

Male and female teachers as initiators of cultural activities in Zadar and Dalmatia in the 19th century

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Summary: This paper aims to point out the role of teachers in the social and cultural life of Zadar and Dalmatia in the 19th century, which is not known well enough because teaching had always been in the shadow of politics, and it dealt with it only during major social and national movements. Teachers were seldom the initiators and leaders of such activities, and the real power was in the hands of state and church structures that were their immediate superiors. Therefore, teachers' influence was manifested mostly at the micro-level and with their profession. Only in the seventies of the 19th century did they become more actively involved in social events, which could be considered as the beginning of teachers' organization in Dalmatia and intensifying connections with teachers from mainland Croatia. They increasingly wrote about life and events in their environment and published their writing in the professional and political press. They participated in the work of professional bodies that published reports and contributions of their members, giving suggestions for improving the teaching process and methodology, as well as the community's cultural life. The paper also points to teachers' role in the organization of cultural events, exhibitions, stage and music performances, art workshops, workshops for handicrafts of girls and boys, courses for adults, and others.

Keywords: male teachers; female teachers; cultural activities; the Kingdom of Dalmatia; 19th century; Zadar.

Introduction

The beginning of the 19th century in Dalmatia brought many political changes. After the end of the First Austrian Rule (1797-1805),

Napoleon's state was established, and the province of Dalmatia was constituted, as part of the Kingdom of Italy (1806-1809). Dalmatia came into Napoleon's possession by Požun (Bratislava) peace treaty in 1805. After the peace treaty in Schönbrunn in 1809, it became part of the Illyrian provinces (1809-1813), so "Napoleon's (...) possessions of the Croatian and Slovene regions allowed him direct land connections with Dalmatia, and through it an unhindered trade with Turkey."¹ "Austria does not allow the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia; Vienna wants to separate Dalmatia as much as possible from Trans-Velebit Croatia, and it achieves this with the help of old and new Italian bureaucracy."² "Even though in 1819 the Government for Dalmatia" had submitted for the approval of the Regulations "Regolamento per le Scuole Elementari della Provincia di tutta la Dalmazia."³ ". ." according to which several types of primary schools were to be established - lower primary schools, upper primary schools with three or four grades and technical primary schools,⁴ the population which was predominantly Croatian, did not have an adequately resolved issue of primary education. "Croatian is nowhere to be found. Even in primary schools, Italian is taught, and only here and there Croatian. More precisely, the Croatian language was heard in those schools where priests worked - Glagolitic, Franciscan or Benedictine."⁵

The situation was somewhat different after the fall of absolutism in 1860: "The Emperor gave the Monarchy a new constitution proclaiming the equality of languages,"⁶ and "although the Dalmatian Croats failed in their crucial plan - unification with Civil Croatia,

¹ MIMICA, Bože. (2010) Francuska uprava u Dalmaciji (1805.-1809.) and Ilirske pokrajine (1809-1813), 526.

² LJUBIČIĆ, Šime. (2017) *Školstvo grada Nina*, Matica hrvatska ogranak Nin, 18.

³ STRÖLL, Antun. (1900) *Pučko školstvo u Dalmaciji*, Zadar, Tiskara P. Jankovića, 16.

⁴ BACALJA, Robert. (1994), *Pučka škola u Preku (1842-1918)*, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, 32 (9) 97.

⁵ LJUBIČIĆ, Šime. (2017) *Školstvo grada Nina*, Matica hrvatska ogranak Nin, 19.

⁶ LJUBIČIĆ, Šime. (2010), *Pučko školstvo zadarskog kotara od 1869 do 1920*, Nin, Matica hrvatska Ogranak Nin.

