULTET U
ZAGREBU**

**REFORMIRANI STUDIJSKI PROGRAM
PRAVNOG STUDIJA**

**FACULTY OF LAW
UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB**

**THE INTEGRATED PROGRAMME OF
THE UNIVERSITY LEGAL STUDIES**



Zagreb, 2005.

FACULTY OF LAW IN ZAGREB FROM ITS BEGINNING IN 1776 TO 1918

I. Tradition of legal education in the Croatian regions to the 18th century

Faculty of Law in Zagreb was the first stable institution of legal education in the Croatian regions. Because of that its appearance and its role shall be expounded in a wider legal-cultural context that includes preceding tradition of legal education.

The first elements of legal education in the Croatian tradition appeared from the earliest period of the university education in Europe. The proximity of Italian faculties and the immersion of medieval Croatian life in European culture led to the presence of Croatian students at the most renowned European universities almost from the time of their foundation. Thus, among the early presences at the University of Bologna was *Paulus Hungarus seu Dalmata*, who studied law around 1220 in the following decades a series of clerics from the Zagreb diocese studied canon law. Croatian students started to flow to Padua shortly after the university was founded there in 1222. Their presence is also confirmed at the universities in Central Europe founded in the 14th century: Vienna, Krakow and Prague. From the 14th century onwards there was a small colony of Croatian students at the University of Paris, some of whom were studying law. Students from Zagreb mostly studied in Padua but turned toward Bologna after 1553 when Paulus Zondinus, doctor of law and the praepositus of Zagreb and Esztergom (Hungary), founded there the *Collegium Hungarico-Illyricum*. This *Collegium*, which was run by the Zagreb's Capitol after Zondinus death, was active till 1781 when it was abolished as a part of the church reforms of Joseph II. The *Collegium* hosted both clergy and laity and large number of legal scholars pursued education there.

The early scholars of law brought to their homeland legal books and formed the first libraries commonly linked to churches and monasteries. They became the first hotbeds of legal knowledge and legal culture. The elements of legal knowledge were also acquired at cathedral schools such as lectures on canon and civil law held at the Zagreb cathedral school founded around 1304.

Still, attempts to establish systematic legal education at home were few and short lasting. The reasons for this were manifold, and included, among other, low economic development, lack of stronger urban centres with developed legal tradition and culture, but also a discriminatory Venetian administration in Dalmatia, which recognized only the academic titles acquired in Padua. Furthermore, there were very few Croatian students, while the vicinity of the most famous European schools of law in Italy precluded from the start the development of other nuclei.

The first attempt at public legal training in the Croatian tradition is registered in the Republic of Dubrovnik where a public lectures in canon law were given from

1462 to 1464 which occasionally reappeared in later periods. The next attempt was made in Zagreb where in 1613 or some time before, the Zagreb prepositor Baltazar Napuly Dvorničić (1560 - 1624), the Bologna-educated doctor of theology and civil law, organised private law school in which he publicly educated in civil and canon law. It can be assumed that in his lectures Napuly also made use of his manuscript *Methodica processum directio*, which he wrote as Rector of the Hungarian-Croatian College in Bologna in 1590. Even though the school closed down after his death it still testified to a widely-felt need for bearers of legal knowledge who were not exclusively members of the clergy. It also showed that educated Croatian experts were capable of introducing talented individuals from their own surroundings into the field of law.

However, systematic legal education did not appear at the Jesuit Academy in Zagreb (*Neoacademia Zagrabiensis*) founded in 1669. It was only in 1727 when two-year course of Canon Law was introduced as part of the newly established study of theology. From 1683 Canon Law was also taught at the study of theology in the Paulin monastery in Lepoglava (close to the town of Varaždin); in 1671 that study was upgraded to *studium generale* with a right of conferring doctorates but was closed down with the abolishment of the Paulin order in 1786. Canon law was also taught from 1396 to 1807 at the Dominican *stadium generale* in Zadar (renowned in 1495) with a privilege of conferring academic grades since 1553.

But apart of such fragments of legal education systematic changes will come only with the administrative reforms of Maria Theresa when the Political-Cameral Studies in Varaždin were established in 1769.

II. Political-Cameral Studies in Varaždin and Zagreb 1769-1776

The process of replacing bodies based on the feudal estates system with a more modern administrative apparatus, which Maria Theresa started in the second part of the 18th century, soon revealed a lack of adequately educated persons. The real extent of this problem came to light in the course of reorganising the supreme administration in Croatia-Slavonia in 1767, when the Royal Council (*Consilium Regium in regnis Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*) directly subordinate to the Empress, was established as the home government for Croatia-Slavonia. (Dalmatia only virtually belonged to Croatia as it had been proclaimed the Habsburg's hereditary land). The urgent need to create a qualified administrative structure was the reason that Political-Cameral Studies (*Stadium politico-camerale*) were founded in Varaždin in 1769. A combination of circumstances made Varaždin the seat of the Royal Council so the Royal Order decreed that the newly established study be placed in Varaždin "only for that period of time for which the Croatian Royal Council will retain its seat in the said town". Still, based on the proposal by the Royal Council, the study was transferred to Zagreb in 1772, although the transfer of the Council to Zagreb had not taken place by then. It was only moved to

Zagreb in 1776, following a catastrophic fire in Varaždin that destroyed the building which seated the Council.

The basic goal of this study was to train the necessary administrative staff, as former attempts at financially supporting talented young men for their studies in Vienna had proved insufficient. The Royal Decree on the establishment of Political-Cameral Studies appointed the first professor, Adalbert Barić (1742-1804). His appointment was explained not only with his moral and professional qualities but also because "he speaks the Croatian language, and can thus gear his efforts and studies to the Croatian people". However, German was chosen as the language of instruction, and the textbook *Grundsätze der polizey- Handlung- und Finanzwissenschaft* by Joseph von Sonnenfels used at the University of Vienna was prescribed.

As early as August 1769, the Croatian Royal Council notified all counties and free royal towns about the studies, but this met with no response from potential students. The Council put this lack of response down to the fact that it was a new study, the beginning of the school year was already under way, and that ignorance of the German language was an obstacle. For this reason, the Council, in agreement with Professor Barić, sent a new circular in December of that year, stating that the lectures would be held in the Latin language.

Thus, the first half of 1770 saw the beginning of the new study in Latin. Barić translated Sonnenfels' book into Latin and used it to teach administrative sciences, economic policy and finance.

It seems that the study lasted two years, and the students could take *tentamina publica* and examinations (*examina*). *Tentamina publica* were public demonstrations of the student's knowledge of the whole, or part, of the study material. The student would select certain postulates (*positiones*) from the subject matter, set them in a certain order and expound on them in a *tentamina publica*, repeating the theses from the lectures. The examinations were held in August every year in the presence of one member of the Croatian Royal Council who submitted his report on the success of the students and progress in their studies to the Council. The examinations were linked to eligibility for the Queen's scholarships so, as a rule they were taken by those students who needed financial support.

At the beginning, the student corpus consisted mainly of noblemen, but in time students of common origin prevailed. The ten students enrolled in 1770 also included Croats and Hungarians, some of whom had already received higher education. The number of graduate students of the Political-Cameral Studies was probably low and their education poor. However, these students represented the basic core whose task was to make the former backward administration more professional and modern.

