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Intertwinement of Croatian and Slovenian Musical Heritage on the Oldest Gramophone Records

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The article focuses on the question of whether the connectivity of the Slovenian and Croatian cultural environment is reflected in the first gramophone recordings of their performers, whether these recordings were produced under similar circumstances and what role the Gramophone Company played. A detailed analysis of the Gramophone Company recordings shows that some of them belong to the very early period of gramophone record production and were made mostly in Zagreb and later in Ljubljana. The recorded material represents an important collection of sonority and, due to its historical value, can justifiably be considered a highly important part of our musical heritage.

Key words: music industry, gramophone records, Gramophone Company, Slovenians and Croatians, musical heritage

INTRODUCTION

From the end of the 19th century, a new technology of recording and sound reproduction was developed using the gramophone, which, due to its technological simplicity, cost efficiency and possibilities for mass production of disc records eventually monopolised the market and replaced the phonograph and wax cylinders. Soon, disc recordings with previously recorded music prevailed, all of which had a substantial impact on the performance and consumption of music.

Various published material in Slovenian and Croatian newspapers shows that both the Slovenians and the Croatians were aware of the new recording and sound reproduction techniques relatively early on. Due to their geographic proximity, common Slavic origins, and similar historical, political and religious environments, the Slovenian and Croatian cultures are especially closely intertwined. This was also reflected at the beginning of the 20th century when various connections between Croatian and Slovenian culture and arts were established.¹

An overview of Slovenian advertisements shows that those for Slovenian gramophone recordings first appeared in 1905, but more often and more systematically from the second half of 1908 onwards, when records of the Gramophone Company with recordings from Ljubljana first appeared on the market (Kunej 2014b). According to Lipovšćak (2000: 124), most of the Croatian material was recorded by the Österreichische Grammophon Gesellschaft m.b.H., which was one of the Gramophone Co. subsidiaries. The label on one of the oldest preserved records with Croatian material also shows that it was recorded in Zagreb by the Gramophone Co. (Lipovšćak 1997: 17). Therefore, we can ask whether the connection of the two cultural areas is also reflected in their first gramophone recordings. Did the early Slovenian and Croatian recordings take place under similar circumstances? Were they marketed in a similar way and what role did the Gramophone Co. play?

Until recently, the recordings of Slovenian music made in Ljubljana by some gramophone companies before the World War I had been almost entirely overlooked while data on Zagreb recordings seemed to be lacking (cf. Kunej 2012; Bulić 1980; Lipovšćak 1997). The reason for this could be that many of the earliest gramophone recordings were made in the larger European capitals, e.g. in Vienna, Berlin and Budapest, where the recording venues in hotels or halls - and later also in recording studios - were located, and where the performers were invited to come for recording sessions. This method of recording was financially more efficient as it was cheaper to invite the performers to recording places in major cities rather than to transport large, heavy and cumbersome equipment to the performers. Still, some companies recorded outside major recording places as this allowed them to record a more varied programme with diverse performers, who were local and thus better known and more popular with the local public. In this way, the companies secured the local market for the sales of their records and gramophones. Recording experts of various companies often brought their recording equipment to important regional centres where they used the larger hotels or suitable local halls to set up improvised recording studios. In the geographical area to which Slovenia and Croatia belong these centres were largely Zagreb, Ljubljana and Belgrade. The company that did the most recording across Europe and worldwide was the Gramophone Co., with its headquarters in Britain and with many subsidiaries in various European countries.

¹ E.g. for Slovenian artists who successfully performed on Croatian stages in that period cf. Hećimović et al. (2011).

Although different gramophone companies produced recordings with Slovenian and Croatian content before the World War I,² it was the Gramophone Company that played an important role in the inception of the music industry in this geographical area. The Gramophone Company is one of the few with preserved documentary material from their early days. Its archives, being able to identify the system of matrix and catalogue numbers of the company, and the preserved records, catalogues, various lists, inventories, and discography allow us to determine quite well the activities of individual recording experts and the recording sessions in Liubliana and Zagreb. During the first years of the 20th century, the Gramophone Co. monopolised the sales of gramophones and records in Europe (cf. Gronow and Englund 2007: 282). In addition, the company's model of recording and the nature of its business practices set an example for the future gramophone companies. Therefore, the Gramophone Co. recordings are highly important for the European environment, and especially for the understanding of the beginnings of the music industry in the Slavic countries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans. It is no coincidence that the first recordings of Slovenian and Croatian music were those of the Gramophone Company.

INTRODUCING THE NEW TECHNOLOGY

The Slovenians and the Croatians were acquainted with the possibilities of recording and sound reproduction early on, as can be seen from various newspaper articles. One of the earliest published articles in Slovenia that relates to gramophones can be found already in 1890, soon after the gramophone first appeared on the market. Alfons Oblak published in the *Dolenjske novice* newspaper a rather comprehensive article entitled "Fonograf, grafofon in gramofon" (Phonograph, Graphophone and Gramophone). Basing his article on the World Fair in Paris in 1889, he briefly described the operation and history of the devices and added his thoughts about the possibilities arising from the new technical achievements. An editorial note reveals that Oblak, who was a merchant, wanted to become the main representative and retailer of the gramophones in the southern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Oblak 1890: 139). Most probably nothing came out of his grand plan, since no further advertisements by Oblak for his gramophones can be found in the newspapers.

² Lipovšćak (2000: 124) states that before the World War I approximately 15 gramophone companies were recording the Croatian performers. Slovenian recordings from the same period have also been preserved on different labels, such as Gramophone Co., Zonophone, Dacapo, Odeon, Jumbo, Jumbola, Homokord, Favorite, Kalliope, Lyrphon, Parlophon, Pathé and others.

