APPROACHES TO THE PEOPLE'S MUSIC-LIFE IN DALMATIA (CROATIA) IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

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The paper is concerned with three periods: the 16th, 18th and 20th centuries. In the first the music event itself was the point of interest. The second one gave good descriptions of music phenomena. The beginning of the third period was characterized by a relatively broad subject of investigation. Soon after it was restricted mainly to the old strata of Croatian traditional music. Thereupon, in the 1970s, the approaches were widened by taking into consideration the people's entire music-life, and in the 1980s by acquiring certain anthropological features.

The intention of this paper is to show diverse approaches, diverse ways in which people of different occupations approach music-making phenomena, and to present the types of evidence they have left about the music-life of particular social environments at specific times. The types of testimony are extremely different - ranging from short undocumented and unexplained information on the fact that there was singing or playing, from descriptions of how something was sung or played, from data for whom and on what occasion music was performed, to notations of songs and instrumental melodies.
In this paper, the term Dalmatia denotes the territory of the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea from the island of Rab to the Bay of Kotor (Boka Kotorska), a territory which was the Austrian province of Dalmatia from the beginning of the 19th century - after a short period of French rule - right up until 1918. Earlier Venetian Dalmatia - uninterrupted from the beginning of the 15th century to the end of the 18th - had been somewhat smaller, without Dubrovnik and its broad surroundings, and almost without hinterland in the 16th and 17th century as this part was under Ottoman rule. In the geographical sense, there are three areas in that Mediterranean region: the islands, a very narrow coastal belt, and a somewhat wider, mainly mountainous hinterland. In his desire to draw attention to individual characteristic approaches, the author has chosen material from the 16th, 18th and 20th centuries.

Available 16th century sources contain music notations of two one-part vocal melodies and a number of indirect data on music-making in Dalmatia at that time.

Petar (Petre) Hektorović (1487—1572), a poet and landowner from Stari Grad on the island of Hvar, published Ribanye i ribarscho prigovaranye i razliche stvari ine [Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations and Various Other Matters] in Venice in 1568, in which along with the poem Ribanye, written in 1556, he added a few songs written for special occasions, as well as epistles and letters dating from the 1552—1561 period. There are also Italian texts along with the Croatian, which he signed as Pietro Hettoreo, and Latin ones signed Petrus Hectorues.

In a 1557 letter in Croatian to Mikša Pelegrinović - a Hvar landowner and Zadar notary - with the musical notes to the tunes of two songs from Ribanye, Hektorović expressly made the point that he did not compose the songs himself, but that he had noted them down very carefully just as he heard them from two fishermen. It was not important to him whether these fishermen had learnt the songs from others, or others had learnt the songs from them. Hektorović believed it is more probable that the fishermen learnt them from others as they were "... people of the sea who went sailing, now with this person, now with that - they heard something here and something there and learned it by carefully listening" (Hektorović 1568:f.36v).1

1 Hektorović 1568: folio 36 r. "A to jere si (može biti) i od drugih slišal bugašćice one koje su moji ribari bugarili i onu istu pisan koju obadva zajedno pripivaše. I mni mi se da ćeš reći u sebi: zašto nisi sam od tvoga uma kojegodi bugašćine i pisan izmislio i složio, nego si pošal one stvari ke i druži umiju povidati? Zato ti dam znati da sam ja veliku pomnju stavil ispisati izvarnomu vitezu onomu i dati na znanje sve ribanje
Hektorović's emphasis on the lively mutual communication of the Hvar fishermen with other people confirms the oration by his older contemporary, the Dominican theologian Vinko Pribojević (Priboevius, c. 1450 — after 1532) about Hvar harbour on the island of the same name in which "... like it or not, everyone sailing with cargo in the Illyrian sea, has to put ashore, ... and the frequent contact with people of diverse nationalities who dock their ships in this city, produces the refinement and fine manners of the people of Hvar. Whatever is produced by the affluent Orient, whatever is given by fertile Latium, whatever is offered by brave Illyria, whatever is born in sunny Africa, whatever is brought by acerbic Spain, whatever is given in exchange by raw Scythia, whatever is offered by fortunate Arabia, whatever is exported by verbose Greece, can very often be bought in this city" (Pribojević 1951:101—102, 205).2 If the Mediterranean is as John Davis says "... an area of intense interaction and has been so for a very long time" (Davis 1993:105), then Hvar, too, in Hektorović's time was, in that respect, a typical Mediterranean city.

Hektorović also noted down the name of two types of songs with tunes. The narrative song with long verses, mainly of syllabic tunes was called bugarsčica and/or bugarsčina, and the lyrical mainly melismatic song was called pisan.