The Political-Cameral Studies were transferred from Varaždin to Zagreb in 1772 and placed in the Jesuit Academy on St. Catherine's Square, today's Upper Town Grammar School.

III. The Royal Academy of Sciences in Zagreb and the Faculty of Law 1776 - 1850

1. Organisation of the Royal Academy of Sciences

The year 1776 saw transfer of the Croatian central institutions (the Ban and the Royal Council, the Ban's Bench) from Varaždin to Zagreb as well as foundation of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Zagreb associated with the Principal Grammar School (*Regia scientiarum academia Zagrebiensis cum Archygymnazio*). The final return of the Croatian central political bodies to Zagreb and the foundation of the Royal Academy played an important role in turning Zagreb, then a moderately-sized town with 2,815 inhabitants, into the political and cultural centre of Croatia-Slavonia.

The former institutions of higher education, the Jesuit's Academy and the Political-Cameral Studies were merged in this newly established institution that consisted of studies in philosophy, theology and law.

The establishment of the Royal Academy of Sciences was part of efforts by the Royal administration to build up the educational system in the Monarchy in the spirit of rationalism and enlightenment. The system of education was placed under state authority after abolishment of the Jesuit Order in 1773, which until then had been the bearer of education in the whole Monarchy.

Thus, the Royal Academy of Sciences was founded by the Queen's Mandate of 5th August 1776 (*Benignum mandatum regium de systemate studiorum*). Despite its incomplete nature, the Mandate set down model of organisation that would not be essentially changed until the demise of the Academy.

The Mandate introduced a hierarchical scheme in the entire educational system. For the regions of Croatia-Slavonia, Međimurje, and Rijeka with Littoral, a uniform school district was formed with the centre in Zagreb. It embraced all elementary and grammar schools, the Principal Grammar School in Zagreb (*Capitale Gymnasium* or *Archygynasium*) and the Royal Academy of Sciences in Zagreb. The head of the district was a royal high director of schools and colleges (*superior regius studiorum et scholarum director*). He was appointed by the Queen and subordinated to the Croatian Royal Council to which he submitted reports; after abolishment of that body in 1790 its competences were transferred to the Hungarian Council of Lieutenancy. The high director managed the affairs of the Academy, while the director of the Academy (*prodirector* or *localis director*), who was his subordinate, represented him in current matters. The director headed the academic magistrate consisting of vice-deans and the vice-director of the Principal Grammar School as well as the Academy chaplain. The first high director was

Nikola Škrlec Lomnički, one of the leading figures of the Hungarian and Croatian intellectual and political life, known because of his cameralist orientation.

The studies of philosophy, theology and law organized as separate "faculties" (*facultates*) were based on a two-year courses. The two-year study at the Faculty of Philosophy provided general education in humanistic and natural sciences and gave deeper knowledge in philosophical disciplines. Its role was also to prepare the candidates for the two-year studies of theology and law, which could be attended only after completing the Faculty of Philosophy.

Each of professors at the faculties encompassed several subjects and one associate professor at each faculty substituted absent professors. The Queens Mandate prescribed that at the Faculty of Law (*Facultas Iuridica*) four professors should teach compulsory subjects of Canon Law (*professor iuris canonici*), Natural Law, International Law and General Public Law (*professor iuris naturae, gentium et iuris publici universalis*), Civil Law and the Theory of National Law (*professor iuris civilis et iuris patrii theoretici*), Administrative Science, Cameral Sciences and Economics (*professor politicae qui accesserit studia cameralia quoque ac aeconomica tractabit*).

The Royal Mandate prescribed that professorial posts were to be filled through announcements "regardless of class and social position", that is, from the ranks of commoners as well. Distinguished persons with well-known abilities or highly learned people could be appointed directly.

Among the first appointed professors were Adalbert Barić, formerly a professor at the Political-Cameral Studies who continued teaching cameral disciplines, and Josip Petrović (1751-1818) who was appointed a professor in Civil Law and National Law. Both of them would soon be moved to the University of Buda-Pest but the latter would return to Zagreb in 1782 as being appointed a director of the Zagreb's Royal Academy of Sciences.

On 11th October 1776 high director Nikola Škrlec convened formal session of all professors and the work of the faculties began on the 4th November 1776. That date is today celebrated as the Day of the Faculty of Law.

In 1777, the Mandate of Maria Theresa was replaced by a more extensive and detailed act *Ratio educationis totiusque rei literariae per regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas*. This Act envisaged that Kingdom of Hungary should have one university (in Buda) and one academy in each of the five school districts. Four districts were in Hungary while the fifth was the Zagreb's school district founded by the Queen's Mandate of 5th August 1776. Academies were on a step below universities, and could not confer academic titles.

The *Ratio educationis 1777* provided that at Faculty of Law in Zagreb, four full professors and one associate professor should have been appointed. The teaching subjects prescribed by the *Ratio Educationis 1777* were the Public Law and What It

Appertained To (*Ius publicum & quae eodem pertinent*), National Law together with Customary Law (*Ius patrium una cum usibus receptis consuetudinibus*), Administrative Science, Commerce and Public Finance (*Politica, commercium & rei aerae scientiae*), and the History of European Countries, General History and Courses in Public News (*Historia provinciarum europearum, Historia universalis & Collegium novorum publicorum*). Even though that the new plan appeared as different from the one prescribed by the Queens Mandate of 1776 the old plan was not substantially changed. The first three compulsory courses had already been taught from 1776 under different names. The real novelty was historical subjects that appeared under the names of General History and the History of Estates (*Historia Universalis et Historia Statuum*). Canon Law was continued to be taught although *Ratio educationis 1777* did not prescribe it as a compulsory course.

Along with these compulsory courses, the *Ratio educationis 1777* provided for some optional subjects at the Faculty of Law. Thus, in Zagreb professor of Public Law taught Diplomacy as part of extra-mural lectures, professor of Administrative Sciences held instructions in Numismatics (the study of the coins of Hungary), Forestry and Accounting while professor of National Law taught Justinian's Institutions. Professor had to have a master's degree obtained from a university and election of academy lecturers could only be made at the University of Buda.

Although Latin was the language of teaching, the *Ratio educationis 1777* did not ban the use of national languages. However, it is doubtful that Croatian was used to some greater extent despite the fact that lecturers and students were predominantly of Croatian nationality. Still, from 1819 to 1831 professor of the National Law Imbrih Domin Petruševčki (1776-1848), or Imbro Domin in a more conventional version, published a series of shorter textbooks in private law (basically Tripartite) in the (local) *kajkavian* dialect of the Croatian language. That probably indicates that Croatian language was used to some extent. It is interesting that in 1832 the Professors Council permitted that law student Matija Smodek teach other students the Croatian language (the *kajkavian* dialect). Smodek continued to do it till 1846, even-though he was appointed a professor in Statistics at the Faculty of Law in 1835. Intention of the Hungarian Council of Lieutenancy to introduce Hungarian as the language of instruction in 1841 was deferred by the Supreme School Directorship with the argument that, because of the students not speaking Hungarian, teaching would be like "preaching to deaf rocks". However, Hungarian language was introduced at the Academy as an optional subject after ending up of the Josephin absolutism in 1791 and was turned to compulsory subject from 1833 to 1848, during strong Hungarian political pressure on Croatia.