a great benefit was derived. Among the broadest masses of the population, the belief in unity with the Trans-Velebit Croats was created (...). This period resulted (...) that teachers should teach the Croatian language in schools; that *Il Nazionale* and its Supplement to the *Narodni list* began to be published in the Croatian language (March 1862) and became and remained the spiritual centre of the populists. Another benefit was that reading rooms, the centres of the awakening of national consciousness began to open. They nurtured the Croatian language and became cultural and political clubs of the populists, some of which were Dobrota / Kotor (May 1862), Split (September 1862), Zadar (founded in December 1862, and opened in February 1863), Dubrovnik (1863). And last but not least *Matica dalmatinska* was launched (August 1862), and then a teacher training school for men was established in Zadar and began operating in November 1866.⁷ Supervision of schools and teachers until 1869 was exercised by the dioceses, and then by the State, i.e. the Ministry of Worship and Instruction.⁸ Due to the lack of teachers, classes were often carried out by pastors and teachers were educated only by attending courses of several months until the first teacher training schools opened. The first such course was held in Zadar in 1821, and the two-year teacher training school, *Corso biennale de 'preparandi maestri*, only in 1852.⁹ In addition to general teacher training courses, naval courses¹⁰ and agricultural lessons were organized for primary school teachers starting in 1853.¹¹ After the enactment of the State School Act in 1869, much changed in schools: teachers' work began to be monitored by the state rather than ecclesiastical school supervisors, and the Provincial School Act of 1871 provided compulsory primary education for all boys aged six to twelve. This increased the number of students and

⁷ LJUBIČIĆ, Šime. (2010), *Pučko školstvo zadarskog kotara od 1869 do 1920*, 8.

⁸ cf. HR-AZDN-2: Biskupsko školsko nadzorništvo u Zadru (1837-1869).

⁹ cf. PERIĆ, Ivo. (1974), *Borba za ponarođenje dalmatinskog školstva 1860-1918*, 19, 160.

¹⁰ *Primo corso di nautica u Zadru from 1849* HR-AZDN-2: Biskupsko školsko nadzorništvo u Zadru (1837-1869), box 19, no 430/1716.

¹¹ HR-AZDN-2: Biskupsko školsko nadzorništvo u Zadru (1837-1869), box 23, 69/437.

classes in schools, which were becoming too crowded, and there were not enough teachers either. The first male teacher training school in the Croatian language in the Kingdom of Dalmatia, the Illyrian Preparatory School, was founded in Zadar in 1866. The school for female teachers in Dalmatia did not exist until 1875 when the authorities opened the first female teacher training school in Dubrovnik. After the enactment of the Law on the Regulation of Public Teaching and the Education of Primary School Teachers, the position of all teachers deteriorated in 1888 when some provisions were introduced that further discriminated against the teaching profession. Teachers worked under challenging conditions for a salary that they barely existed on, so they often tried to engage in other, extracurricular, activities, which they were rarely allowed to do. Teachers were expected to do their job with love, participate in community life and, as educated people, assist the locals if they needed any help or advice. "A teacher can and must, beside school and church obligations, promote all other social benefits of his community; he can and must consistently strive to increase the welfare of the municipality, and he must in the broadest sense of the word be a socially active member of his city. A teacher is not only a teacher but also a citizen and a human."¹²

This principle was at odds with teachers' real status because they were poorly paid and subject to constant change at work, from the ever-increasing number of students, the filling of vacancies for teachers, and consequently frequent relocations. Authorities used this to discipline disobedient and undesirable teachers and relocated them to worse jobs, most often in remote and godforsaken Dalmatian parts. Newspapers published articles describing Dalmatian teachers' plight, with salaries significantly lower than all civil servants, female teachers, and super-teachers. In all schools, they were up to 20% lower than their male counterparts'.¹³ In the article, "Teachers will have to be beggars: (From teacher circles before the opening of the assembly)"

¹² *Glasnik dalmatinski*, 24th October 1862 XV, no 85.

¹³ HR-DAZD-105: Kotarsko školsko vijeće, 1911 box 10, no 33.

emphasises the humane aspect of the teaching profession because teachers are "required have everything like no other public servant: knowledge and significance and loyalty and patriotism and morality and sacrifice; exemplary behaviour in all things, and in return for all these virtues, they are forced to become beggars."¹⁴ The state's attitude towards teachers was different from towards other officials because they were required to have special symbolic and emotional obligations to the homeland and the ruler, but also a love for work. In return, they received compassion and pity, not a well-deserved reward.

Teachers' role in culture

Teachers were more engaged in their work activities, highlighting the significant difference between teachers' work in cities and smaller, mostly remote and impoverished places. Their influence was felt more strongly only from the seventies of the 19th century when teachers in Dalmatia began to organize themselves and cooperate with their colleagues from the continental parts of Croatia. They increasingly spoke and wrote about their work, published their articles in the teacher's press, and participated in professional bodies that published their members' reports and contributions charging fees. These articles included professional papers, pedagogical articles with suggestions for improving teaching and methodology, and recommendations for enhancing the environment's cultural life. Under the auspices of the Provincial and District School Councils of the Kingdom of Dalmatia, they organized cultural events, exhibitions, founded children's music and acting groups, art workshops, handicraft workshops for boys and girls, and took care of books at school.