Similarly, we can see from the Croatian papers that Zagreb became acquainted with the phonograph in 1890. On 10 and 11 March of that year, the Zagreb Obzor, Narodne novine and Agramer Zeitung newspapers announced a presentation of the phonograph in Zagreb, organized by Viktor Dlugogenski, the Edison representative from Budapest (Lipovšćak 1997: 15, 2000: 124). After this interesting event, an article published on 14 March in the Obzor newspaper and entitled "Edisonov fonograf u Zagrebu" (The Edison Phonograph in Zagreb) explained how the device worked and described the presentation, which included a demonstration of recording and reproduction. The article states that among the various recordings made on cylinders by the attendees there was also "the first stanza of the folk song 'Oj jesenske duge noći'" ("Edisonov..." 1890). Although the recording has most probably not been preserved, we can say, based on data available at present, that this was the oldest documented audio recording of folk heritage in Croatia and this part of Europe. Despite the initial excitement over the new technology. the phonograph and the gramophone did not have much commercial success at that time, neither in Slovenia or Croatia.

Ten years later, when gramophones and gramophone records were gaining popularity worldwide at the turn of the century, news on the technology was becoming more common in Slovenian and Croatian newspapers as well. From the year 1900, we can find a report in the *Slovenec* newspaper about a lecture in Ljubljana on production from "a gramophone, which was kindly made available by the local retailer Mr. Fran Čuden" ("Joure-fixe..." 1900). The article does not report if Mr. Čuden was also selling gramophones or if he only lent his own gramophone for the purpose of the lecture. Similarly, a Croatian newspaper announced in 1900 that Columbia-Graphophones and cylinders were available for the first time from the retailer Ferdinand Budicki from Zagreb (Lipovšćak 1997: 15–16). From the year 1902 onwards, gramophones and gramophone records were being systematically advertised in the Slovenian newspapers, which often advertised "international music and singing" at the same time (cf. Kunej 2014b). Other merchants, who also advertised gramophones and records, appeared in Croatia besides Ferdinand Budicki, primarily Mayro Drucker, who later contributed considerably to the sales of Croatian recordings on gramophone records (cf. Lipovšćak 1997: 16). However, advertisements at the turn of the century did not yet include Slovenian or Croatian recordings.

THE FIRST SLOVENIAN AND CROATIAN RECORDINGS OF THE GRAMOPHONE COMPANY

In the autumn of 1905, Slovenians learnt for the first time that Slovenian records for gramophones were available on the market. The *Slovenski narod*

newspaper ran an advertisement announcing "New! From today on Slovenian records for gramophone, excellent singing on the recordings, are available [...] clockmaker Rudolf Weber" ("Novo! ..." 1905). The news about Slovenian recordings was highlighted in bold letters and a special font. We can indirectly surmise from the later advertisement ("Kupi samo..." 1905) that Weber, as a representative of the German Gramophone Company, was actually a supplier of gramophones and records of the Gramophone Company itself (i.e., its German subsidiary), as he advertised only the Gramophone Co. brand using the "Recording Angel", the logo of the company at that time. On the basis of the newspaper articles we can assume that the first Slovenian recordings were made for the Gramophone Co. at around the first half of 1905.

Based on the newspaper adverts, Veljko Lipovšćak also assumes that the recordings of Croatian music and performers were made shortly before the year 1906, when the adverts for Croatian records started to appear in newspapers. For example, in 1906 the merchant Mavro Drucker mentions his large stock of phonographs and gramophones, as well as "a large selection of Croatian records". In 1907, the Šandor Kudelka company, among other items, advertised "international two-sided records" and "recordings of our popular Croatian artists, for example Mrs. Pollak, and Camarotta, Grund and others" (Lipovšćak 1997: 16).³

Bulić, one of the first who undertook research on the discography in the region of ex-Yugoslavia before World War II, states that one of the first recordings from this area is that of Sofija Ranasović – Kovilj⁴ singing the song *Jezerce*, matrix number 1346B and catalogue number 13018 (Bulić 1980: 10). Based on the label inscription, which mentions the "E. Berliner's Gramophone" company and Hannover as the production location, Bulić confidently concludes that the record was made before 1899.⁵ However, this conclusion is not correct, which can be proved by the system of matrix numbers of the Gramophone Co. and the historical and technological facts of the company's beginnings.

The foundation of the Gramophone Co. in London was closely connected with Emil Berliner, the inventor of the gramophone and owner of patents for the gramophone and gramophone record production. Berliner, who was a successful businessman in the United States – most notably with the U.S. Gramophone Company and the Berliner Gramophone Company – wanted to expand into Europe. In May 1898, the Berliner Gramophone (soon renamed the Gramophone Company) was founded in London and owned exclusive rights to sell gramophone records in Europe. The company marketed only

³ Full names of the artists mentioned are Irma Polak, Ernesto Cammarota and Arnošt Grund.

⁴ The word Kovilj connected with Sofija Ranasović's name is probably related to the town of Kovilj (today in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Serbia) from which the singer originated (cf. Čamber 2011).

⁵ The year is mentioned by others as well, e.g. at the *Radiomuseum Croatia* Website ("Povijest fonografa..." n.d.).

American products at first; however, in agreement with Berliner, it also set up a recording studio in London. In the summer of 1898, Frederick (Fred) William Gaisberg, a recording expert from the United States, arrived in London and soon the first recording sessions in Europe took place. In December of the same year, a daughter company for the pressing of gramophone records, Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft, was set up in Hannover, Germany, where Berliner's brother owned a telephone factory. The Gramophone Co. started setting up outlets and subsidiaries in larger European cities in 1899. That same year the company also bought the original picture of a dog listening to a gramophone and named it "His Master's Voice". The picture soon became the logo of the Victor Talking Machine Company in the USA, which had close ties with the Gramophone Co. in the U.K. Approximately a decade later, around 1910, the Gramophone Co. adopted the picture as its logo, which replaced the earlier one, "Recording Angel", an angel writing on a gramophone record with a feather. The company also began production of typewriters in December 1900, and later electric clocks, and changed its name to the Gramophone and Typewriter Company (G&T). The manufacture of the new products turned out to be not very successful and the company changed its name back to the Gramophone Company in 1907,⁶ this being retained until 1931, when it merged with Columbia, creating Electric & Musical Industries (EMI).7

The system of the matrix numbers of the Gramophone Co. can be broken down into four larger phases, which are described in chronological order.⁸ The first phase – from the beginning of recording in 1898 to 1921 – is especially interesting from the perspective of the early recordings, and so deserves a closer look.