Apart from lectures, other forms of teaching, according to the *Ratio educationis 1777*, included exercises (*exercitationes*), public disputations (*publicae disputationes*), *tentamina* and defences (*defensiones*). The *Ratio educationis 1777* prescribed the testing at the end of each semester.

In 1784 the entire Faculty of Theology was transferred to the Central Seminary so that the Academy was reduced to two studies. At the same time subject Canon Law ceased to be taught at the Faculty of Law.

The revision of the too detailed *Ratio educationis 1777* in 1806 brought a more significant alteration in the plan of the Faculty of Law. General History and the History of Estates were omitted in the new curriculum while the new subjects of Statistics and Mineral Exploitation Law (*Statisticae et Ius Metallicum*) and Commercial and Exchange Law (*Ius Mercantile*) were introduced. But apart of that the courses of General History and the History of Estates continued to be taught until 1810. They were replaced by Statistics and Mineral Exploitation Law only in 1813.

2. Content of the teaching subjects

Except for these alterations, the syllabus of the Faculty of Law did not change fundamentally. Changes took place gradually and *via facti* inside the chairs that embraced several subjects.

The chair of Public Law and What It Appertained To embraced subjects of Natural Law, General Public Law, International Law and Public Law, and Canon Law of Hungary. The prescribed textbook was *De lege naturali positiones* (Vindobonae, 1772) by Karlo Antun Martini, which contained only expositions on Natural Law. That subject had an introductory role into legal studies, following a model of the University of Vienna where it was introduced in 1753. Towards the end of the Academy's existence, the Austrian Public Law was also taught as part of that subject.

According to the *Ratio educationis 1777* the chair of National Law was to be based on study of the history of Hungarian law, including Hungarian penal law. Then it should have been followed with a study of positive Hungarian law, of which court procedures were to be taught in the last semester. Because there was no textbook for this subject, the *Ratio educationis 1777* proposed that the history of Hungarian law was to be taught from some mimeographed course materials, while penal law was to draw on the Theresian Code. The books of Imbrih Domin Petruševčki, that had already been mentioned, covered both historical and systematic parts of the subject.

The chair of Administrative Science, Commerce and Public Finance embraced a group of subjects that was taught at the Political-Cameral Studies. *Ratio educationis 1777* prescribed von Sonnenfels's book as a provisional solution because it was based on the Austrian and not the Hungarian law but in fact it lasted until the Academy's demise. There was a note that prior to teaching the course material of this subject, it was necessary to study the subject "Knowledge of Crafts, Handicrafts and Artisanhip" for which there was no manual either, but work of Johann Heinrich Justi was suggested. In 1806 Commercial and Exchange Law

were added to this chair as compulsory subjects and the same professors taught *stylus curialis*.

The Chair of the History of European Countries, General History, and a Course in Public News should have broadened the knowledge of history already acquired at the Faculty of Philosophy. As it was mentioned these courses were taught as the History of Estates and General History (*Historia Statuum et Historia Universalis*). The History of Estates was taught at the first year and it dealt with the history of more important European countries on the basis of the book *Geschichte der heutigen vornehmsten europaeischen Staaten im Grundrisse* (Göttingen 1773) by Goetfried Achenwall from the University of Göttingen, prescribed by the *Ratio educationis 1777*. According to the *Ratio educationis 1777* General History was to be taught in the second year on the basis of synchronistic tables and historical geography, the history of culture, religion, art and the economy, while the recommended textbook was Johann Christoph Gatterer's *Handbuch der Universalhistorie nach ihrem gesamten Umfange bis auf unsere Zeiten vortgesetzt* (Göttingen 1764). Thus, the teaching of history was based on the works of historians from the University of Göttingen known for being based in the tradition of historical erudition from the 17th century and developing auxiliary historical sciences. The adoption of their achievements in Croatia had wider importance and contributed to the process of "scientification" of the Croatian historical science and social sciences. The Course in Public News should have been based on the professor's presentation of the most important current events. In practice it was held extramurally by a professor of Ecclesiastical History at the Faculty of Theology.

As it was noted before, Canon Law was not prescribed as a compulsory subject in legal studies. In one of the Queen's letters it was decreed that, until the proper manual was written, the textbook by Paul Joseph von Riegger, *Institutiones iurisprudentiae ecclesiasticae* (Vindobonae 1774) was to be used temporarily.

In regard to the subjects Statistics (thet time statistiksts consisted in a description of the main geographical, social and political characteristics of certain European states) and Mineral Exploitation it shall be noted that the first professor, Josip Jurjević de Toul (1785-1875), published textbooks *Institutiones iuris metallici Hungariae* (Zagrabiae 1822) and *Theoria statisticae* (Zagrabiae 1825) that reffered to a number of authors, including contemporary ones. Jurjević was transferred to the University in Pest in 1835.

3. Professors and students

Along with full professors, associate professors were also elected, as well as supplementary teachers who replaced full professors for shorter or longer periods, some of them becoming full professors. Supplementary teachers regularly held a course of the Hungarian language, but also substituted for other subjects. They provided considerable assistance in teaching, but despite this, some chairs at the

Faculty of Law, as indeed in the whole Academy, were severely understaffed. This was almost customary at the beginning of the 19th century and up to the 1830s. In 1810-1811 only professor served at the Juridical Faculty, while in 1825 two professors hold lectures in all disciplines. The contemporaries indicated that the imposed teaching regime and the state control could be an important reason for such situation. Some more distinguished contemporaries harshly criticised the quality of teaching at the Academy but some of them also claimed that despite everything the Zagreb Academy put forth expert lawyers.

The students of the Faculty of Law came mostly from Croatia-Slavonia, but there were also students from other Croatian regions as well as from Hungary. The number of students rose in line with social development as well as with the stability of the Academy itself. In 1785 there were only 13 students of law but in the period from 1826 to 1850 their number ranged from 35 in 1845/46 to 48 in 1839/40. Up to the abolishment of the Academy in 1850 around 2000 students of law passed through the Academy. They mostly came from noble and bourgeois families because until 1844 only noblemen could hold the posts of civil servants outside the free towns; however, there were also students of peasant's origin. Out of 13 law students in 1785 (8 at the first year and 5 at the second year) 9 of them were of noble origin, 2 of civil and 2 of peasant origin.

For Zagreb and Croatia at that time, the Academy was an important cultural and intellectual potential. Still, the main obstacles to the desired quality of the Academy – its narrow pragmatic purpose as well as working conditions - could only be surmounted with a radical change. In fact, efforts to establish a university study in Zagreb occasionally appeared since 1774 and continued to be raised through the 19th century. However, the demise of the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1850 and foundation of the new Royal Academy of Legal Science that same year did not stem from these attempts nor did it satisfy them. It would, however, pave the way for future development.

