



## Croatian music-historiographical syntheses in the first half of the 20th century

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**Abstract:** This paper has developed as a result of the research done in the framework of the scholarly project Croatian music historiography before 1945, which has been funded by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport of the Republic of Croatia. So far, the research in music historiography of the 19th century has been concluded.

A completed bibliography includes works by Croatian authors active in Croatia or abroad as well as works by authors from other countries who dealt with historical issues related to Croatian music. A sum of more than 3000 recorded relevant bibliographic units so far might provide evidence of a multiple increase of the number of music-historiographical sources compared to the 19<sup>th</sup> century (around 460 were published altogether), and through analytical approach it has already been determined in this moment of the research that a great number of them surpass the previous period in its scholarly and/or professional relevance. Since Croatian music historiography of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was much more professionalized than that of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, its results were more respectable. This is seen in numerous articles and studies as well as in the music-historiographical syntheses.

While in the 19th century only one general music history was written (but not published) in the period between 1911 and 1944 three general music histories and five national histories were published. Four of them dealt with Croatian and one with Slovakian music history. Finally, a book on Croatian music history by non-Croatian author Ivan Kamburov was published in Sofia in 1942. The authors of general music histories were Stjepan Hadrović (1911), Josip Andreis (1942) and Hubert Pettan (1942, <sup>2</sup>1943), of Croatian music histories Božidar Širola (1922, 1942), Branimir Ivakić (1930), and Hubert Pettan (1944), and of Slovakian Josip Andrić (1944). Structural models and/or concepts, including ideological ones, are going to be displayed in the paper.

**Keywords:** Croatia, History of music, authors, bibliography.

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## 1 Introduction

This paper has developed as a result of the research done in the framework of the scholarly project *Croatian music historiography before 1945*, which has been funded by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport of the Republic of Croatia. So far, the research in music historiography of the 19th century has been concluded.

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## 2 General Histories of Music

While in the 19th century only one general music history was written (but not published) in the period between 1911 and 1944 three general music histories and five national histories were published. These general music histories are: 1) Stjepan Hadrović, *Kratka povjest glazbe* [A Short Music History], Zagreb 1911; 2) Josip Andreis, *Povijest glazbe* [History of Music], Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 1942; 3) Hubert Pettan, *Pregled povijesti glazbe* [Survey of Music History], Logor Hrvatskog državnog konzervatorija u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 1942,<sup>2</sup>1943.

In the last decade of the 19th century organist, music teacher and a representative of Realism in Croatian literature, Vjenceslav Novak (1859-1905) wrote the first general music history in Croatia, but it remained at the time only in the form of a manuscript<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, the first published general

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1 On the process of creation, meaning and content of that History of Music see Sanja MAJER-BOBETKO: Novakova glazbenopovijesna sinteza [Novak's Music-Historiographical Synthesis] in: S. MAJER-BOBETKO – Zdravko BLAŽEKOVIĆ – Gorana DOLINER: Hrvatska glazbena historiografija u 19. stoljeću [Croatian Music Historiography in the 19th Century], Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, Zagreb 2009, pp. 118-129; see also Sanja MAJER-BOBETKO: The Founders of Croatian Music Historiography: Music, History, Politics, and Ideology, in: Zdravko BLAŽEKOVIĆ and Barbara DOBBS MACKENZIE (ed.): Music's Intellectual History, RILM, New York 2009, pp. 515-524. A critical edition with a list of music terminology and an introductory study was edited by