Teachers sought to procure books for their work and students' needs, and in some places, arranged school libraries from collections of books and reference books procured through the District School

¹⁴ *Narodni list*, 42 (17th October 1903), 83, 1.

Council in the city and those the teachers themselves purchased. The district school supervisor in Zadar, Ivan Jelčić, noticed that some locals were willing to donate books and funds for library equipment at primary schools¹⁵ schools in larger towns and cities. They would contain books and periodicals that teachers would take care of and lend to the local population and their children. However, there were too few such books, and most often they did not suit either the children or their families. When asked by the District School Council which books would be desirable for users of public school libraries, the teachers said that children were most interested in folk tales, fairy tales, fables, riddles, stories about heroes and epic folk poems. However, adults preferred humorous and pious stories, works about the history of Croats, and plants' cultivation.¹⁶ The best-equipped school libraries were in Zadar, but also those in Preko, Sali, Silba, Pag, Nin and Ražanac.¹⁷

Outside-school and extracurricular activities

In the 19th century, there were separate all-boys and all-girls primary schools in Dalmatia, which were transformed into mixed schools from the 1880s, and all children between the ages of six and twelve had to attend classes. Thus, new jobs had been created, especially for female teachers, who had previously worked only in all-girls' schools in cities and larger places. At the same time, all teachers' position deteriorated after the enactment of the Law on the Regulation of Public Teaching and Education of Public Teachers in 1888, because many teachers had

¹⁵ HR-DAZD-105: Kotarsko školsko vijeće, 1872 box 8, no. 431.

¹⁶ HR-DAZD-105: Kotarsko školsko vijeće, 1884 box 35, no. 1152. The following works are singled out: *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* by Andrija Kačić-Miošić, fairy tale Little Red Riding Hood- Crvenkapica, short stories by Franz Hoffman, *Crtice iz hrvatske povijesti* Janka Tomića, *Povijest Hrvata* by Tadija Smičoklas, *Slike iz hrvatske cvjetane* by Dragutin Hirc, *Hrvati za nasljednog rata* by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski and *Hrvati u Tridesetogodišnjem ratu*.

¹⁷ HR-DAZD-105: Kotarsko školsko vijeće, 1893 box 70, no 780, 990.

to work with large numbers of children in poorly equipped and poorly maintained schools. In small places, teachers struggled with the ignorance, illiteracy, and ignorance of the majority of the population. Too little attention was paid to learning. Even with the most significant effort of teachers, a better result could not be achieved.

On the other hand, most of the knowledge that children acquired in school could not be applied in their daily work, so the *Narodni list* published an article about the hard life of primary school teachers, emphasizing the people's ignorance and lack of interest in school. The newspaper article author concluded that moral education and teaching the appropriate work organization and housekeeping would help children much more than the school programme's contents. Although the programme included practical work, the children were not taught to manage jobs, and people did not work as much as they could; they did not know how to earn or save: "Since the beginning of time, a hard-working and sober man in the field of economy has been known to have an advantage over the lazy, prodigal, and lustful. Therefore, in our opinion, today's economic crisis depends more on the moral crisis than on any other causes (...) Many of our farmers fail economically (...) because by spending too much in pubs and getting drunk, they deprive the whole family of the necessary means of livelihood."¹⁸

Therefore, some teachers undertook other activities, procured professional literature and sought education to hold courses for adults to provide them with the professional assistance in various sectors of the economy, such as agriculture, plant protection, animal husbandry, fishing, beekeeping and preparation and food storage. They often went to other parts of the Monarchy for additional training at their own expense, and when they returned they asked the school authorities to approve and pay them for such work, which did not always work out. Teachers of both genders also gained some knowledge from practical work during their schooling, namely the basics of economics and agriculture for boys' education and household chores for girls.

¹⁸ „Uzgojna zadaća pučke škole“, *Narodni list*, 38 (1st February 1899), 9, 1.