IV. The Royal Academy of Legal Science in Zagreb 1850-1874 and attempts to establish the university

1. Foundation of the Academy of Legal Science

The March Constitution 1849, that partly accepted liberal achievements of 1848, laid down the ground for modernisation of the Monarchy in an absolutist framework. One of the crucial achievements should have been the reform of the entire educational system that was prepared in Vienna in 1848 on the basis of the respective Prussian liberal reform. In the new system grammar schools were to become schools of general education that prepared students for university education. For this reason grammar schools were extended from six to eight years and two-year courses of philosophy were transferred from Royal academies of sciences to grammar schools as their seventh and eighth classes.

The said reform was carried out in 1850 by Count Leo Thun, the Minister of Religion and Education in the Imperial Government. In Croatia, the Royal Academy of Sciences in Zagreb was abolished and its two-year course of philosophy transferred to the Principal Grammar School while the Royal Academy of Legal Science based on three-year course was founded instead. The new Academy had remained the only institution of higher education in Croatia until the foundation of the University in 1874.

The Academy of Legal Science was meant to be a transitional solution towards creating uniform law study for all students in Austrian lands. The unified principles of study were to be launched after improvements in the level of education in Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia. Organisation of the Academy in Zagreb was defined by its Provisional Statute prescribed by the Ministry of Religion and Education in Vienna. It was to be valid "until it became possible to transform the said academy into a proper faculty with academic freedom of learning and instruction". The professors were directly subordinate to the principal, who submitted his reports to the Ministry of Education in Vienna via the Ban.

At the beginning, the students were not forced to follow any set curricula, but were obliged to attend 15 hours of lectures a week. *Tentamina publica* and examinations were abolished and semestral and yearly exams were introduced. The Statute prescribed that the lecturers should teach two hours a day in the Croatian language, and only exceptionally in Latin, if a suitable professor could not be found. By the King's decree, all subjects were divided among the four professors that were transferred from the previous Faculty of Law. Lecturers in Austrian Civil Law and Austrian Penal Law were appointed subsequently. In 1853, the Academy of Legal Science, with its 33 enrolled students, took the third place among five similar institutions in the Monarchy.

The teaching plan of the Academy prescribed that twelve subjects needed by civil servants, public notaries and lawyers be taught: Philosophy of Law with an Encyclopaedic Introduction into Legal and Administrative Sciences, Penal Law and Penal Procedure, Private Law valid hitherto, Austrian Civil Law, Commercial and Exchange Law, Theory of Statistics, General European and Austrian Statistics, Austrian National Law, Political Sciences, Mineral Exploitation Law, Canon Law, Theory of Procedures in Civil Suits with New Laws Issued in Croatia and Slavonia, and the Analysis of Financial and Administrative Regulations Issued for this Kingdom. Along with these subjects, Forensic Medicine was also taught from 1849.

The teaching plan was improved in 1852 when the chairs of Canon Law and Roman Law were established. However, no one applied for the Roman Law so that the professor of Austrian National Law took over lecturing of this subject in the summer semester. More significant improvement came with the new regulation on Austrian universities and law academies of 1855. It provided for introduction of the new subjects to the Academy as well as for a strict schedule and compulsory

attendance of lectures. The new compulsory courses that were introduced were Political Economics, Hungarian-Transylvanian Law, and Austrian Statistics and Public Finances. The new optional subjects that were prescribed were the Feudal Law or History of the Particular Austrian Lands, and the State Accounting. In September 1856 a course in the History of the Austrian Empire was introduced, within which elements of Croatian history were taught as well.

The regulation permitted direct transfer from the Academy to university. After three years' education at the Academy a candidate could take two more semesters at university where he could make "rigorous exams" and receive an academic degree (doctorate). However, such regulation still motivated better students to enrol directly to foreign universities and led to further decrease in the number of students at the Academy. It also led to the employment of second-class teaching staff at the Academy and lower level of education than desired. Even by 1852, the director of the Academy, supported by the ban, pleaded for the introduction of "proper faculty studies" with freedom of learning and instruction, and the right to confer academic degrees. But apart of that, the reform in 1855 imposed additional constraints. It provided that instead of two semesters, as many as four had to be spent at university under special supervision from the dean, as a precondition to take rigorous exams. Also, from 1855 to 1861 German was imposed as the teaching language at the Academy.

Thus, even-though legal education was improved at the Legal Academy - as compared to legal study at the old Academy - it was still far below to what Croatian political and cultural elite expected. The main purpose of the Academy of Legal Science was to train needed administrative and legal personnel and to prepare the ground for the legal unification of the whole Monarchy. Its purpose was not to deliver and develop fundamental academic knowledge but to educate clerks. Because of that it neither could become a nucleus of enlightenment and generator of progress in the society nor could it legitimise the maturity of the national culture in regard to the environment. Therefore, the establishment of the Academy gave further impetus to attempts toward opening a university.

The end of absolutism in 1859 and the partial restoration of constitutionality in the Monarchy in 1860 did not, however, bring any essential changes to the position of the Academy of Legal Science.

2. Reconstitution of the Academy of Legal Science in 1868

The return of the constitutionality was seen in Croatia as an opportunity to establish modern national institutions. Among the most important features were improvement of education and foundation of the elite cultural institutions (university, academy of sciences, national museum).

Thus, in 1861 and again in 1865 the Croatian Diet passed laws on the foundation of a university in Zagreb, but these attempts proved fruitless since they were rejected by the King. Further political turnabouts around the Croatian position in

Monarchy and in Hungary ended with the conclusion of the Croatian – Hungarian Compromise in 1868. It was accepted by the Croatian Diet elected at the manipulated elections. As a reward to the loyal Diet the King ordered that from September 1868 the study at the Academy of Legal Science be prolonged to four years, the faculty programme be implemented to the Academy and allowed that the study at the Academy be directly continued at any university.

The reconstitution of the Academy followed already mentioned Austrian regulation of 1855. Thus, the first two years consisted of the introductory subjects while in the next two years positive law and administrative disciplines were taught. For this reason, eight principal chairs were added to the earlier teaching plan: Roman Law, Legal History, Canon Law, Civil Law, Civil Procedure, Penal Law, two chairs in Political Sciences and "if means allow a chair in History and Philosophy". The last two chairs were meant to be a nucleus of the future Faculty of Philosophy. The Legal Academy was supervised by the department of education of the Croatian Autonomous Government founded in 1869.

The King's decree provided for such curriculum:

1 st year	2 nd year	3 rd year	4 th year
Legal history (two semesters)	Canon Law (two semesters)	Austrian Civil Law	Austrian Civil Procedure
Roman Law (two semesters)	Ethics	Penal Law	Non-contentious Civil Procedure
Austrian History (two semesters)	History of Slavic Law	Penal Procedure	Constitutional and Administrative Policy
	Croatian-Hungarian Private Law	National Economics	Austrian Mineral Law
	Philosophy of Law	Public finances	Austrian Statistics
	Encyclopaedia of Law	International and Public Law	Practica&Relatoria of Penal Procedure (extraordinarium)
	European Statistics		Austrian Financial Legislation (extraordinarium)
	Feudal Law		Practica&relatoria of Civil Procedure (extraordinarium)
			Forensic Medicine (extraordinarium)
			State Accounting (extraordinarium)

Further step to the Austrian university standards was the abolition of annual and biannual examinations and the introduction of state theoretical examinations, as well as the introduction of the university *index lectionum*. This was finally put into practice in 1870-1871, but not before persistent pressure to government had been exerted by the Professors' Council.