history of music was *Kratka povjest glazbe* [A Short Music History, 1911]<sup>2</sup> by the Canon of Vrhbosna, the organist and conductor of the Sarajevo Cathedral, music teacher and composer, Stjepan Hadrović (1863-1934). Hadrović probably felt the need of, at the time indeed small but entirely neglected, music public, for such texts. So, the book was written for a broader public, and was based, as it was written in the title, on the already affirmed, summarized, and then very popular *Abriss der allgemeinen Musikgeschichte für Lehrerseminare und Dilettanten* by Bernhard Kothe. On the other hand, the history of Croatian music was not omitted. Hadrović wrote a special chapter dedicated to Croatian music, which was a model introduced by V. Novak. That chapter is entirely based on the book *Ilirski glazbenici* [The Illyrian Musicians, 1893] (Kuhač 1893), written by the founder of Croatian music historiography Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834-1911), who died in the year of publishing Hadrović's booklet. This book by Hadrović remained the only published general review by a Croatian author for three decades until 1942, when musicologist Josip Andreis (1909-1982) published *Povijest glazbe* [History of Music] and Hubert Pettan (1912-1989) published the first volume of the three-volume *Pregled povijesti glasbe* [Survey of Music History] (Andreis 1942; Pettan, 1942,<sup>2</sup>1943).

Andreis' *History of music* might be treated as the core of his later extensive and the already legendary three-volume *History of Music*<sup>3</sup>. Like

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Sanja Majer-Bobetko and published in: *Croatica*, 25 (1994) 40-41, 1-200. It was used in the form of a manuscript in class in the Academy of Music in Zagreb even after WWI. On that see Dubravka FRANKOVIĆ: Još o povijesti "Povijesti glazbe" Vjenceslava Novaka [More on History of "Music History" by Vjenceslav Novak], in: *Kolo*, 12 (2002) 1, pp. 19-34.

<sup>2</sup> On Hadrović's *Kratka povjest glazbe* see Sanja MAJER-BOBETKO: Glazbena historiografija s početka 20. stoljeća na primjeru *Kratke povijesti glazbe* Stjepana Hadrovića [Music Historiography from the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century on the Example of *A Short Music History* by Stjepan Hadrović], in: *I. međunarodni simpozij «Muzika u društvu», Sarajevo, 29-30. 10. 1998., Zbornik radova / The First International Symposium „Music in the Society“, Sarajevo, October, 29-30. 1998*, edited by Ivan Čavlović, Muzikološko društvo FBiH, Sarajevo 1999, pp. 95-106.

<sup>3</sup> Later editions *Povijest glazbe* have been extended to two (*Historija muzike*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb 1966) and three volumes (*Historija muzike*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb 1951-54; *Povijest glazbe*, Liber – Mladost, Zagreb 1974-77; Reprint: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, Zagreb 1989), and the history of Croatian music was presented in an additional 4th volume (1974). It was translated into English and published under the title *Music in Croatia* in 1974 by the Institute of Musicology of the Academy of Music in Zagreb, and the second enlarged edition was published in 1982 by the same publisher. In 1962 Andreis also wrote a special chapter on Croatian music history in *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji* [Historical Development of Music Culture in Yugoslavia], Školska knjiga, Zagreb 1962, written by Josip Andreis, Dragotin Cvetko (on Slovenian music history) and Stana Đurić-Klajn (on Serbian music history). Up to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Andreis' general histories of music were the most comprehensive music histories in Croatia and, therefore, basic and obligatory literature in music schools and academies.

Novak and Hadrović he also incorporated a special chapter on Croatian music. Since he obviously was not familiar with Hadrović's and Novak's music histories<sup>4</sup>, he expressed a belief that he was the first one to suggest such a concept whose main goal is to "define a proper role of Croatian music through the contemplation of music history in its entirety". (Andreis 1942, npg.). That is still a goal that contemporary Croatian music historiography wants to achieve.

Andreis presents the history of music to the reader as a so-called „history of heroes“, through changes in music genres and/or forms – something he did not differentiate even later, as Nikša Gligo claims (Gligo 2009, p. 26) – and sometimes through stylistic features, which significantly changed in the later editions.

This book by Andreis could be regarded as a standard music handbook of the time, whose main goal was to give clearer insight into the variety of information regarding the history of European – including so called “small nations“ – and American music. It is worth noting that in this regard his *History of Music* is much more balanced than, for example, Landormy's *Histoire de la musique*, which was translated into Croatian but never published<sup>5</sup>. Namely it featured French music and musicians much more than the other factors in the European music history.