As these jobs and the teaching of boys and girls, were strictly separated, it used to happen that in schools run by male teachers, there were no practical activities for girls. There was no useful work for boys where teachers were women, so the ideal combination for each school would be to employ a male and a female teacher and allocate the jobs respectively. School supervisors often pointed out the importance of practical work at schools. As they said, "teach primary school boys in towns and villages handicrafts, and girls household chores and (...) arrange classrooms based on scientific pedagogy."¹⁹ "A school-art exhibition of women's needlework "showed how to make fabrics and embroideries" according to domestic needs because teachers "represent the link between knowledge and people."²⁰ Teachers often wrote about their work at school, but also the outside school activities they organized for the general public. Their journalistic and literary works were published in newspapers, magazines and professional-pedagogical press.

Cultural activities in schools

In addition to teaching activities at the school, teachers regularly prepared student plays and stage performances at the end of the school year and for the holidays. School choirs and orchestras, recitations, solo singing, prose readings and exhibitions of children's works were performed, which sometimes turned into a real social event. Schools staged children's performances in the Benedictine Monastery of St. Marija in Zadar. In the Serbian girls' school, teacher Apolonija Vidović prepared two cheerful one-act plays with children (three boys and three girls) in 1854, "Djevojka crnkinja ,, (The Black Girl) and "Mladi lovci" (Young Hunters)."²¹ The plays were very successful and had several performances until 1864 when they were performed

¹⁹ *Smotra dalmatinska*, 7 (13th October 1894), 82, 2.

²⁰ *Smotra dalmatinska*, 7 (17th October 1894), 83, 2.

²¹ *Magazin srbsko-dalmatinski*, 18, (1854.-1859), 104-126.

in the National Reading Room.²² On the occasion of celebrating national holidays and church holidays, the students sang and recited verses. The holy performances, as the newspapers reported, were prepared by their male and female teachers.²³ Later, teachers established larger amateur acting groups in schools. At the end of the school year 1888/1889, the Croatian Girls' Primary School put on a play entitled "Čudotvorne gusle" (The Miraculous Fiddles), about which the newspapers wrote, and students of the Institute of St. Dimitrije performed remarkable plays and concerts.²⁴

Several stacks of files of the Zadar teacher Antun Pavličević from the Croatian Primary School in Zadar have been preserved, containing requests to the District School Council in Zadar for permission, according to a previously submitted programme, to set a stage at the school and give performances. Pavličević also suggests "a big party that he will organize through this year's teachers' assembly to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the glorious reign of m.v. of our emperor and king Franz Joseph in Zadar on June 22, 1898."²⁵ The files contain the programme of the event, lyrics of songs and recitations with the names of students who would perform and the play". Education and entertainment for the ceremony at the end of the school year 1897/98 prepared for his students by A. Pavličević.²⁶

The programme envisaged the presence of representatives of the school and church authorities, as was usual in all major city schools. The then Zadar press followed the ceremony.

²² MAŠTROVIĆ, Ljubomir. (1953). Kulturne bilješke, *Zadarska revija*, 2, 100-101.

²³ *Il Dalmata*, 13 (1878), 11. Učenička predstava u Novom kazalištu.

²⁴ *Amico dei pargoli*, 1 (1911), 6, 24.

²⁵ HR-DAZD-105: Kotarsko školsko vijeće, 1898. box 113, no. 2386.

²⁶ HR-DAZD-105: Kotarsko školsko vijeće, 1898. box 113, no. 2387.

The role of women teachers in preserving cultural heritage

Many teachers' departure from the city to the villages represented a significant change and new experiences about which they often wrote. Evelina Pomeisl Verdus, a teacher at the Croatian Primary School in Zadar, like most others, spent the first year of her "teaching career" in a village where she learned about folk art and traditional women's handicrafts. She later wrote: "Looking at them closely, I was amazed at their beauty, and they became my favourite thing to do. This love for them, as well as the High Provincial Council's question "How to preserve the traditional national taste in our province", prompted me to this debate. It will be quite simple. With it, I intend to show how much we as teachers can contribute to that, and I also want to arouse the greatest possible zeal in my dear colleagues for these folk artefacts (...). Looking more closely at the folk embroideries, how can we not be taken in our thoughts to those ancient times, when an unschooled village girl, though burdened with daily chores, after finishing them and having fed all her family members, quietly, in winter evenings, by the flame of her fireplace, could do all those embroideries without any help, and how can we not admire her taste, accuracy and patience?"²⁷