There were three theoretical examinations. The first one in legal history could be taken after the fourth semester and embraced Roman Law, Canon Law, and General Legal History in conjunction with the legal history of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The judicial and administrative exams were taken later. As it was already projected, rigorous exams at some of the Austrian universities could be taken without any preconditions except for the records of the achieved study results.

But this normative framework, aimed at forming a transitional kind of academic study and not at just improving the level of high school, met with serious problems. Despite all the changes, the Academy of Legal Science remained in essence a school that trained essential administrative staff. The lack of adequate expert teaching staff as well as financial problems, political instability in the period after the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise, strict administrative control of the Croatian Government, and the arrogant rule of the Ban Levin Rauch additionally aggravated the situation. All this led to various difficulties and filling the chairs with suitable staff was a special problem.

During the Academy's life, almost every lecturer held several various subjects. Overburdened with teaching and hampered by constantly changing working conditions, they could not achieve any outstanding results. To make matters worse, there was a constant fluctuation of teachers so that in 25 years of Academy's existence about twenty-five teachers of different status passed through it. Some of professors were appointed to high judicial or administrative posts while others displayed various "deficiencies" on a political level (being members of political opposition) or on a personal level.

During Academy's existence only two manuals were published. One was on Encyclopaedia of Law, written by supplementary teacher Mirko Mikuličić in 1868. It followed model of the manual of Tivadar Pauler, professor at the Academy of Legal Sciences in Győr, who previously taught that subject in Zagreb from 1835 to 1848. The other was on the Mineral Exploitation Law published by Matija Smodek in 1862.

It was obvious that neither the number of teaching staff at the Legal Academy nor their average quality would satisfy more demanding requirements of the university teaching. Because of that talented students were sent to finish their study in Vienna and then return work as teachers at the Academy for the following 10 years. Most of them actually did take posts at the Academy of Legal Science and then at the University.

But in spite of all these problems the Academy of Legal Science prepared the ground for establishment of the University and the Faculty of Law in 1874.

V. University of Zagreb and the Faculty of Law 1874-1918

1. Organisational framework and professors

The foundation of the University was more or less a matter of time after the reconstitution of the Legal Academy in 1868. Thus, on the occasion of the king's visit to Zagreb in 1869 the Sabor enacted the Law on the Foundation of a University in the Capital Zagreb. That short law was soon sanctioned but as it only provided for the foundation of the University further necessary regulations had to be passed. However, the problems of organisation connected with the financial problem slowed down the activities on opening the University. The situation improved after 1873 when the oppositional National Party reached compromise with the Hungarian government and the reformist politician Ivan Mažuranić was appointed to the post of the Ban. Opening of the university was among his priorities due to which the Law on the Foundation of the Franz Joseph I University in Zagreb was enacted in the Sabor in January 1874. The University consisted of three faculties i. e. of Philosophy, Theology and Law. The Faculty of Medicine was to be opened when "circumstances would allow", which primarily regarded finances, due to which it was established only in 1917. The University was opened by Ban Mažuranić on 19th October 1874 in a great ceremony. The most prominent among large number of guests that arrived from the European universities was Rudolf Gneist, professor of law and Rector of the Berlin University.

University Organisation Act of 1874 set down the concept of study that has remained the basis of the law study. The amended University Organisation Act of 1894 curtailed university autonomy but did not bring essential changes to the study while the amendments in 1918 adopted the changes that had been introduced by the decrees of the Croatian Government in the meantime, moderately changing the teaching plan.

Zagreb University was modelled on Austrian universities. It was the state university supervised by the Croatian Autonomous Government. The autonomy related mainly to teaching while financial matters and appointments to teaching posts were under the influence of the state.

The first Rector and his successor were elected by all the professors from the three faculties. Later, however, rectors with a one-year mandate were elected by four-member delegations of the Professors' Councils consisted of the full professors from each faculty.

At the faculties, all full professors, associate professors (the latter only up to half the number of full professors), and representatives of lecturers constituted the Professors' Council, which annually elected a dean with a one-year mandate. In

1874 three professors were directly appointed to each faculty forming professors' councils that further on proposed candidates for other professorial posts.

The nomenclature of the teaching staff included full, associate and honorary professors, private lecturers, supplementary teachers and teachers who taught some scientific fields or skills, and especially languages. Full professors were obliged to teach at least eight hours a week. Associate professors were appointed to teach "subordinate subjects" but soon they were obliged to teach regularly at least six hours a week. Along with basic teaching, full professors were obliged from 1894 to give public lectures on some topic from their main field of interest or on some other matter.

Full and associate professors were defined as royal civil servants, appointed by the King on the proposal of the Professors' Council, which was submitted to the Ban through the Senate. Professors were elected through competitions, but exceptionally some eminent scientists could be nominated professor by invitation.

This regime was changed in the period of authoritarian rule of Ban Karoly Khuen-Héderváry from 1883 to 1903. Politically motivated amendments of the university law in 1894 empowered the government to propose to the King its candidates independently of the proposal from the Professors' Councils while new chairs could be founded only by the government. These two provisions further curtailed the already limited autonomy of the University. Several cases where professors were nominated against the will of the Professors' Council were confined to the Faculty of Philosophy, but it also seems that the Ban's informal suggestion was decisive in the appointment of (at least) several professors at the Faculty of Law. Professors of law were usually politically active, far most at the government's side but some were active on the side of opposition or supported it. In several cases critical speeches of professors who were deputies in Sabor were sanctioned by suspensions and, indirectly, by retirement.

The professorial nomination was preceded by the procedure of habilitation for the post of private lecturer. The habilitation candidates usually received government scholarships and spent some time at foreign universities. Conventionally, they went to Prague and/or Vienna and additionally to some German university.

The University was funded from state funds and the professors were placed into administrative classes. Until 1894, these funds were supplemented by the money from "tuition fees" paid by the students. In a solution that followed the Austrian regulation of 1850, a student paid a fee for those professors and lecturers whose lectures he attended and for the number of hours for which he had enrolled. In practice, a student's circumstances were taken into account and large number of law students, often exceeding half of those enrolled, were exempted. However, such system was criticised as outdated and inadequate, especially in regard to the cogent nature of the teaching plan introduced by the Government's decree in

1891. Because of that the University Organisation Act of 1894 raised professors' salaries and turned teaching fees into semestral fees paid to the national treasury.

The fact that the system of the University and the organisation of teaching at the faculties were fashioned after the Austrian model made possible a peculiar solution. In 1875 the Croatian government prescribed the subsidiary validity of the Austrian university law. The main goal was to open the possibility for Croats from Dalmatia and Istria to study at the University. In the beginning, there was a conviction that, with regard to the equal system and organisation of work at the University, reciprocity with Austrian universities would be achieved rapidly. Yet, despite all efforts, it was not until 1878 that some modest results were achieved. Namely, the students from Croatia-Slavonia were only given back the "benefit" of taking rigorous exams at Austrian universities without any preconditions. In fact, it was the same benefit given to the Academy of Legal Science in 1868. This benefit was then given to the students from Istria and Dalmatia on a condition that, in order to acquire a job in the civil or public services in Austria, they had to take the judicial and administrative state examinations and all rigorous examinations at an Austrian university.