The island of Hvar's communications with the hinterland on the mainland is also indicated by Hektorović's denotation sarbski način [(in the) Serbian manner] for the melody of the first, narrative song. The term manner for a tune (for a vocal melody) was also used by Hektorović's contemporaries, the poets N. Ranjina and P. Zoranić. This term is found in...
with the same meaning in the German language, too (die Weise), while it has also been retained in north-western Croatia (vižarica is the female lead singer).

Discussing the texts of the songs in Ribanye, Maja Bošković-Stulli does not see the term "Serbian manner" used by Paskoy the fisherman (Hektorović 1568:f. 12 r) as an indication of a particular state of belonging, but as a trace of significant ethnic and social movements in the 16th century. It was a time of migrations of the population from the interior - Serbians, Vlachs and others - who were fleeing from the Ottomans, to settlements on the coast and on the islands. The Croatian islanders called these people Serbian, in addition to other denotations (Vlachs). It was a time of the creation of mutual contacts, influences and the adoption of certain traditions among the old and new populations (Bošković-Stulli 1975:22—23).

In reporting on the approach here, we shall not go into amplification and evaluation of Hektorović's annotations of the tunes, a subject on which the author of this article wrote elsewhere (Bezić 1969).

With such efforts on Hektorović's part to write as truthfully and realistically as possible about music events, it could be assumed that a different approach which only mentions music events would be less absorbing to the interested researcher. Writers of that time, namely, noted the phenomena of singing and playing in their extra-musical context which was of more importance to them than the music itself. However, such reports and information - along with the ban on certain types of music-making - have shown themselves to be very valuable documents concerning the musical life of specific environments and times.

Official bans are known as very reliable evidence of the existence of the prohibited music phenomena. Thus, for example, the Decree of the Split archbishop Andrea Corner dating from 1535 by which he enjoined the clergy, priests and other ecclesiastical persons from wandering around the city and the suburbs at night, singing love songs to the accompaniment of the lute or other instruments (Ljubić 1877:140). We should also mention the 1556 ban on playing music and dancing in front of the church in Čiovo near Trogir (Zaninović 1938:6). On the eve of Carnival in 1582, music-making and dancing was again banned during Carnival time in the town of Trogir and in Čiovo (Fisković 1983:16).

Special mention should be made of information contained in the letter by the Split mayor to the Venetian government in 1574 concerning the ceremony accompanying the giving of gifts sent by the Venetian government to the poor of the Split district. So it was that an old, blind soldier came before the Split mayor, accepted the offered French toast,
took leave of the gift-giver and went away "... singing in the Croatian language about King Marko [Prince Marko], and the whole mass of common folk and those standing round the dignitary sang with him as though this has been agreed beforehand, as they all knew the song" (Solitro 1844:244).3

Although the city mayor compiled only an official report to the Venetian government, his personal sense for description of characteristic details in the text mentioned - though with no musical features - left clear testimony which allows us to consider that event as an appearance of traditional music, known to everyone in the city of Split. The popularity of the songs about Prince Marko - whom songs concerning battles against the Turks made a hero - is readily understood when it is borne in mind that the Turks had captured the Klis fortress in 1537, this being only ten kilometres from Split, and that they were in fact at the very portals of the city.

The somewhat unusual phenomenon of the participation of a group of singers in the performance of a long narrative song - rather than just an individual singer - is confirmed by a tape recording of a traditional song about King Vladimir, made four centuries later on the northern Dalmatian island of Ugljan near Zadar, performed by a group of women (Bezić 1990:189, 196).

3 Solitro 1844:244: "... Poi venne, tra li altri, anche un cieco, il quale combattette, a questo passato tempo, nelli Turchi, e sorti biscotto. Venne in mezzo, e lo conduceva la sua filiuola, bella e alta, tutta rossa e vergognosa, e non ha sedici anni, ed il populo le faceva mille detti; ed erano allegri che mai più tanto. Ed il soldato venne e prese, e saluto, e si partì del mezzo cantando in schiavone, del re Marco (1); e tutto il populo e circostanti hanno cantato con lui, come per un accordo fatto. Perché tutti sanno questa canzone."