Each individual recording was performed in full and cut directly into the original disc (the matrix). The recording was then assigned a unique code, known as the matrix number, which identified the recording and which often was comprised of alpha-numeric characters.

At the beginning, there was no particular system of matrix numbers, as only one technological process of recording existed, i.e. on 7" zinc plates, all of which were recorded on one side only. As there was also only one recording technician (Fred Gaisberg), the matrix was simply marked with a serial number and the date of the recording, which was etched into the centre of the record, since paper labels did not exist at the time. Additional information was written on the blank side of the record, and a large "Recording Angel"

⁶ Despite the permutation of names the company used throughout time, for the sake of transparency only the name *Gramophone Company* will be used in this article.

⁷ For more details see e.g. Sherman (2010), Friedman (n.d.b), History (n.d.).

⁸ Information on the Gramophone Co's system of matrix numbers is based on Friedman (n.d.a), Friedman (n.d.b) and Kelly (2000).

trademark was often printed on that side, too. When Fred Gaisberg was joined by two other recording experts, his brother William (Will) Conrad Gaisberg and William Sinkler Darby, their initials were also etched next to the serial number in order to identify the recording experts. Soon Darby, who followed after Fred Gaisberg in the number of recordings he made, started to use the letter A as a suffix to the matrix number instead of his initials.

The introduction of a new all wax technology (wax matrix) replaced the zinc method (zinc matrix). New codes were then introduced to distinguish the new recordings from the old. Darby started to use the letter B, Franz Hampe, who soon joined the group, used the letter C, while Fred Gaisberg still used his initials (FG or G) in combination with a new block of numbers. New 10" records were introduced in 1901, these being marked with new matrix suffixes; Darby began using a lower case x (for the Roman numeral 10) while Franz Hampe used a lower case z. Fred Gaisberg still used a capital G, but with a new block of numbers. In 1903, a 12" record was introduced on the market, which was again accompanied by a new coding system; the letter y was used by Darby and the letters Hp by Hampe.

The assimilation of the previously independent Zonophone Company in 1903 marked significant changes, as the matrix numbering systems of both companies had to be modified and unified. Consequently, a trio of three indicating letters was introduced, which combined with numbers to identify a recording in a fairly simple way. Every recording expert was allocated three small letters, which indicated the three record sizes, 7", 10" and 12". Serial numbers in chronological order indicated the matrix while the size of the record was indicated by a letter. As a result, the eight recording experts of the Gramophone Co. from that period were assigned the following trios: Fred Gaisberg a/b/c, his brother Will Gaisberg d/e/f, W. S. Darby g/h/i (also j), Franz Hampe k/l/m, Cleveland Walcutt n/o/p, Franz's brother Max Hampe q/r/s, Charles Scheuplein t/u/v, and Arthur Clark x/y/z. The only letter not used was w. The system was introduced in 1903 and lasted until 1921, when the second phase of matrix numbers took place.

We can therefore conclude that the song *Jezerce*, matrix number 1346B, was recorded by one of the first recording experts of the Gramophone Co., W. S. Darby, who came to London from the United States, where he had learnt recording techniques directly from Emil Berliner, the gramophone inventor. The recording was made after 1900 using the new technique, on a 7" wax matrix, and before 1903, when the system of matrix numbers changed.

A comparison of some other early recordings of Slovenian and Croatian performers also shows an even more detailed dating system. In 1902, the internationally acclaimed Slovenian singer Franc Pogačnik-Naval recorded two Slovenian songs in Vienna (Kelly 2009). The first song, *Pred durmi*, was issued on a one-sided 7" record with the matrix number 2345B and catalogue

number 72646. The other song, *Ljubici*, had already been recorded on a 10" matrix (No. 854x) and was being sold under catalogue number 72406. Both songs are listed with the titles also in German and are noted to be 'Slovenian traditional' songs, although they are most probably compositions based on material from the Slovenian folk tradition. The early Croatian recordings that were made for the same company a year earlier, in 1901, have a similar story. At that time the Croatian singer Albin Lukasch recorded five songs in Vienna. These were *Hrvatska domovina* (matrix no. 1404B, catalogue no. 72635), Za jedan časak (1405B, 72636), Gde je stanak moj (1406B, 72462), Miruj, miruj srce moje (1437B, 72454) and Crnogorac, Crnogorka (1438B, 72455) (Kelly 2009). These records include German translations of the titles as well and a note that they are Croatian songs. Judging from the matrix numbers, all five were one-sided 7" records. The matrix numbers of the Slovenian and Croatian recordings show that they were made by W.S. Darby using the same technology as for the recording of *Jezerce*. One of the Croatian recordings, Miruj Srdce moje (1437B, 72454), has been preserved on the record which is a part of the collection of 78 rpm gramophone records housed at the National and University Library in Zagreb (Mihalić et al. 2013).9

A comparison of matrix numbers of the songs *Jezerce* (1346B) and *Hrvat-ska domovina* (1404B) shows that both were recorded almost at the same time. Only 57 recordings were made between the two, which could have happened in even one or two days. If we compare *Jezerce* with the Slovenian recording of *Pred durmi* (2345B) we can see that Darby made almost a thousand recordings between them. Therefore, we can place the date of the recording session for the song *Jezerce* in the year 1901, shortly before the song *Hrvatska domovina*, while the recording location was Vienna.