Emphasizing the value of these works, she pointed out that teachers' task was to convince rural women of the need for preserving these treasures and that teachers should learn these skills and pass them on to children in schools. She prepared drafts that she presented at the teachers' assembly, which was well received. In the following years, teachers wrote more and more about it, exhibitions and courses were held in cities and smaller towns, mostly in the vicinity of Zadar. Teacher Suković organized the presentation of handicrafts of students

²⁷Talk about the topic "Kako da se u ženskoj ručnoj radnji u Dalmaciji sačuva tradicionalni i narodni ukus" she gave at Kotarska učiteljska skupština in Zadar, *Smotra dalmatinska*, 9 (10th October 1896), 82, 1.

in Benkovac on the Provincial Teachers' Assembly occasion, when it was visited by prominent politicians and "many ladies and gentlemen" who noticed that the works were carried out "accurately, uniformly, correctly and skillfully."²⁸ Teachers organized courses for embroiderers and lacemakers in villages. Teacher Marija Gelčić, under the auspices of the deputy archduchess Marija Josefa, opened a lace course for fifteen adult girls in Obrovac.²⁹ Teacher Dragica Giunio from Pag joined the popular trend of reviving folk customs³⁰, where a group gathered around the newspaper of Croatian Catholic teachers, *Zora*, was active. She wrote about the great value of national treasures, especially clothing, which was less and less made and worn. In this, she saw the problem of fashion and a new way of life that attracted more and more people because they were not aware of the value of their heritage. "Let us teach the people in this regard so that they too could appreciate at least to some extent the beauty of their work. Let them be only aware with what enthusiasm foreigners came from distant lands, to observe and admire our national costumes - how costly they paid for our beautiful embroideries - embroidered with silk - thin yarn, wool, silver and gold. The folk teacher, who is always by the side of her people, has the opportunity to teach her people by word and deed, and she has a chance to gather various folk embroideries and other handicrafts. It is an opportunity to imbue our folk costumes' beauty in children's souls while they are still in school. If we find the extreme beauties of our artistic and folk wealth in the Split Ethnographic Museum, one must be convinced of our national soul's high qualities."³¹ She concluded that folk teachers had a particular task in raising awareness of the value of their products, encouraging the production and preservation of objects and techniques, which are forgotten. However, she did not talk about the economic side of that

²⁸ *Smotra dalmatinska*, 21 (26th August 1908), 68, 3.

²⁹ *Smotra dalmatinska*, 23 (15th June 1910), 48, 3.

³⁰ She worked in a mixed school in Ražanac from 1914/15, Lukoran 1915/16, Arbanasi 1916/17, Pag and Ražanac 1918/19 and in the girls' primary school in Pag until 1920. HR-DAZD-105: Kotarsko školsko vijeće, 1913-1920.

³¹ "Natrag k narodnoj nošnji", *Zora*, 3 (1918), 3-6, 42-43.

production, which could help reduce the poverty of Dalmatian villages, which some foreign women authors also wrote about.

Women's household chores included making clothing and other items that often exceeded their usage- value and became part of the valuable heritage in the household, church or monastery. Dalmatian embroideries, lacework, and costumes decorations differed from many others, so they attracted foreigners interested in the way of life in the province, the daily chores, and the various objects and costumes they made themselves. One of those who deserved the credit for the popularization of Dalmatian folk art was the teacher, writer, journalist Jelica Belović Bernadzikowski, who published articles on folk embroidery in Zadar. She wrote about women's position and the neglect of their abilities, which further burdened the difficult economic situation in Dalmatia. She pointed out that visitors admired Dalmatian women's products at exhibitions in major European centres, which their fellow citizens undervalued in their area. She warned of the need to support women to enable as much production as possible. Her newspaper articles³² were about the importance she attached to these activities, warning of the impact of urban fashion on folk costumes that were becoming simpler, poorer and of lower quality.³³ Interest in women's handicrafts was shown by the Austrian Archduchess Maria Josefa, who bought many these women's handicrafts, especially lace.³⁴ She used to visit Dalmatia, and in Pag, she was greeted in the school by young lacemakers, who organized an exhibition with their teachers.³⁵ Among the teachers who published in Zadar at the beginning of the 20th century with the number of articles and various topics, the most prominent was Erminija Fernanda

³²“Izložba dalmatinskih čipaka u Austrijskom muzeju u Beču“, *Smotra dalmatinska*, 18 (24th May 1905), 2, 3; “Još o izložbi dalmatinskih čipaka“, *Smotra dalmatinska*, 18 (31st May 1905), 2, 2; “Društvo za promicanje čipaka i kućne industrije u Dalmaciji“, *Smotra dalmatinska*, 18 (3rd June 1905), 3, 2; “Izložba dalmatinskih čipaka“, *Smotra dalmatinska*, 18 (14th June 1905), 6, 2.