Vincenzo Solitro (1820—1878) was a Dalmatian Italian writer, born in Split (Spalato). His book Documenti storici... was translated in Croatian (Vicko Solitro, Povijesni dokumenti o Istri i Dalmaciji) by Vladimir Rismondo and published by Književni krug, Split in 1989. The quoted description of the gifts' dispensation to the poor of Split Area is a part of an undated letter written by the mayor (rector) of Split ("Spalato...", Solitro 1844:241). Šime Ljubić in his "Contribution to Jagić's Discourse..." (Ljubić 1877) on p. 141 gave to the quoted undated letter from Split a date "in April 1547". This was made by using the misprint in the date of the first next letter in the Solitro's book (p. 247, "Traù, 28 aprile 1547"). In the present article the quoted document is dated by 1574. There are several grounds for this reason. In the Solitro's book the chapter "The letters of the mayors (rectors)" contains letters dated only by 1574, mostly in April. There is only one letter with a different date. It is the above-mentioned "Traù 28 aprile 1547", but in this case the number of the year is an evident misprint, because this letter is also talking about the gifts' dispensation to the poor. Thus, the translator of the Croatian version of Solitro's book had a good ground to date the cited letter by April 28th 1574, not by 1547 (p. 227 and 359). Davor Dukić expressed the same reasoning in his book Zmaj, junak, vila [Dragon, hero, fairy - an anthology of oral epics from Dalmatia] (Dukić 1992:9).
A source of different kind, the multi-part composition "Pavana sesta. Detta la Schiauonetta" [The Sixth Pavana. Named the Slavonic] - i.e. a Slavonic/Croatian Pavana] published in a collection by the Italian lute-player and composer Giulio Cesare Barbetta (1540 — after 1603), *Il primo libro dell'intavolatura de liuto*, Venice 1569, presents a dance melody in its highest part. The melody's links with the Croats (the Slavs) on the eastern coast of the Adriatic are indicated only by the second part of the title (Stipčević 1984:35, 38—41). Proceeding only from the musical viewpoint, the composer did not provide even the scantiest information on this dance melody alongside the composition. Although such practice was usual in sheet music, here - in direct comparison with the extra-musical data on the performance of the song about Prince Marko in Split - this melody for dance, although annotated musically, seems to be very incomplete information as regards ethnomusicological research, and it is almost useless for the musico-anthropological approach to research.

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Reports available from the 18th century are characterised by descriptions of musical phenomena. No notation of the music of a melody is known to date - except for three annotations by the Split composer and physician Julije Bajamonti (1744—1800) who presented the tune of a song sung by girls from the Bosnian town of Travnik, the melody of a love song of the Janissaries, and a *qadi* love lament - but these are from outside the Dalmatian region.

As regards church folk singing in 18th century Dalmatia, there is a very significant description in the manuscript *Del Clero Illirico* [About the Illyrian/Croatian Clergy] dating from between 1740 and 1742. This extensive report was written by Mate Karaman of Split, who was the bishop of Osor at that time. The 18th chapter of the manuscript titled "Povertà delle Parochie Illiriche" [The Poverty of the Illyrian/Croatian Parishes] contains a description which reads as follows, in translation:

"Although the villages are small, they have their parish priest and his subordinates, the curates and ordinary priests. On Sundays and holy days they solemnly sing the mass and the canonical hours (le ore canoniche), and on ordinary days they sing the mass on anniversaries (of deaths of members of the parish) and the requiem masses. Their singing is not accompanied by musical instruments, they do not require special training. It is comprised of certain unembellished, moving melodies which arouse religious feeling. The choir has quite a number of members as it is made up of priests, clerics, students and many other laymen for whom learning the prayers which are sung is no problem, being in their own language, nor is it difficult for them to adapt their voices to the singing which requires more piety than skill" (Bezić 1973:182—185).
Although Karaman does not describe the musical characteristics of the singing, he nonetheless provides valuable information about this musical phenomenon which played a significant role throughout several centuries in forming broader music culture, particularly on the islands and the coastal north and central part of Dalmatia.

Even in the middle of the 20th century, the broad Dalmatian hinterland with its fairly hilly countryside had still retained the highly characteristic singing style with drawn-out shaking of the voice - called oykanye ("ojkanje") in Croatian professional literature. Bartók called these sounds, which come about through shaking of the voice, clucking sounds (Bartók 1951:77, 96). In the 18th century, the Italian biologist and travel writer Alberto Fortis (1741—1803) gave an excellent description of the performance of this manner of singing in his well-known work Viaggio in Dalmazia [Travelling in Dalmatia], Venice 1774, as follows:

"When the Morlacco [the Venetian term for the inhabitants of the northern Dalmatian hinterland, whether ethnic Croat or Serb] travels through these empty mountains, particularly at night, he sings about the onetime heroic deeds of the Slavic barons and kings, or of some tragic event. If it happens that another traveller is going across the peaks of a nearby mountain, he repeats the verse sung by the first traveller, and this alternating performance in song lasts until the distance between them separates their voices. This prolonged howling, which is in fact a drawn-out o where the pitch of the tones is wildly alternated, is always the forerunner to the verse; the words which make up the verse are uttered quickly, almost without any change in the pitch of the tone, which is left until the final syllable and ends on drawn-out howling in a trilling manner which is raised before breath is expelled" (Fortis 1774:91—92).