THE FIRST RECORDINGS IN ZAGREB

Very early on, in 1902, the Gramophone Co. first recorded in Zagreb (cf. Kelly 2004). The company's recording expert Franz Hampe (1879–?), who had most probably been with the company since 1901 (Pennanen 2007: 113), travelled to Zagreb and made several recordings on 7" and 10" records. A discography of Franz Hampe recordings, compiled by Alan Kelly (2004), the preserved gramophone records, and some other sources allow us to create a detailed list of these recording sessions from Zagreb (see Table 1).

⁹ Regarding the differences noticeable between the title of the song (*Miruj Srdce moje*) etched on the record that is preserved at the National and University Library in Zagreb and the title of the same song in Kelly's list (*Miruj, miruj srce moje*), it should be mentioned that the titles and other information on the labels often differed from issue to issue; therefore, the recorded content can only be identified by the accompanying matrix number, with the help of the catalogue number (cf. Kunej 2014a).

Table 1: A list of first recordings made by Franz Hampe in Zagreb in 1902. The list is arranged in the order of the matrix numbers and includes the original catalogue numbers. It shows recordings on 7" discs (left) and on 10" discs (right).*

7 inch records			10 inch records		
Matr. N	Io. Catal.	No. Title (and author)	Matr.No	. Catal. No	. Title (and author)
DRAGUTIN FREUDENREICH**					
75C	71113	Ciganin hvali svoga konja	50z		Umorstvo pri svetom Žaveru, šala u kajkavštini (G. O.)
76C	71114	Dvije babe (Ivanović)	51z	71001	Komšija (M. Popović)
VOJNI	ČKA GLAS	SBA ZAGREBAČKE VII. HRVATSKO-S		KE DOMO	BRANSKE PUKOVNIJE, Zagreb
77C	70060	Domovina, Koračnica (Sommer)	52z 1	70010	Domovini i ljubavi (I. Zajc)
78C	70061	Junak iz Like, Koračnica (M. Majer)	53z	70011	Hrvatski plesovi (F. S. Vilhar)
79C	70062	Oj Banovci, Koračnica sa zapoviedi (Břiza)	54z	70012	Hrvatska davorija (F. S. Vilhar)
80C	70063	Oj ti vilo Velebita, Koračnica (Sommer)	55z 2	70013	Mazurka (G. Eisenhut)
81C	70064	Selsko kolo (Muhvić)	56z 2	70014	Oj ti vilo Velebita (Sommer)
82C	70065	Zrinjski: Koračnica (I. Zajc)			
83C	70066	U boj, u boj, Koračnica			
84C	70067	Živila Hrvatska (I. Zajc)			
ARNO	ŠT GRUN	D			
850	72691	Boccaccio: Što Bog da (von Sunné)	577 '	72445	Strašilo, šala (Grund)

85C	72691	Boccaccio: Što Bog da (von Suppé)	57z	72445	Strašilo, šala (Grund)
			58z	?	?
			59z	?	?

* The names of performers and titles of the recordings are written as found in the available resources. Only obvious typos have been corrected and different notes from different resources have been unified.

** The surname is often documented as Freudenreich-Veseljkovič, where Veseljkovič is usually written with different spelling errors. Actually, Veseljković was a pseudonym of this artist.

7 inch records			10 inch records		
Matr. No. Catal. No. Title (and author)		Matr.No.	Catal. No.	Title (and author)	

MILUTIN FARKAŠ

86C	79301	Domovini i ljubavi
87C	79302	Gdje je stanak moj?
88C	79303	Tiha noć sve pokriva
89C	79304	Barka

ARNOŠT GRUND

90C	72692	Geisha: Cineman-Couplet (Jones)
91C	71111	Anekdota bez svršetka (J. Neruda)

MICIKA FREUDENREICH

A FREUD				
73022	Maričon: Pjesma (F. Albini)***	60z	73181	Lastavicam (I. Zajc)
73023	Oj Hrvati, narodna pjesma	61z	?	?
		62z	?	?
A & DRA	GUTIN FREUDENREICH	63z	71011	Graničari: Prizor Karoline i Grge (J. Freudenreich)
AN VULA	KOVIĆ	1		
72694	Utjeha (I. Zajc)	64z	72447	Zrinjski: Romanca (I. Zajc)
72695	Za jedan časak	65z	72000	Komedianti: Prolog (Leoncavallo)
72696	Maričon: Valčik Grenadieux (F. Albini)	66z	72020	Maričon: Arija Grenadieux (F. Albini)
		67z	70001	Tannhäuser: Pjesma večernjoj zviezdi (R. Wagner)
		68z	?	?
		69z	?	?
	73022 73023 A & DRAC AN VULAI 72694 72695	73023 Oj Hrvati, narodna pjesma A & DRAGUTIN FREUDENREICH AN VULAKOVIĆ 72694 Utjeha (I. Zajc) 72695 Za jedan časak 72696 Maričon: Valčik Grenadieux	73022Maričon: Pjesma (F. Albini)***60z73023Oj Hrvati, narodna pjesma61z62zA & DRAGUTIN FREUDENREICH63z72694Utjeha (I. Zajc)64z72695Za jedan časak65z72696Maričon: Valčik Grenadieux (F. Albini)66z67z68z	73022 Maričon: Pjesma (F. Albini)*** 60z 73181 73023 0j Hrvati, narodna pjesma 61z ? 62z ? 62z ? A & DRAGUTIN FREUDENREICH 63z 71011 A VULAKOVIĆ 72694 Utjeha (I. Zajc) 64z 72447 72695 Za jedan časak 65z 72000 72696 Maričon: Valčik Grenadieux (F. Albini) 66z 72020 67z 70001 68z ?

*** The initial of the composer Albini's forename – Srećko – is sometimes written as S. and sometimes as F. (from Felix, which is a German variant of the Croatian name Srećko).