Pettan's *Survey of Music History* with a separate fourth volume to the history of Croatian music was actually a textbook intended for the students of the Zagreb Conservatory. He positivistically followed a chronological order in his exposition of each century in the general history of music and the history of Croatian music. Most likely led by propaedeutic principles, Pettan, unlike Andreis, begins each chapter with a short overview of relevant events in the field of political history, literature, visual arts and science. Musical events were so put in the broader context. In his *Pregled povijesti hrvatske glasbe* [Survey of Croatian Music History, 1944] he also added concise information about general history of music to each chapter<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> He does not even mention them in the text.

<sup>5</sup> In the late 1930s a composer and music writer Antun Dobronić translated *Histoire de la musique* by Paul Landormy. A manuscript of 482 pages and 17x21 cm is kept at the Division for the History of Croatian Music in The Institute for the History of Croatian Literature, Theatre and Music of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, sign. R=199.

<sup>6</sup> It is important to mention that in the end of the third volume of his general history of music, he listed all the cited literature and it contains 16 titles. Among them is *Povijest glazbe* by Andreis, but also *Povijest glazbe* [Music History] by a musicologist Stanislav Stražnicki (1883-1945), which was never found. Pettan's citations are the only evidence of its existence.

### 3 National Histories of Music

Between 1922 and 1944, four histories of Croatian music were published in Croatia: 1) *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike* [Survey of Croatian Music History, 1922] by composer and musicologist Božidar Širola (1889-1956), 2) *Razvoj hrvatske muzike* [The Development of Croatian Music, 1930] by writer and publicist Branimir Ivakić (1906-1943), 3) *Hrvatska umjetnička glazba* [Croatian Art Music] with the subtitle *Odabrana poglavlja iz povijesti hrvatske glazbe* [Selected Chapters from the History of Croatian Music, 1942] by Širola and finally already mentioned, 4) *Pregled povijesti hrvatske glasbe* [Survey of Croatian Music History, 1944] by Hubert Pettan (Širola 1922; Ivakić 1930; Pettan 1944). However, as was also already cited, the history of Croatian music was not omitted even in the general histories of music of that time. But a mention should be made of the Croatian Music History written by the prominent Bulgarian musicologist Ivan Kamburov (1883-1955). Entitled *Хъватска музика. Минало и съвременост* [Croatian Music. Past and Present] and based on Širola's *Survey of Croatian Music History* the book was published in Sofia in 1942 (Kamburov 1942). Written in the Bulgarian language, Kamburov's book was obviously meant for the Bulgarian public. Its reception in Bulgaria has not been yet researched. To the best of our knowledge, two reviews were published in Croatian daily newspapers, and a very short note in the music journal *Sv. Cecilija* pointed out some of the factual mistakes (Mosner 1942, p. 13; Fedorov 1942, p. 2; Majer-Bobetko 2008, pp. 135-142). However, no strictly musicological review was published. It is possible that Croatian musicologists valued Kamburov's hard work and did not want to speak detrimentally about the book and its oversights and superficialities at that time of intensive revitalization of Croatian-Bulgarian relations. In any case, that book is still the only musico-historiographical synthesis on Croatian music by a non-Croatian author. As such, it must not be overlooked in works dealing with the very discipline of Croatian music historiography. On the other hand, the first history of Slovakian music was written by a Croatian composer, writer and musicologist Josip Andrić (1894-1967) and published in Zagreb (Andrić 1944).

Naturally, in the focus of our interest in the paper are histories of Croatian music.

Regardless of different methods of presentation, the two things in common that all histories of music of that time share are evolution theory as the basic concept, on the one hand, and that they are a continuance of Kuhač's beliefs, which sometimes might vary, on the other.