The foundation of the University led to establishment of the National and University Library in which the library holdings of the former library of the Academy of Legal Science (21,642 volumes) and the library of the National Museum (16,500 volumes) were merged.

2. Curriculum and chairs

The system of legal studies in Zagreb applied even more consistently the Austrian model of 1855 that already was a basis of the Academy of Legal Science. The name of the Faculty itself *Pravo- i državoslovni fakultet* - a translation of the *Rechts- und staatswissenschaftliche Fakultät* - reflected the concept of the study. The Faculty brought together "classical" legal and administrative disciplines and educated legal and administrative staff i. e. government clerks, lawyers, judges and elite civil servants.

The Faculty of Law not only educated legal practitioners but also provided broader social scientific education. In the first four semesters the historical and theoretical basis of the study of law was taught, which served as an introduction to the study of legal and administrative subjects in later years. The curriculum defined in 1874 has been enriched and differentiated through the time and in 1900-01 was organised in this way:

1 st year	2 nd year	3 rd year	4 th year
History and Institutions of Roman Law	Pandects (two semesters)	General Civil Code/Civil Law (two semesters)	Exchange Law
General Legal History (two semesters)	Canon Law of the Catholic Church (two semesters)	Penal Law (two semesters)	Commercial Law
Encyclopaedia and Methodology of Law (non-compulsory)	Canon Law of the Greek-Eastern Church	National Economy (two semesters)	Civil Procedure With Special Reference to the Austrian Law
Croatian-Hungarian Private Law	Pandects – special collegium	Administration of National Economy	Bankruptcy Law
	Philosophy of Law (non-compulsory)	Financial Science	Non-contentious Civil Procedure
	General Statistics	General Public Law	Administrative Science and Croatian-Hungarian Administrative Law With Special Reference to the Austrian Administrative Law
		Croatian-Hungarian Public Law With Special Reference to the Austrian Public Law	
		Statistics of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy With Special Reference to Croatia-Slavonia	

The organisational units at the law study traditionally remained to be the chairs that embraced several related subjects. As a rule, one full professor held one chair, but professors were sometimes transferred temporary or permanently from one chair to another, especially after one had fallen vacant. When a chair was not filled,

lectures were also held by private lecturers, who were usually high administrative or judiciary official.

Along with the chairs that embraced compulsory and non-compulsory subjects, there were also non-compulsory subjects taught by "part-time lecturers" ("teachers" from 1894). The most important of these subjects was State Accounting that was taught as a separate one-semester course independent of the rest of the study, with 15 - 80 students a year who did not continue their studies. Non-compulsory was also Forensic Medicine and Practical Economy that was taught until 1909 while Bosnian Law was taught from 1916 to 1930. It is interesting that the Professors' Council in 1913 requested the Government to establish a Chair of Bosnian Law, inspired by the fact that such subject existed at Faculty of Law in Vienna and that there was a necessity to introduce it in Zagreb as well. However, the Government appointed only one "teacher" for that subject (not professor), which provoked "dissatisfaction" from the Professors Council.

The teaching system was improved in 1886 when the Government Decree provided for introduction of the seminars modelled on the Viennese example, to the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Law. The fundamental role of seminars was to prepare students for scientific-research work and to deepen their basic knowledge of subjects, rather than to apply their knowledge to practical purposes. Seminars were formed each semester regarding the circumstances, and were run by full or associate professors. In principle, seminars accepted full-time students who could prove that they were successful in lectures. Work in seminars was included into the minimum compulsory hours and seminar certificate replaced colloquia. Seminar activities included lectures, writing of papers and their defence. Every year, the Government Department of Religion and Education rewarded 10 of the best seminar papers from the Faculty of Law. However, seminar work practically ceased even as early as 1892 due to the problems with the seminar library and the seminar rooms, and was again revived only in 1906. This was due to the improved regulation but even more to the increased governmental subsidies for purchasing books. By 1900 seminars were organised in Roman Law, Legal History, General Austrian Civil Law while exercises were organised in Canon Law, Political Economy and Public Finances, and Statistics. Practical annual exercises in Penal Law and Exchange Law were organised even before the introduction of the seminars.

The differentiation of chairs brought about an increase in the teaching staff at the Faculty of Law. The staff, consisting of five full professors and two associate professors, two private and two part-time lecturers (teachers) in 1874/1875 had grown to fourteen full professors, seven private and two part-time lecturers and one teacher in 1917/1918.

3. Content of the teaching subjects

The foundation of the University and embodiment of legal study inside the full academic framework reflected in a considerable improvement of legal education. This was indicated by differentiation of the teaching subjects, improvement in their programmatic basis as well as improvement in quality of enlarged number of teaching staff whose scientific production was extended as well.

However, not all disciplines developed equally and in the same way. This was due to various reasons ranging from personality of certain professor to doctrinal and political reasons.

Civil law was among the disciplines that were well developed. Apart of "standard" civil law substance of that time, including family law, the teaching was concentrated on the *Opći građanski zakonik*, i. e. Croatian version of the ABGB; the ABGB was imposed in Croatia-Slavonia in the period of absolutism in 1852 but it was tacitly accepted as a part of the Croatian legal system by the Croatian Diet in 1861. However, lecturers of this subject also taught special courses like telegraph law, law of authorship and mineral exploitation law. Professors of civil law were permanently among the most active ones at the Faculty, they participated in legislative activity of the Sabor, wrote a considerable number of articles and prepared critical editions of the respective laws, the most challengeable being critical editions of OGZ. However, none of them managed to prepare a system of civil law and respective systematic manual. Instead, scripts and one critical edition of OGZ were used as teaching materials.

Rather extensive production of articles and participation in legislation characterised activity of the professors of Civil Procedure Law. It seems that the accent in teaching shifted from the topics of Croatian-Hungarian private law to the acknowledgement with the Austrian legislation that has become the core of the civil procedure in Croatia since 1850s. In fact, the subject Croatian-Hungarian Private Law belonged to the chair of Civil Procedure up to 1894 but since then it was associated with the Chair of Legal History and was considered as a legal-historical subject. It exposed the law valid before introduction of ABGB in Croatia-Slavonia (i. e. the Tripartit). That subject would be taught up to 1945 under different names that followed political changes in the environment. Thus, in 1920, in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes it was called the Private law of the Tripartite with special reference to the legal development in the Croatian and Serbian regions.

The foundation of the University saw a significant development of Commercial Law and Exchange Law, unlike in a period before that. These two subjects were associated with the two subjects of statistics (the General Statistics and the Statistics of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy with Special Reference to Croatia and Slavonia) and belonged to the same chair up to 1909. All four subjects were taught by the same professor Fran Vrbanić (1847-1909) who was very active in all

these fields. Vrbanić wrote two systematic commentaries of the principal laws in Commercial Law and Exchange Law that were used as manuals. He also published works in the field of company law but did not manage to make such a systematic outcome. Vrbanić's work in the field of statistics was also very important as he left several systematic researches of the Croatian society published as monographs that still serve as important source of relevant data.