7 inch records			10 inch records				
Matr. No	o. Catal.	No. Title (and author)	Matr.No	. Catal. N	lo. Title (and author)		
ARNOŠT GRUND							
97C	72697	Couplet					
BOGDA	N VULA	κονιć	1				
98C	72703	Liepa naša domovina					
ARNOŠ	T GRUN	D	1				
99C	71115	Gramofoniraj kod kuće					
ARNOŠ	T GRUN	D & MIŠO DIMITRIJEVIĆ	70z	71103	Pred sudom		
MIŠO D	IMITRIJ	EVIĆ	1				
100C	71112	Riječ Slovenima	71z	71004	Pijanica i pas		
ERNES	ГО САМІ	MAROTA	I				
101C	72698	Cavalleria Rusticana: Siciliana (Mascagni)	72z -	72003	Kad mnijah umrieti, pjesma (B. Radičević)		
102C	72699	Ti (J. Hatze)	73z	72004	Komedianti: Arioso (Leoncavallo)		
103C	72700	Porin: Zorka moja	74z	72005	Vrati se, pjesma (Denza)		
104C	72701	Manon: Aria (Massenet)	75z 7	72006	?		
105C	72702	Ave Marija (Gounod)					

TAMBURAŠKI ZBOR HRVATSKIH SLIEPIH RADNIKA, ZAGREB

106C	70682	Hrvatska polka (Stoos)	76z	70507	Zrinjski: U boj! March (I. Zajc)
107C	70683	Oj Hrvati, oj junaci	77z	70508	Hrvatsko kolo
108C	70684	Junak iz Like	78z	70509	Vienac hrvatskih popjevaka
109C	70685	Liepa naša domovina	79z	70510	Na Plitvička jezera: Kolo
1100	70(0)		I		

110C 70686 Sokolska koračnica

Interestingly, the recordings on the smaller discs (total 36 recordings), which prevailed then, were all consistently documented and published, as proved by the assigned catalogue numbers. On the other hand, some 10" records lack data (7 out of the total 30). A record's catalogue number is an alpha-numeric identification code, assigned by the publisher and owner of the recording to each of the released records. It was used mainly to control stocks and as a helping tool in sales. The number was also used to advertise the record in catalogues and advertising publications. As a rule, the catalogue numbers were unique and indicated the record (pressing), as opposed to the matrix numbers, which identified the recording. The catalogue numbers allow us to assume the chronological order of pressing for a given label, however only within the individual series, categorizing various classifications such as the record's size, type of music, origin of the recording, price range, etc. (cf. Sherman 2010).

The assigned catalogue numbers of the Gramophone Co. are quite telling and carry significant messages. The company used a rather complex system of catalogue numbers that enable us to identify the size of the record,¹⁰ the type of recording and the geographic area where the record was marketed (cf. Friedman n.d.a, Kelly 2000).¹¹ We are especially interested in the classification of numbers defining the recordings' type, which used different blocks of numbers assigned to different manners of performing (vocal and instrumental) (cf. Kelly 2000). The most important blocks for the Slovenian and Croatian recordings are shown in Table 2.

¹⁰ The indication of the record size was fairly simple, but also partly inconsistent as it was indicated only by number "0" at the beginning (left) of a longer numerical code. When "0" was written it indicated the 12" record size and the full catalogue number had six digits. When "0" was left out it indicated the sizes 10" or 7". Up until 1903, when the first 12" records appeared, all catalogue numbers had 5 digits.

¹¹ Number blocks were also used to define the geographical or language region whence the recording originated and also where it was marketed. The Gramophone Co. established ten subsidiaries in strategic parts of Europe, which were responsible for recording the material and marketing the records in their region. Slovenia and Croatia first belonged to the subsidiary in Vienna, which was responsible for the Austro-Hungarian territory and some neighbouring countries. They were assigned the numerical block 70000–79999. In 1907, the subsidiary in Vienna closed down due to low activity and problems marketing the records. A new subsidiary in Prague took over the responsibility for those regions and it also inherited the Viennese numerical block from 70000 onwards. The Prague subsidiary turned out to be very active and successful. Besides Bohemia and Slovakia, it also included Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and some other countries of Central Europe (cf. Kelly 2009). As a result, all catalogue numbers on the mentioned recordings belong in the 70000 block and start with the number 7.

1 – 499	band	4500 - 4750	chorus
500 - 999	orchestra	4750 - 4999	choir (sacred)
1000 –1999	talking	8000 - 8499	concerted instruments
2000 - 2999	male solo voice	9100 - 9149	harmonica, concertina
3000 - 3999	female solo voice	9250 - 9305	miscellaneous & sundry
4000 - 4499	duets, trios, quartets etc.		

The last four characters in the catalogue code thus represent the type of the recording and its serial number. For example, the code 1103 represents a spoken recording, which is the 103rd recording of this type in the catalogue. However, we must not overlook the differentiation within the block that indicated recordings on 7" or 10" discs. This is a closed system, as only a limited number of individual types of recordings could be marked, so the numbers quickly ran out. A numerical prefix, separated from the block by a hyphen, allowed an unlimited extension of any block of numbers (e.g. rounds of codes 2-1000, 3-1000, 4-1000 and so on were used to denote spoken recordings).

Analysis of the catalogue numbers of the recorded material from Zagreb shows that the recordings often have very small serial numbers, which proves their precedence within individual classifying blocks. For example, a recording of Bogdan Vulaković, *Komedianti: Prolog (Leoncavallo)*, has the catalogue number 72000 and can be found in the catalogue for Central Europe (Vienna and later Prague subsidiary, block 70000) among the recordings of male solo voices (block 2000) and is the first listed recording, carrying the serial number 000 (cf. Kelly 2009). It is followed by a recording of *Tannhäuser: Pjesma večernjoj zvijezdi (R. Wagner)* by the same artist with the number 72001, then by recordings of Ernesto Cammarota with the numbers 72003–72006. A similar situation can be observed in spoken recordings, e.g. a recording of *Umorstvo pri svetom Žaveru (G. 0.)*, narrated by Dragutin Freudenreich can be found under the catalogue number 71000, which puts it in the first place among the spoken recordings. Other recordings also carry low catalogue numbers; there are also recordings of brass bands among them.