As is widely known, F. Ks. Kuhač (1834-1911) is the founder of Croatian ethnomusicology and musicology, and music historiography in

particular<sup>7</sup>. In addition, one must not forget his contribution to the establishment of Croatian music terminology<sup>8</sup>. Finally, encouraged by the publication of Adler's famous article *Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft* in 1885, the following year he introduced the Croatian public cultural sphere with the term musicology (Kuhač 1886, pp. 555-556)<sup>9</sup> through the journal *Vienac*. But, Kuhač's fundamental aesthetic, ideational, that is, ideological belief was that music historiography, just as music itself, should promote the national identity. That is why the focus of the periodization of Croatian music history, introduced for the first time in 1885 in his booklet *Glasbeno nastojanje Gajevih Ilira. Povjesna crtica* [The Music Endeavours of Gaj's Illyrians. A Historical Sketch-Story] (Kuhač 1885), was

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<sup>7</sup> On music historiographical contributions by Kuhač see S. MAJER-BOBETKO – Z. BLAŽEKOVIĆ – G. DOLINER: *Hrvatska glazbena historiografija u 19. stoljeću*, especially the chapter on Franjo Kuhač by Z. Blažeković, pp. 34-101; Mirjana ŠKUNCA: *Kuhačevo proučavanje hrvatske glazbene prošlosti* [Kuhač's Research in the Croatian Music History], in: Jerko BEZIĆ (ed.): *Franjo Š. Kuhač. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1834-1911)* [Franjo Š. Kuhač. Proceedings of the Symposium on Franjo Ksaver Kuhač's 150<sup>th</sup> Birthday Anniversary (1834-1911)], JAZU, Zagreb 1984, pp. 405-440.

<sup>8</sup> The work in question is his translation of Lobe's *Katechismus der Musik (Katekizam glazbe*, D. Albrecht, Zagreb 1875; Lav. Hartman, Zagreb 1889). On more about that see Branko RAKIJAS: *Značenje Kuhačeva Katekizma glazbe u našoj muzičkoj teoriji i praksi* [The Importance of Kuhač's *Catechism of Music* for Croatian Music Theory and Practice], *Arti musices*, 2 (1971), 141-152; Sanja MAJER-BOBETKO: *Hrvatsko glazbeno nazivlje u prvim hrvatskim glazbenim časopisima* [Croatian Music Terminology in the First Croatian Music Journals], *Kronika Zavoda za povijest hrvatske književnosti, kazališta i glazbe HAZU*, Novi tečaj, 4 (1998) 8-9-10, pp. 3-119.

<sup>9</sup> Within his area of study, Croatian music historiography, Kuhač diligently collected materials and published many articles, studies, discussions and even monographs, but not a synthesis of music history, although in 1875 he made a plan for such a synthesis for the South Slavic area (see *Versuch einer Musikgeschichte der Südslaven*, 1875, manuscript, Croatian State Archives, personal foundation of Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, HR-HDA-805-XXIV/54-I, 19). That plan was simply impracticable because Kuhač's concept was extremely broad, almost anthropological in today's terms, and there were still no relevant studies or research done. Besides, Kuhač worked all alone, without any associates. In his works he paid special attention to the Illyrian movement and its composers, which in 1885 resulted in the publication of *Glasbeno nastojanje Gajevih Ilira. Povjesna crtica* [The Music Endeavours of Gaj's Illyrians. A Historical Sketch-Story], published by the Mučnjak-Sentfleben publishing house, Zagreb 1885, then by portraits of relevant musicians (F. Livadić, F. Pintarić, I. Padovec, K. baron Prandau, F. Ks. Čačković-Vrhovinski, J. Juratović, P. Stooš, D. pl. Turanji, M. Hajko, V. Karas, V. Vernak, F. Pokorni, F. Rusan, J. Runjanin, P. Kolarić, S. Rubido-Edrdödy, M. Jaić, S. Vraz) with lists of their works in the book *Ilirski glazbenici* [Illyrian Musicians], Matica hrvatska, Zagreb 1893, and by a monographic study about the life and work of the most distinguished composer of that time, Vatroslav Lisinski (1819-1854), which was published in two editions (see *Vatroslav Lisinski i njegovo doba. Prilozi za povijest hrvatskoga preporoda* [Vatroslav Lisinski and His Time. Contributions for the History of Croatian National Revival], Matica hrvatska, Zagreb 1887, <sup>2</sup>1904).