The Italian travel writer clearly marked the introductory shaking of the voice, the syllabic recitative part and the ending shaking of the voice, which only slightly differ from the features emphasized by J. Bezić on the basis of his field research in the Sinj Area in 1965 (Bezić 1968:180—185, 217—221). An indirect confirmation of sorts of Fortis's description was given by Ivan Lovrić from Sinj (1754—1777) whose observations and comments to Fortis's Viaggio were published in the Italian language in...
The fact that I. Lovric - Fortis's contemporary and harsh critic of his Viaggio - voices no objections whatsoever to Fortis's description of oykanye speaks for the trustworthiness of that description. Lovric's much shorter description of oykanye, mentions, similarly to Fortis, that each verse starts with a drawn-out o. As, according to B. Bartok on oykanye, it is "... almost impossible to attain an exact notation of these strange sounds without studying them on records" (Bartok 1951:77), we can establish without hesitation that Fortis's realistic description of the music phenomenon, with indication of its context, is of more use than eventual attempts at notation of the music, which, in the 18th century, would certainly have been doomed to failure.

Ivan Lovric, already referred to above, also showed a meticulous approach to the singing and music-making of the Morlaks, and strived to point out particularly the great difference between Italian and Morlak music:

"When some excellent player of the gusle is found, then his countrymen listen in utter silence with full attention. Whence does this derive? Their ears - as regards harmony - are organised in such a way that in order to feel comfortable with music they need such sounds, which they have become used to by habit, and this habit has become part of their nature. And the truth of this can be seen in the fact that Italian music of the highest level is boring to them, in just the same way that Morlak music is boring to Italians" (Lovric 1948:104).

About 150 years later, Lovric's statement was confirmed by the Croatian archaeologist Lujo Marun (1857—1939) who did his work in the Drniš and Knin areas. Marun stated that he had no need to listen to any concert, but was delighted when he heard the gusle (a single-string bowed chordophone) or the diple (a single-reed aerophone with a double chanter, with or without a bag) (Murko 1951:165).

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Before reviewing approaches to traditional music in the 20th century, it should be mentioned that the first professional Croatian ethnomusicologist, Franjo Ks. Kuhac (1834—1911), researched and collected material in Dalmatia during the second half of the 19th century; and that the Czech researcher and collector Ludvik Kuba (1863—1956), was the first to annotate chromatic tunes and instrumental melodies from

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5 Osservazioni di Giovanni Lovrich sopra diversi pezzi del Viaggio in Dalmazia del signor abate Alberto Fortis coll'aggiunta della Vita di Socivizca - a sua eccelenza Maffio Albrizzi gravissimo senatore veneto. In Venezia, MDCCLXXVI. Presso Francesco Sansoni. Con licenza de' superiori.
the hilly Dalmatian hinterland and three-part and four-part tunes of Dalmatian urban folk songs.

The lawyer and composer, Vladimir (Vladoje) Bersa (1864—1927), was the first scholar in the 20th century (1906, 1907) to collect systematically traditional and other, then popular vocal music and a number of instrumental melodies in central and northern Dalmatia. Bersa worked within the project Das Volkslied in Österreich [Folk Songs in Austria] which was sponsored by the Austrian Ministry for Religious Worship and Education. According to the list of associates on that project, Bersa was noted down on April 1, 1914, as one of the members of the "Working Committee for the Serbo-Croatian Folk Song" which had its head-quarters in Zadar, the capital city of the Austrian province of Dalmatia.\(^6\)

In his own words, Bersa wanted with his collection of vocal and instrumental melodies - published only in 1944 in Zagreb (Bersa 1944:332) - to present a clear picture of the real situation as it was in Dalmatian traditional and other, then popular music at the beginning of the 20th century. For that reason, his material is very disparate - from old forms, songs accompanying labour and particular customs, to newer urban love songs and church singing of the common people. Inquiring among young people - around 18 years of age - he noted 58% of the material in urban settlements, with a song or two from the so-called entertainment music of that time, which were also popular in Zagreb itself. Some of these melodies originated from Croatia's neighbouring countries e.g. from Austria and Italy.\(^7\)

The Croatian composer, writer about music, and collector of traditional music Antun Dobronić (1878—1955) was a member of the same Austrian Working Committee in 1914 as V. Bersa. He also worked on urban traditional music in his native Jelsa on the island of Hvar. Dobronić categorized the tunes which he marked as urban into: 1) broader, general Dalmatian urban songs; 2) songs adopted from the broad Croatian hinterland as far as the River Drava; and, 3) tunes with the metro-rhythmical and even melodic characteristics of Italian urban tunes (Bezić 1977:32—35). He made separated groups of older and newer local songs.