Classification of recordings by Milutin Farkaš is also interesting. The recordings are labelled with catalogue numbers from 79301 to 79304. The 9300 block of numbers indicates recordings of individual instruments, which are placed under "miscellaneous & sundry". Only eight such recordings made on 7" records were presented in the catalogue. They were allocated numbers 9297–9304 (cf. Kelly 2009). Half of these (altogether four) are recordings from Zagreb. On the basis of the catalogue numbers, we can conclude that

these are recordings of an "unusual instrument". Judging from the name and reputation of the performer, this was most probably a tamburitza.

The matrix numbers (75C–110C, 50z–79z) indicate recordings made after the year 1900 by the new all wax recording process, but before 1903, when the system of matrix numbers changed. The low matrix numbers prove that Franz Hampe's recording session in Zagreb was one of his first. According to the discography of his recordings (Kelly 2004), previously to Zagreb he would have recorded only in Munich; and after Zagreb in the same year also in Prague, St. Petersburg and Warsaw. In the following years Hampe recorded in many European cities; the matrix numbers show that during his career and until the end of the World War I he recorded approximately 3,000 7" records, almost 20,000 10" records and around 1,400 12" records, altogether almost 25,000 recordings.

THE BEGINNINGS OF REGULAR RECORDINGS AND MARKETING

In 1907, the Gramophone Co. apparently introduced a systematic strategy to enter the market in the southern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans. That year marks the beginning of frequent recording sessions in the larger regional centres of this geographical area. Two recording experts, the brothers Franz and Max Hampe from Berlin, were responsible for the recording work. They were employed by the Berlin subsidiary and they mostly recorded in central, south-eastern and eastern Europe, but occasionally in the more remote areas, e.g. different places in Asia and India.

The first extensive recording sessions in the southern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans were conducted by Franz Hampe in 1907; he had already recorded in Zagreb in 1902. In the spring of 1907 Hampe first went to Lyoy, then to Budapest, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade, from where he returned to Berlin. In 1908 his brother Max Hampe (1877–1957) began recording in the same region. Judging from the matrix numbers, he started recording in Budapest and continued in Zagreb, Sarajevo, Ljubljana, Shkodër (Albania) and Montenegro. Based on the preserved data, Max Hampe stayed in Sarajevo between 2 April and 15 May 1908. During his stay he visited Cetinje between 27 April and 3 May 1908 (Pennanen 2007: 130). Whether the cities followed in this very order, as suggested by the matrix numbers, cannot be fully determined as it has often turned out that the order of the matrix numbers could not be relied upon entirely. Still, we can confidently say that the recordings from this trip were made in 1908 before the summer, which can be proved by the advertisements in the Slovenian newspapers that started to advertise the Slovenian records from this trip from early July on (cf. Kunej 2014b). In the spring of 1909, Max Hampe recorded in Zagreb and Ljubljana again (during his trip from Berlin to Budapest, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Graz, Prague, Vienna, Frankfurt etc.), and in summer of 1910 only in Ljubljana (Berlin, Prague, Genoa, Lausanne, Ljubljana, Vienna, Berlin). He probably skipped Zagreb in 1910 as his brother Franz, who travelled mostly across Hungary and to Belgrade, had recorded there in April of that same year. Franz Hampe returned to Zagreb in October 1912 when he also went to Budapest, Vienna, Salzburg and Prague (cf. Kelly 1995, 2000).

From 1907 and until 1912, the Hampe brothers recorded in Ljubljana three times and in Zagreb five times. Based on the matrix numbers we can estimate that Max Hampe made about 160 recordings in Ljubljana during this period and approximately 200 in Zagreb, while Franz Hampe made almost 330 recordings in Zagreb.¹² As Franz never recorded in Ljubljana, the total number of recordings from Ljubljana is around 160 and about 530 from Zagreb. The recording work in Zagreb in 1907 was especially extensive as it produced 180 10" records and about 30 7" records, altogether approximately 210 records. In the following years only 10" records were made and the number usually did not exceed 100 recordings.

A large number of recordings also meant a varied selection of performers. Focusing only on the Zagreb recordings from 1907, the performers were: Dušan Mitrović, Irma Polak, Viekoslav Velić, Arnošt Grund, Milan Čurčić, Gjuro Prejac, Bogdan Vulaković, Tošo Lesić, Srpski djački tamburaški zbor (Serbian Tamburitza Youth Choir), Ernesto Cammarota, Hrvatsko tipografsko pjevačko društvo "Sloga" ("Sloga" Croatian Typography Choir Society), Hrvatsko trgovačko pjevačko društvo "Merkur" ("Merkur" Croatian Commerce Choir Society), Micika Freudenreich, Lav. Vodvařka, Školska mladež u Vrabče (School Youth Choir from Vrabče), led by the teacher G. Spanović, Vojnička glasba 16. kraljeve pukovnije (Military Band of the 16th Royal Infantry Regiment), Vojnička glasba 25. kraljeve domobranske pukovnije (Military Band of the 25th Royal Homeland Regiment), Hrvatsko katoličko djetićko tamburaško *društvo* (Croatian Catholic Apprentices Tamburitza Society), led by the teacher [os[ip] Zgorelec, and various duets and trios of the mentioned performers. The repertoire includes mostly popular songs from operas and operettas by Croatian authors, spoken comedy acts, couplets by local authors and marches for army and brass bands. Other music genres also appear, largely based on traditional music. Interestingly, several Slovenian pieces can be found among this recorded material, e.g. among numerous other recordings Irma Polak recorded three Slovenian songs: Prišla bo pomlad (5484l, 3-13739), Na tujih tleh (5582l, 3-13753) and Pogled v nedolžno oko (5583l, 3-13754).