the period of Croatian national revival or, as it is also named, the Illyrian Movement (1835-1848)<sup>10</sup>. Although his conclusions were sometimes scholarly ungrounded and arbitrary, among which his claims about the Croatian descent of renowned composers such as J. Haydn, F. Liszt, G. Tartini<sup>11</sup>, etc. are the most known ones, his influence on the Croatian music historiography of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was crucial for many authors.

Basically, that means that the period of National Revival as a social, political and cultural movement, which aimed at constituting a nation in the contemporary sense of the word, was seen as a turning point in the history of Croatian music, as a stronghold where the history of Croatian music in the sense of authentic national music, i.e. of art music based on folk music, actually started. Music historiography strongly promoted that idea as the only way to ensure the “presence of that [Croatian] music in the world”, or “to define the proper role of Croatian music through the contemplation of music history in its entirety”, as Andreis wrote in 1942 (Andreis 1942, npg). Furthermore, the affirmation through national schools was taken as the central moment of the history of music of all Slavic people, and thus also of Croats, which Širola formulated as following in his *Survey of Croatian Music History*:

“Even if we were to neglect, destroy all S l a v i c music up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, music as a whole would not be impeded in its development. France, Italy, Germany and England provided the foundation for all the music of that period. A member of another nation could only cooperate in its development when he would follow the mainstream. It was only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that new nations came forward, such as Scandinavians and Slavs and they began to contribute in the further development to such an extent that we can no longer discuss 19<sup>th</sup> century music without them, since it was the century when nations freed themselves from the oppression of the, until then, dominant cosmopolitan music” (Širola 1922, p. 8).

In 1922 Širola divided the history of Croatian music into music of the pre-Illyrian, Illyrian and post-Illyrian period, and also added chapters on folk

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<sup>10</sup> By awakening patriotic awareness, the Croatian National Revival set in motion the process of constituting the Croatian nation in the modern sense of the word. However, the movement meant not only a political but also a cultural revival among the Croats, and had consequences in all areas of cultural life, including music. The two most important traits required of Croatian music at the time were, first, to have a stylistic connection with Croatian national music and, second, to have true artistic quality. However, the 1848-49 Revolution was immediately followed by Habsburg Absolutism in the 1850s, which introduced a rigid policy on the part of the Viennese centralized government. During that period, Croatian cultural efforts were abandoned, and the ideology of the movement became subdued. However, with respect to music, it was revived in Kuhač's articles dating from after the 1870s.

<sup>11</sup> His claims sometimes created problems between him and the publishers. For example, Matica hrvatska refused to print his *Historijski uvod* [Historical Introduction] for the book *Ilirski glazbenici*, because it was „too chauvinistic“. It was only published in 1994 by Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada as a reprint edited by Lovro Županović.

and contemporary music. In 1930 in *The Development of Croatian Music* by a left-oriented music critic Branimir Ivakić, the aforementioned ideological concept was even more intensively radicalized. To speak in Širola's terms, Ivakić simply omitted the „music of the pre-Illyrian period“. Of course, according to Ivakić, Croatian people of that time did not live in a deaf space and without any music. They had their folk music, so with that chapter Ivakić starts his discussion and basically continues it by following Širola's periodization, with a chapter on art music. Speaking of Croatian folk music, he tried to determine its historical continuity, therefore, he divided it into five developmental stages, and in that process, pointed out to the economic and social conditionality of such a periodization and concluded that it is, therefore, “very difficult to reconstruct that whole development process and determine its individual stages subsequently. A melody is usually the result of an entire development process” (Ivakić, 1930 p. 5)<sup>12</sup>. However, due to social and economic circumstances, old layers of folk music got preserved in many regions of Croatia (Ivakić 1930, pp. 4-5)<sup>13</sup>.