It was only after professor Vrbanić death in 1886 that statistics was transferred to the Chair of Public Finances while Maritime Law – previously taught by professor of Administrative Science and Administrative Law - was transferred to the Chair of Commercial Law.

Public finances were significantly improved at the University especially in regard to the objections that the respective course at the Academy of Legal Science had not contributed much to understanding the Croatian reality. Professor Blaž Lorković (1839-1892), appointed in 1874, applied theoretical knowledge in interpreting Croatian reality in his work at the university as well as in his political activity as a member of moderate political opposition in the Sabor. However, he did not write a systematic work.

Public law was also considerably developed. The main topics in this field were relations between Hungary and Croatia analysed primarily on the basis of the Croatian feudal constitution (*iura municipalia*) and the Hungarian – Croatian Compromise of 1868. Professor Josip Pliverić (1847-1907), appointed in 1876, made the most prominent contribution in this field leaving several books on the mentioned topics, some of them on German. Even-though he was a prominent member of the governmental pro-Hungarian party (due to which he was unpopular among students) he was very active in expounding continuance of Croatian statehood in the contemporary period. His main thesis was that Croatia not only preserved its statehood in the union with Hungary before the Croatian – Hungarian Compromise of 1868 but that the Compromise itself has established the *unio realis inequalis* between the two lands as the two states. He advocated such position in a friendly polemics with Heidelberg's professor Georg Jellinek in which he tried to overthrow Jellinek's thesis on Croatia as a mere autonomous province in Hungary. The polemics ended with Jellinek's partial withdrawal and his elaboration of a category of *Staatsfragmente* in which he included Finland and Croatia as lands that are more than provinces and less than states. Contrary to Pliverić, his successor professor Ladislav Polić (1874-1910) was known for his opposition activity. Apart of the constitutional position of Croatia Polić's principal interests covered the issue of civil rights, as well. It is interesting that the constitutional treatises of both authors were in a very large extent based on legal-historical argumentation. It shall also be mentioned that both of the professors taught the International Public Law, a teaching subject that was part of the same chair. Both of them wrote several treatises in the field of the international law but that discipline

had still remained at a margin of their interest and has not been considerably developed.

Opening of the University did not result in an immediate improvement of discipline of Penal and Penal Procedural Law. Only supplementary teachers and private lecturers taught that subject up to 1881 when the first full professor was appointed. But appointment of Josip Šilović (1858-1939) to a post of full professor in 1897 brought gradual but significant improvement of the discipline, including Šilović's activity in international associations. Šilović gradually prepared publication of his manual on penal law (*Kazneno pravo*, Zagreb 1920) based on Karl Janka's book *Das österreichische Strafrecht* (Leipzig 1884). The subject Philosophy of Law made a part of the same chair but it layed at the margin of interest of professors whose interest was dedicated to the penal law and penal procedure. In 1894 Philosophy of Law was excluded from the list of subjects tested at the rigorous exams and consequently turned to a non-compulsory subject. However, the Professors' Council initiated its return to curriculum in 1908.

Encyclopaedia of Law, another subject with a theoretical ground was turned to non-compulsory in 1894 as well but it did not regain compulsory status later. That subject belonged to the Chair of Legal History and was taught by professors of legal history.

After the University was formed legal historical subjects won a prominent position at the Faculty of Law.

Roman Law was given prominent position with the reform of 1894. Up to the reform Roman Law was taught as a single subject that covered history and institutions of Roman Law, pandect, general part and law on inheritance. With the reform of 1894 the subject was split into two separate subjects, Roman Law and Pandect Law with doubled time-table. In 1897 two different chairs, with two professors, were formed and two different subjects appeared as part of the rigorous exams as well.

Similar happened with legal history because the new subject and the new chair of the Croatian Legal History were finally established in an optimal political constellation in 1911. Thus, one professor continued to hold subjects of General Legal History, Croatian-Hungarian Private Law and Encyclopaedia of Law while new professor taught Croatian Legal History. That solution differed from the Austrian curricula where only the single subject of Austrian Constitutional History and the German Legal History was taught. It is possible that the introduction of the General Legal History to the Zagreb's law study in 1868 was based on the same presumptions as introduction of the General European Legal History to the Budapest University some time before. One reason was that the material for teaching the national legal history was not enough systemised; the other reason was necessity to study European legal development in order to fully understand contemporary modernisation and process of "return" of the national law into the

European legal-cultural context after Turkish invasion broke its organic ties with the development in the West. It is interesting that young Czech scholar Jaromír Haňel (1847-1910) was appointed as the first professor after it was concluded that an optimal solution could not be found in Croatia. Haňel considerably contributed to the study of the Croatian legal history but left Zagreb after being appointed a professor at the Prague University in 1881. In spite of the "universal" scope of General Legal History far the most attention was paid to the Germanic and German legal histories, and Slavic legal histories. The subject was basically reduced to the Germanic and German histories after the Slavic legal histories were associated with the subject of Croatian Legal History.

The church law was taught as the Church Law of the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek-Eastern Church (an official name for the Serbian Orthodox Church). Two semesters were dedicated to the law of the Catholic Church and one semester to the law of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The first professor of that subject has remained very passive as it regards scientific activity. But the subject has been considerably improved after professor Edo Lovrić (1866-1951) took it over in 1903. He was particularly interested in matrimonial law and the Austrian Concordat of 1855.

Apart of the fact that legal historical subjects made basis of legal education in the first two years, historical ground was present even more than that. The University Organisation Act of 1874 applied the solution from the Austrian university plan of 1855, according to which students of law were obliged to take one course in practical philosophy and one in Croatian history in the first three semesters, and another historical subject by the end of their studies. The teaching of practical philosophy (ethics) and, very likely, Croatian history at Faculty of Philosophy was made to conform to the needs of the study of law. The knowledge of Croatian history was tested in a selective legal-historical examination at the end of the fourth semester.

In 1906 the Chair for sociology and criminal sciences was founded. The subject of Criminal Sciences was made compulsory at the fourth year while Sociology was made an un-compulsory subject of the second year. By that way sociology appeared as the university discipline and the Faculty of Law was a seed-bed for that discipline in Croatia for some time. The new law in 1918 turned Sociology to a compulsory subject.

4. Students and exams

As it was already said, the Faculty of Law admitted both full-time and part-time students. Full-time students were the ones who had completed grammar school with good grades and had passed the matriculation examination, or those who had already enrolled as full-time students at some university, or had been enrolled at a school that stood in place of faculties, such as the Academy of Legal Science. The ones who could not enrol as full-time students and were over 17 and proved that

they could follow the lectures could become part-time students. Transfer from part-time to full-time student was not permitted.

Full-time students had to listen to at least 20 hours of lectures a week, and had to pass a legal-historical examination by the end of the fourth semester, otherwise they could not proceed with their studies. Part-time students did not have these commitments. But, the number of part-time students was very low and reached two figures only exceptionally, mostly ranging from one to six.