¹² The reason for only approximate amounts of recordings being given here is the fact that some records in Kelly's list are documented only by matrix number, without titles and any other information about the recorded content. Therefore it is possible that they were blank, without any recording.

Furthermore, the baritone Gjuro Prejac recorded the song *Domovina* (5439*l*, 4-12824), "Merkur" Croatian Commerce Choir Society recorded the songs *Mraku* (5586*l*, 14705) and *Sijaj solnčice* (5587*l*, 14706), the bass singer Tošo Lesić recorded a drinking song *To me veseli* (5604*l*, 4-12833), and army brass bands recorded *Pozdrav domovini* (5627*l*, 10428), *Mladi vojaki* (5628*l*, 10429), *Triglav* (5639*l*, 10439), and *Slovenski napjevi* (5642*l*, 10442).

THOUGHTS ON THE RECORDED MATERIAL

The reason that Slovenian material was included in the 1907 recordings from Zagreb could be that the Gramophone Co. did not record in Ljubljana in 1907, and that this material was then primarily intended for the Slovenian market. However, this may not be entirely true as the recordings from Zagreb also include Serbian material (performed by *Srpski djački tamburaški zbor*), although Franz Hampe did record in Belgrade that year. A similar dilemma arises from the comparison of the recordings from Ljubljana and Zagreb in 1908.

In 1908, Max Hampe recorded in Zagreb as well as in Ljubljana, where he made some 100 recordings in Zagreb, and about 65 in Ljubljana. Among the Zagreb recordings we can primarily find those performers who had been recorded the previous year (Dušan Mitrović, Irma Polak, Vjekoslav Velić, Arnošt Grund, Gjuro Prejac, Bogdan Vulaković, Tošo Lesić, and Ernesto Cammarota), who recorded mostly vocal music as soloists or in various combinations. The repertoire primarily consists of opera and operetta material, but there are also a lot of recordings of traditional music. For example, Dušan Mitrović, an opera singer from Belgrade who was a visiting singer in Zagreb, performed mostly Serbian traditional songs. Again, several Slovenian recordings were made, e.g. Irma Polak recorded Zmeraj vesel (4288r, 4-13287) and Jaz sem revček fajfco zgubu (4366r, 4-13410), and Tošo Lesić recorded Zmiraj sem si misli (4301r, 5-12826) and Ljubca že sred morja (4375r, 6-12088). All Slovenian recordings are noted as such and in several cases their traditional origin is specifically pointed out (cf. Kelly 1995). It seems unnecessary to have recorded Slovenian material in Zagreb, with several traditional songs among them, when in that same year numerous recordings of Slovenian songs were made in Ljubljana as well. Even more surprising is the fact that these recordings were not advertised in the Slovenian newspapers, while the material made in Ljubljana was being systematically advertised (cf. Kunej 2014b). A similar situation can be observed from the material recorded in Ljubljana that same year. Among the predominantly Slovenian material we can find some Croatian music performed by Godba c. in kr. pešpolka št. 27 (Band of the 27th Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment) from Ljubljana, which among others recorded instrumental arrangements of the *U boj, choir from the opera "Zrinski"* (4539*r*, X-100306), *Hrvatski dom, a medley of Yugoslav songs*, Parts I., II., III. and IV. (4541*r*-4544*r*, X-100293-X-100296), and *Predigra "Graničari"* (Overture "Graničari") by Ivan Zajc (4547*r*, X-100299).

A similar situation can be observed in 1909. Max Hampe recorded in Zagreb and in Ljubljana and the content of the recorded material reflects that of the year 1908. Among the performers in Zagreb we have to mention Tošo Lesić, who recorded a set of six Slovenian traditional songs (5990*r*–5995*r*; X-4-102179–X-4-102184) apparently intended for the Slovenian market as well, as they were advertised in the Slovenian newspapers ("Novi posnetek..." 1909). In 1909, in addition to Croatian instrumental pieces recorded by the Gramophon-orchestra from Ljubljana, we can find Croatian songs for the first time among the recordings from Ljubljana. The *Glasbena Matica* octet recorded the songs *U boj* by I. Zajc (6031*r*, X-104349) and *Slovenec i Hrvat* by F. S. Vilhar (6030*r*, X-104350).

When analysing the recorded material and the selection of performers we need to take into account different factors that influenced that selection. It is essential to understand that gramophones and gramophone records were goods intended to be sold, while the aim of the music industry from the very beginning had been to generate profits and increase production. The Gramophone Co. approached marketing in a very unique way from the very outset. By establishing subsidiaries, which operated in regions that often corresponded to the larger language areas in Europe, it concentrated on local recording sessions and marketing of the recordings. In this way it made sure of commercial benefit, having continuous access to new recordings and a variety of performers as well as to numerous customers – the buyers. Each subsidiary was responsible for its own commercial activities and as a rule it also decided independently about the choice of performers and repertoire appropriate to its region in order to successfully sell the records. Besides records though, at the beginnings of the gramophone industry, the sales of gramophones themselves was imperative. However, these could only be sold if the customers had popular and attractive local recordings to which to listen.

Risto Pekka Pennanen (2007) confidently assumes that the Gramophone Co. had a clear recording and marketing strategy in the geographical area of the southern Slavic nations and the Balkans. Due to the nationally, politically, culturally and religiously diverse territory, it was not economically feasible or even possible to record all types of performances in different places. On the other hand, language similarities made it possible to market some music genres across the borders. It also did not make sense to record western classical music locally, as it was easy to market the recordings that had been made in the European capitals. During that period, various brass bands were very popular in Europe. They often performed concerts outdoors and popularized this genre of music to broader audiences in that way. In addition, the brass instruments were very well suited to the process of acoustic recording at that time. As a result, this music genre was quite common in the early recordings.