\(^6\)A list of the members of the Committee - Arbeitsausschuß für das serbo-kroatische Volkslied - is kept in the Central Archives of the Österreichisches Volksliedwerk in Vienna. The author of this article expresses his gratitude to the head of the institution mentioned, Prof. Walter Deutsch, for his help.

\(^7\) More detailed data and documentation for the statements made here can be found in works by J. Bezić (1977, 1990a).
In the years prior to World War II in Croatia, at a time of festivals and a revival of Croatian peasant culture within very dynamic activities of the opposition party, the Croatian Peasant Party (the HSS - Hrvatska seljačka stranka) in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia - when the interest of Croatian researchers was focussed primarily on authentic autochthonic rural songs (Gavazzi 1936:84) - the leading ethnomusicologist of that time, Božidar Širola (1889—1956) nonetheless also made brief inclusion of the Dalmatian urban songs in his synthesis called *Hrvatska narodna glazba* (Croatian Traditional Music - 1940) as "... an expression of the merging of older local tradition with elements brought in from outside" (Širola 1942:155).

Twenty years later (in 1962), Vinko Žganec (1890—1976) considered the urban i.e. the urban traditional song to be part of traditional music because "... it corresponds in all its basic features to the concept of traditional music, and only by its secondary characteristics does it belong to a specific style of traditional music. However, as various styles may exist, on their part, in traditional music, we must accept the fact of our urban song being recognised as having citizenship in Yugoslavian traditional music" (Žganec 1962:14).

On the other hand, a firmly held conviction still existed during the Sixties that what should be researched and collected should primarily be the very oldest and - according to the opinion of professionals who were not members of specific human communities, specific social ambiences at specific times - the most valuable material. Thus in his 1966 work *Muzički folklor Konavala* [The Traditional Music of Konavle - (an area near Dubrovnik)] - Stjepan Stepanov (1901—1984) wrote that he was publishing "... a selection of that material which encompasses only the oldest, most valuable and, as regards Konavle, most characteristic material, particularly that which is being lost and disappearing more and more with the older generation and the patriarchal way of life in that area". A little further on, the researcher adds in passing a brief and realistic observation:

"The singing of old traditional songs and the playing of traditional instruments in Konavle is disappearing because the young generation sings mainly popular modern dance melodies, while, among traditional songs [they sing] mainly general Dalmatian urban songs, and consequently, when speaking of authentic Konavle traditional songs, we may speak only in the past tense" (Stepanov 1966:461).

The author of this article (born in 1929) also commenced his ethnomusicological activities with research primarily of older forms, older strata of traditional music in specific areas (Bezić 1968). He responded to the need for newer forms to be studied along with the old e.g. in his study "The Relations between Older and Newer Vocal Traditional Music in the
Zadar Region" (Bezić 1966), in which he also included a traditional Dalmatian urban song in the Italian language.

In the first half of the Seventies, Bezić turned his attention to the way of life of music phenomena as the basic paradigm of ethnomusicological research. In this way, the subject of research became more dynamic and multi-layered and could no longer be interpreted merely in the manner of approach used previously in ethnomusicological research. Therefore, works conceived as monographs about traditional music on the particular Dalmatian islands include the most diverse forms of music-making, from the very old customary songs to folk church singing, from epic narrative songs to Partisan songs from the National War of Liberation during World War II (Bezić 1981).

In more recent research of traditional music in Dalmatia, the broad approach used by Bezić was followed by Vedrana Milin (Milin 1989) and particularly by Nikola Buble (born in 1950) in his broad study called Vokalna folklorna glazba Trogira i Donjih Kaštela od 1875. do 1975. [Vocal Folk Music of Trogir and Donja Kaštela from 1875 to 1975] (Buble 1985, 1986) and his anthropologically slanted book, Glazbena kultura stanovnika trogirske općine [Music Culture of the Inhabitants of the Trogir Community], which encompasses all forms of music-making, not only the traditional music in the Trogir area (Buble 1988).

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