³³“O preporodu hrvatske veziljačke umjetnosti“, *Narodni list*, (1906), 45, 1-4.

³⁴ PIPLOVIĆ, Stanko. (2000), Marija Jozefa: zaštitnica narodne umjetnosti Dalmacije. *Ethnologica dalmatica*, 9, 139.

³⁵ *Smotra dalmatinska*, 27 (25th April 1914), 33, 2-3.

from Šibenik district, who published a lot of articles about school practice, methodology, didactics and psychology. She also wrote about pre-school education, literature and folk art in the Šibenik region.³⁶ Some of her writings provoked polemical reactions from readers, which she successfully and confidently denied. She also reacted to the article "On the exhibition of folk embroidery", held in Knin in September 1908. She mentioned some "incorrect comments" which the author made, and "which, for the benefit of the very issue, this gentleman will allow me a teacher from Zagorje, who researches folk embroidery, to amend."³⁷ She compared the Knin, Benkovac and Zadar regions' embroideries and concluded that they were different and explained the differences in detail. Using common stereotypes about the differences between men and women, she wrote: "I would be very sorry if you considered these modest remarks of mine to be a reproach; no, this is not a reproach, but a small correction of a folk teacher, a woman to whom handiwork is the poetry of the soul, and the study of folk embroidery one of the sweetest pastimes. It is easy for a man's eye in handicrafts to miss a few things and change concepts, which is not easy for a trained woman's gaze to happen. And who would blame a man? It is not in his nature; that is the best excuse. Despite the increasing emancipation of today's women, the woman will remain a woman, her home's poetry, a lover of beautiful handicrafts, for which she has a natural gift along with fine wisdom."³⁸ She thanked the young author for the praise he gave to Dalmatian teachers, but she did not miss out to say that men often took expert analysis lightly and in areas they know much less than women and are quite confident about it.

Her speech reflected the firmness with which she defended her views, convinced that a male person cannot surpass her in a female occupation. She studied folk embroidery and learned from women,

³⁶ Cf: KATIĆ, Mirisa. (2019), *Uloga žena u kulturnom životu Zadra u 19. i u prva dva desetljeća 20. stoljeća*, Disertacija, Sveučilište u Zadru, pp 191- 206 <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:162:254299> (pristup. 22/10/2020).

³⁷ *Narodni list*, 47 (1st October 1908), 79, 2.

³⁸ *Narodni list*, 47 (1st October 1908), 79, 2.

and then made exhibit items with the girls at school. She told them that ladies in Vienna, including Archduchess Maria Josefa, wore their embroideries on their dresses because they considered them beautiful, pointing out that modern details which spoiled the originals³⁹ should not be added to folk embroideries. She proposed the protection of folk costumes and their application in modern fabrics, not vice versa, which indicated the need for systematic protection of cultural heritage, which should begin by teaching the basics of these handicrafts in primary and civic schools. Teachers and pupils should also use folk expressions as much as possible because they were more precise than foreign ones and people understood them better.⁴⁰ She followed the works of authors who dealt with this topic and highlighted teacher Eveline Pomeisl Verdus, the commitment of teacher Đuro Kalik, Paulina pl. Bogdan and the contribution of the book *Croatian Folk Embroideries* by Jelica Belović-Bernadzikowski, which explains their symbolics.⁴¹

Glagolitics, editors and art teachers

Every Sunday, the teachers took the children to Mass in the parish church. For the holidays they co-organized performances similar to medieval church mystery plays, which are still held in some places (mostly rural) in Dalmatia. Through their work, reading and copying Glagolitic books and writings, they influenced the renewal of Glagolitic singing in churches in the 19th and early 20th century. Teacher Petar Matulina was one of the meritorious Glagolitics in

³⁹ “Bijelo narodno vezivo“, *Smotra dalmatinska*, 21 (2nd September 1908), 70, 2.

⁴⁰ “O narodnim nazivima za ženski ručni rad“, *Smotra dalmatinska*, 22 (11th August 1909), 64.