In terms of numbers, law students were traditionally the most numerous part of the university population, making the Faculty of Law - like other law faculties in Central Europe - the largest faculty at the University. The number of students in the period until 1917/18 ranged from 183 in 1874/1875 (out of total of 290 students at the University) to 877 in the first semester of 1907/1908 (a total of 1,464 students at the University). In terms of regional origin, the majority of the students at the Faculty of Law were from Zagreb and Croatia and Slavonia, but there were also students from Rijeka, Hungary, Dalmatia, the Austrian Littoral (Istria and Trieste), Carniola and Styria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, a few students from other Austrian countries, as well as students from Serbia, Bulgaria and some other countries. Yet, there were fewer students from abroad, especially of Croatian origin, than was desired. In all about 14% of the students came from the areas outside of Croatia-Slavonia. A relatively favourable initial response by the students from Dalmatia waned after several years - probably because the examinations passed in Zagreb were not recognised in Austria.

The acquired knowledge was tested in state examinations during the studies and in rigorous examinations at the end, following the Austrian model. To finish the study, three specialised state examinations had to be passed. The knowledge of positive law, as well as knowledge of the basic study matter from non-legal subjects was required. After successfully passing the three mentioned examinations, a candidate was sufficiently qualified for employment in the administrative services. The other fields of legal profession required a doctorate, which could be obtained after passing three rigorous examinations.

State examinations were taken orally and publicly before a three- or four-member board, depending on exam. Members were nominated by the Government Department of Religion and Education, primarily from the ranks of professors and then from those working in practice. Of the state examinations, the first to be taken, at the end of the fourth semester, was a legal-historical examination. It comprised Roman Law, Canon Law of the Catholic and Serbian Orthodox Church and General Legal History with Croatian History. Because of its specific nature the legal-historical examination had to be taken at a university at which student was enrolled at the time of taking it, unlike the other two examinations that could be taken at any university. By the end of the study, the students had to take the judicial examination which comprised Civil, Commercial and Exchange Law, Civil Procedures and Non-contentious Procedure, and Penal Law and Penal Procedure.

This examination could already be taken at the end of the eighth semester. The third examination was the one in administrative sciences and it could be taken only after completing all the lectures. It consisted of the Statistics of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with Particular Reference to the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, Political Economy and Financial Science. The second and the third state examinations could be retaken only after period of three months.

It seems likely that the selective examination in Legal History, as well as other circumstances, was the reason that only about 2/3 of the students that had begun studying enrolled in the fourth year. Students of law generally stayed at the university longer than others and the age distribution was the most pronounced at the Faculty of Law. Still, the pass rate was relatively high, but distinctly lower in the examination of legal history. Thus, up to 1901 3,806 students took all state examinations, of which 87% were successful. The pass rate in the legal-historical examination was 83%, while that of the remaining two state examinations was 91%.

This system was somewhat modified with the amendment of 1894 imposing more developed and stricter examination regime. The changes were explained by the need to stimulate students to work harder and with better discipline. However, it also reflected fear of students' political activities in the turbulent political events of the time, which was in reality an important motive for the changes as well. According to the new regime, all examinations could be taken regardless of the university at which the lectures were attended and the examination regime was made easier for students from the Austrian part. That should have facilitated their easier transfer to the Austrian universities.

Preparation of exams was a problem because production of textbooks and scientific monographs was still relatively modest in this period. Textbook literature was primarily in the form of lithographed manuscripts (mimeographed course materials) which were texts of lectures in a given subject usually copied by some student associations. The texts of lectures prepared in advance, and most probably read by professors during lectures, were given to students by the professors themselves to copy, or a professor of a certain subject would check the students' systematised notes. Mimeographed course materials were extremely important in view of the fact that a part of the examination literature was in foreign languages, books were expensive and relatively hard to obtain, and many students did not follow lectures. Not all the prescribed study matter could always be processed in the lectures anyway. Textbook literature remained a considerable problem because not even mimeographed notes (if they existed) were always available or cheap, thus giving rise to the occurrence of various revision materials. Still, towards the end of this period, improved technical possibilities led to an increasing production of literature that was probably used for preparing examinations. Relatively extensive works from various disciplines, especially those from the legal profession written by professors and practising experts, were printed. On the contrary, articles were rather frequent, mostly being published in monthly *Mjesečnik Pravnčkoga društva*

u Zagrebu (Monthly of the Law Association in Zagreb) which was published from 1875 to 1945.

Students completing four years of study and passing all the examinations could take public rigorous examinations leading to a doctoral degree. These examinations had scientific character and included a thorough and complex examination in the prescribed disciplines. The regime of rigorous examinations was introduced in 1875 and did not change until 1894. There were three examinations. The first rigorous examination embraced Roman Law, both Canon Laws and Croatian-Hungarian Private Law. The second rigorous examination included General Private Law (Austrian), Commercial and Exchange Law, Civil Procedure, and Penal Law with Penal Procedure. The third rigorous examination encompassed General Public Law, Croatian-Hungarian Public Law with special reference to Austrian Public Law, International Law, Philosophy of Law, Political Economy (National Economy and Financial Science), and Administrative Science.

The rigorous examination board consisted of the dean or vice-dean and four full professors nominated by the Autonomous Government. Each examination lasted two hours, it was public, and an unsuccessful candidate could retake the examination after three months and then only once again after one year. The order of rigorous examinations was not determined, but they all had to be taken at Zagreb University. For this reason, a doctorate acquired at some other university after a candidate had lost the right to take the rigorous examinations at Zagreb University could not be validated. These regulations made it possible to avoid the recognition of examinations taken at some foreign universities of lower quality than that of Zagreb. For similar reasons, the government passed a regulation on the validation of doctorates acquired outside the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It provided for that doctorates acquired *in absentia* or doctorates acquired only in Administrative Sciences could not receive validation.

Rigorous examinations were not compulsory, but they were largely taken by law students due to the demands of their future profession. Up to the end of the academic year 1917/1918, a total of 4,257 candidates had taken the rigorous examination, of which as many as 3,661 or 86% were successful. In the period from 1874/75 to 1917/18, this number accounted for as much as 91.2% of all attempts at these examinations at the University, or 88.4% of successfully passed examinations up to 1917/1918. The number of students taking rigorous examinations gradually increased so that in 1918/19 the number rose to 320 successful ones, out of 381 candidates. The number of doctors of law rose from the first four promoted in 1877 to the highest 86 in 1910/11. In 1894, a doctorate *sub auspiciis regis* was introduced, which was bestowed on one doctoral candidate in an academic year who had outstanding grades from the beginning of grammar school education to the end of studies, as well as "immaculate conduct". At the University, the Faculty of Law gave by far the largest number of the highest intellectual titles. The holders of these titles were mostly employed in the civil

service, where they held the highest positions and constituted the political and intellectual elite of the Croatian society.

When war broke out in 1914, the number of teachers dropped only negligibly but that of students fell significantly, while the end of the war saw a remarkable increase in the number of students. Thus, the number of students dropped from 696 in the summer semester of 1913/1914 to 481 in the winter semester of 1914/1915, but then went up and reached 1,191 in 1918/19.

The third amendment to the University Organisation Act from 12 September 1918 – enacted on the eve of the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy – allowed women to enrol at all three secular faculties and not just to the Faculty of Philosophy, as allowed in 1901.