Art music was the subject of the next chapter. Like Širola, he also divided the development of that music into three periods, but unlike Širola, saw them as three stylistic periods: 1) the period of nationalism (Vatroslav Lisinski, Ferdo Livadić, Fortunat Pintarić, Franjo Ksaver Kuhač), 2) the period of eclecticism (Ivan Zajc, Franjo Vilhar Kalski, Blagoje Bersa, Franjo Dugan) and 3) the period of neonationalism (contemporary Croatian composers). Also unlike Širola, he does not present music culture by just stating the facts, or by enumerating events from history, but he analyses it within a sociopolitical and cultural context. He also does not scruple from making judgments of his own, that is, from offering his own interpretation, largely based on the sociological point of view.

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<sup>12</sup> The five stages of development of Croatian folk music according to Ivakić are the following: “The first stage is the most primitive form of music and singing in general. In this stage there is neither scale nor fixed intervals. In the second stage we can already distinguish intervals, but those are not the intervals of a well tempered, but of a diatonic scale. In the third stage well tempered appears, however, the melodies are still not based on our major-minor system but on church modes. The fourth stage is present in those melodies which are composed in the major-minor system. Finally, the fifth stage is the stage of international influences, in which the characteristics of our music slowly fade out.” (p. 5)

<sup>13</sup> “We Croatians are so lucky that, due to special circumstances, in certain regions of our country completely authentic types of individual developmental stages in our folk music, both instrumental and vocal, have been preserved up to this day. The geographical circumstances of certain areas, that is, their inaccessibility, lack of transport infrastructure and of goods on which to base commerce, and as a result of it all, a low level of civilization compared to the modern Western European countries are all factors that contributed to the preservation of folk music in its almost unchanged primordial form. Of course, as contact with foreign influences got more frequent, the music changed as well. Therefore, we can also find other stages of development of our folk music in other regions of our country“.

Twelve years later, *Croatian Art Music* by Širola was published. The prologue clearly indicated that it was intended to be “a self-contained manual for everyone who deals with Croatian music, scholarly or practically” and primarily for secondary school students (Širola 1942, pp. 5-6).

Therefore, it was conceived quite differently than his *Survey of Croatian Music History* which was published 20 years before. Although it was titled *Croatian Art Music* and although it should have been just a continuation and a pendant to the monograph written two years before by Širola titled *Hrvatska narodna glazba* [Croatian Folk Music] (Širola 1940), in this synthesis he also dedicated a special chapter to Croatian folk music, which had, starting from the pre-Illyrian period, the crucial role in the composition of art music.

There are 15 chapters in Širola's *Croatian Art Music*. They are quite different from his periodization from 1922, and the results of recent research<sup>14</sup> were included which resulted in partially different interpretations than those in his *Survey of Croatian Music History*:

- ❖ Music in Dalmatia between the 16th and the 18th century
- ❖ Latin and Croatian hymnology of the Middle Ages
- ❖ Croatian folk music (instrumental and vocal)
- ❖ Music in the Illyrian period – up to 1850
- ❖ Vatroslav Lisinski
- ❖ „Illyrian“ composers
- ❖ Music in the transition period (1850-1870)
- ❖ Music in Zajc's time (1870-1910)<sup>15</sup>
- ❖ Ivan pl. Zajc
- ❖ Franjo Ks. Kuhač
- ❖ Composers in Zajc's time
- ❖ Contemporary Croatian music (from 1910 until today)
- ❖ Contemporary Croatian composers
- ❖ Contemporary musicology and music historiography in Croatia
- ❖ Interpretative/reproductive artists in Croatia.