⁴¹ “Jednolični nazivi za ženske ručne radnje u pučkim školama“ *Smotra dalmatinska*, (21st Nov.1908) 92-95.

Sali.⁴² During the First World War, he was also the editor-in-chief of the magazine *Zora*, intended for Croatian Catholic teachers and girls.⁴³ The editor and owner was Barbara Šarinić, the headmistress of the girls' primary school in Pag. Due to the turbulent events of the war, most of the articles were signed only under pseudonyms.

The work of art teachers in special and private schools was also associated with church singing, theatre performances, and art societies and groups' activities. Still, they rarely connected their work with pedagogical work in schools. The theatre hosted concerts that they prepared for school performances and plays by amateur groups. Within the Noble Theatre in Zadar, there were male and female music teachers, some of whom were known as excellent pedagogues. In some of the first societies, there were music and dance teachers, and later their number increased. Historiography mentions one of the first dance salons, that of Nicola Cambiotti and maestro Luigi Ricci's pedagogical work.⁴⁴ The Philharmonic Society (*Società filarmonica di Zara*) was active from 1858 to 1943 and was very important for Zadar musical life and as reports said,⁴⁵ many Zadar male and female artists, some of whom later became world-famous, were its members.⁴⁶ Music teachers worked in the Society since its foundation and were heads of individual departments. The piano department was long led by Ersilia Perini and the singing one by Teresita Traversi. At the end of the 19th

⁴² Fučić mentions Glagolitic manuscripts of late teacher Petar Matulina. FUČIĆ, Branko. (1980), *Glagoljica i dalmatinski spomenici. Prilozi povijesti unjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 21 (1980), 1 p 283.

⁴³ Cf. RADEKA, Igor. (ed.). (2015), *Časopis Zora (1917-1918): paška perjanica Hrvatskoga katoličkog pokreta*. Pag: Matica hrvatska, Ogranak, 20-22.

⁴⁴ Cf. SABALIĆ, Giuseppe. (1922), *Cronistoria aneddotica del Nobile teatro di Zara: (1781-1881)*, 172.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Relazione della direzione della Società filarmonica di Zara: sull' andamento e sulla gestione economica della società stessa*. (1859-1863). Zara: Demarchi-Rougier, 1859-1863.

⁴⁶ Cf. HR-DAZD-479: Zbirka rukopisa, Società Filarmonica: straordinari: 1859-1894 Vol. 1-2, Rkp. 72 /1-2.

century, maestro Leon Levi had his own orchestra,⁴⁷ and in 1909, the Zadar "maestra", Alyxena Alacevich organized a music course for girls.⁴⁸ Zadar's male and female painters of the 19th and the early 20th century proudly mentioned their painting teachers and the importance of the courses that successfully prepared them for Vienna and Rome's academies. Most of them studied with Ivan Žmirić and Fra Josip Rossi,⁴⁹ but they also themselves held classes in their hometown. Thus, the most famous female Zadar painter, Zoe Borelli Vranska, after finishing her studies, intended to start a painting course.⁵⁰

Conclusion

As civil servants in the Dalmatia province, teachers were active in all major places from the middle of the 19th century. They were often the initiators of cultural activities in their area. Although the school curriculum strictly determined their work, there was room for some outside school and extracurricular activities, which they reported about at teachers' assemblies and were published by the other public press. Teachers wrote about life, events, and their work published professional articles with suggestions for improving teaching and recommendations for enhancing the cultural life of the community in which they lived. They organized stage and music performances in schools, art and handicraft workshops for children, exhibitions, and courses for adults, which went beyond their daily work scope. In addition to praise, these activities also brought them rewards, promotion or transfer to a better job, and sometimes financial benefits, which was used more successfully by male than female teachers. There were teachers of art subjects that were little talked about in the

⁴⁷ HR-DAZD-88: Vlada/Namjesništvo za Dalmaciju, 1890, Vol. 2, no. 3 (18976, 19305).

⁴⁸ *Narodni list*, 48 (18th September 1909), 75, 3.

⁴⁹ PEJIĆ, Pijo Mate. (2004), Slikar fra Josip Rossi. Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanost Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru, 46, 327.

⁵⁰ *Narodni list*, 57 (6th February 1918), 10, 2.

school and pedagogical context in other institutions and private schools, so their work often remained neglected in historiography.

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