Unlike Andreis, who was not a researcher and based his histories on compilation, Pettan was, like Širola, a researcher, especially in the field of Croatian opera, and based his Croatian history on both compilation and his own research. Faced with the question which is current even today about which composers to include in the history of Croatian music, starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the first relevant authors appeared, Pettan completely adheres to the criteria presented

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<sup>14</sup> The most important research was done by a musicologist Dragan Plamenac (1895-1983). His research, as is well known, has resulted in new discoveries about Croatian music culture of the Renaissance and the early Baroque period, including the discoveries of Ivan Lukačić and Toma Cecchini (ca 1580-1640).

<sup>15</sup> Ivan Zajc was the most significant Croatian composer of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

by Kuhač in *Biografsko-muzikografski slovník* [Biographical and Musicographical Dictionary], which he points out to himself. He also explicitly explains them:

“All composers of the older periods, although born in Croatia, wrote in the spirit of their time. This raises the question of what criteria should be followed. Should we consider a musician (composer, virtuoso, music writer) a Croatian musician according to: place of birth or family membership (descent; as an example from general history of music we can mention Beethoven), residence or professional activity in a country (Händel), the sentiment of the composer in question or, finally, the features that can be found in his compositions?”

Up to Romanticism, we cannot really speak of particular national music in the contemporary sense of the word. Up until that period, a more reliable criterion is definitely the composer than his work.

Regardless of the features of the composition (whether there is a folk element present and to what extent or not), we will consider as Croatian the following composers: 1) those who were born in Croatia (or regions that were then considered Croatia), even if they were professionally active outside of their homeland (Tartini, Krežma), and also those 2) who are of Croatian descent but were born outside of Croatia due to the circumstances (Pejačević); 3) in the case of composers born outside of Croatia and of foreign descent, who lived and were professionally active in Croatia, assimilated to its culture and contributed to the development of its music culture, the following principles will be applied: a composer who lives in a certain country and feels that he belongs to the people of that country will be considered part of that people's history. It is the opposite if the composer lives and works in a foreign country but still feels himself a part of the people that he descends from. There are no clear-cut boundaries in determining this. (However, even in the case of the latter, it will be important to mention their contribution in our country)” (Pettan, 1944, pp. 42-43).

## 4 Conclusion

Primarily following the chronicle model music-historiographical syntheses of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which were written by Croatian authors and published in Croatia, were based on positivistic and compilation methods, and on the ideas of the theory of evolution. But their authors without exception also followed Franjo Kuhač's thesis on the promoting national identity through historiographical texts. Perhaps the best testimony about that is Andreis' statement:

“The process of creation of art music in Croatia is based primarily on the recognition that folk music is the only source of art music and that art music, imbued with the spirit of folk music, is an excellent instrument in the struggle for political independence.” (Andreis 1942, p. 618).

As it has already been indicated, the authors of the syntheses had never advocated for its supremacy as some European music historiographers of that period would sometimes present their national music histories. Those works did not bear the stamp of chauvinistic nationalism<sup>16</sup>. But that was not always

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<sup>16</sup> In his book *Philosophies of Music Histories* Warren Dwight Allen wrote a chapter on this matter and, among other, made mention of Paul Landormy's *Histoire de la musique*, Hans Joachim Moser's *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, Fausto Torrefranca's *Le origini italiane del romanticismo musicale: i primitivi della sonata moderna*. In addition, according to Allen “the first instance of music history rewritten for ideology's sake (bold by SMB) is that of Anton Mayer's *Geschichte der Music*” from 1933. Namely, “the original edition of Mayer's

the case in music-historiographical journalism. Some authors thought that the period of hegemony of Slavic music was coming. This was especially advocated by already mentioned Antun Dobronić, a representative (like many others in the period between the two world wars) and ideologist of the (neo)national orientation. However, his ideas had no influence upon music-historiographical syntheses.

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book came out in 1928 – a simple, conventional text beginning with the music of Greeks. This edition, completely made over to suit the present regime, makes no mention of the original edition” (*Philosophies of Music History: A Study of General Histories of Music 1600-1960* (1962). New York: Dover publications, pp. 165-166).

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