In the early days of the gramophone industry, the recording techniques determined the selection of performers and the recorded material. Technical weaknesses made it difficult to record convincingly anything other than solo voices, smaller vocal and instrumental groups and adapted brass band ensembles (cf. Kunej 2008, Kunej 2014b). An analysis of the Slovenian choir music recordings from that period shows that e.g. the *Glasbena matica* choir appears in considerably smaller numbers. Apparently, based on the number of recordings, a quartet was much more suitable for recording (cf. Kovačič 2014).

Traditional music can frequently be found on the early gramophone recordings. Often it was performed by opera singers or actors or smaller vocal groups, all of which had experience in western classical music. As a result, the aesthetics and musical arrangements often followed the rules of western music, which Pennanen (2007: 138) explains as another example of folklorism. An overview of the recorded Slovenian music shows that the gramophone records mostly included songs that were frequently performed at various cultural events in that period, and which were also a staple of songbooks and repertoires of folk singers. The songs were fairly simple and were meant for smaller groups; consequently the organization and technological aspects of recording were made easier. It also made more sense commercially to offer well-known and well-established songs, i.e. well-liked songs with recognizable musical content. The folk repertoire of the *Glasbena matica* recordings also shows that the performers, or those responsible for the selection of the repertoire, believed this type of music to be more representative of what would appeal to larger numbers of customers, who would be better acquainted with and more partial to the interpretations of Slovenian traditional (folk) music than of contemporary (art) music (cf. Šivic 2014; Kovačič 2014).

The gramophone records containing instrumental traditional music are especially interesting. Rebeka Kunej (2013, 2014) says of the Slovenian material that records with traditional dance melodies were attractive enough to a certain target group to attract buyers. We can conclude that some Slovenian traditional dance melodies were so popular at the time that the performers wanted to present them and the public wanted to listen to them and therefore buy them, and so the gramophone company could benefit from them financially. Because of the commercial nature of the recorded material, the decisive criterion for the choice of music was its popularity (with the audience as well as with the performers). Therefore, the old gramophone records represent only what was popular at the time of their recording. On the other hand, the material recorded in the field for documentation purposes was created on the basis of the interests of the folk music researchers; thus, only the content the researchers thought to have been relevant was recorded. From a certain aspect, we could say that the audio material on the old gramophone records could actually be a more telling source for real musical practice than the researchers' audio materials. At least it can be considered to be an excellent comparative resource. As such, gramophone records can help to shed new light on traditional dance or to confirm the old findings. By listening to these recordings, we can lift a veil and peek into the sonority of the traditional instrumental dance music from the period when the recordings were made, from which period Slovenians have no other such recordings.¹³ It might be possible to come to the similar conclusion if we analyse the Croatian recordings as well.

CONCLUSION

A few recordings from the first recording session in Zagreb in 1902 have been preserved. Among them we can find the marches *Junak iz Like* (78C, 70061) and *Zrinjski: Koračnica* (82C, 70065), performed by a military brass band; and *Geisha: Cineman-Couplet* (90C, 72692), performed by Arnošt Grund (Lipovšćak 1997: 17, Staklarević 1997: 71). Lipovšćak (1997: 16–17) identified these records as the oldest Croatian records. However, the exact date of the recording was not known to him. He presumed they were recorded around 1906 (ibid.; cf. Staklarević 1997: 68). Similarly the article "Sound recording in Croatia" states that "the first gramophone records that captured performances by Croatian artists and composers appeared in 1906 in the then Austria-Hungary" (Mihalić et al. 2013). A more detailed inspection of the Gramophone Co. recordings discussed in this article shows that these recordings had been made several years prior to that, i.e. in 1902, in the earliest period of record production, and that the recordings were actually made in Zagreb.

The early recordings of the Gramophone Co. reflect the intertwinement of the cultural environment of the Slovenians and Croatians. The previously mentioned advertisement of the clockmaker Rudolf Weber from Ljubljana, which announced Slovenian recordings for the first time in the autumn of 1905 ("Novo! ..." 1905), most probably refers to recordings of Croatian performers. This can be seen from his advertisement posted in November

¹³ For more about early sound recordings of Slovenian traditional music, see Kunej D. (2008).

of that same year, which reminds buyers of the coming holiday and offers gramophone records as a suitable Christmas present ("Kupi samo..." 1905). The availability of Slovenian records was pointed out again and the performers (male voices) and the content of the records were also mentioned for the first time: Naprej zastava slave, U boj, Slovenske pesmi, Al me boš kaj rada imela, Zagorski zvonovi, Kje so moje rožice. Two instrumental pieces performed by a tamburitza orchestra, Sokolska koračnica and Liepa naša domoving, were also included among the Slovenian recordings. As there are no matrix or catalogue numbers in aforementioned advertisement, it is difficult to determine what recordings these are. Three of the mentioned recordings were most likely made in 1905 for the Gramophone Co. in Vienna by Bogdan Vulaković, a Croatian opera baritone. Apart from generally Croatian repertoire, he also recorded three Slovenian songs in Vienna: Al me boš kaj rada mela (6873a, 72780), Kje so moje rožice (6875a, 72789) and Zagorski zvonovi (6874a, 72790) (cf. Kelly 2009). Similarly, it can be deduced that the tamburitza recordings might have been those of the Tamburaški *zbor hrvatskih sliepih radnika* (The Tamburitza Orchestra of Blind Workers) from Zagreb, which were made in 1902 during a recording session in Zagreb: Liepa naša domovina (190C, 70685) and Sokolska koračnica (110C, 70686), since there had been no such recordings prior to 1905.

It is clear that various Croatian artists included Slovenian songs in their repertoires, which were apparently popular and in demand in the Croatian environment. These performers often had experience with the Slovenian music heritage as they performed in Slovenia as well. The Slovenians who were active in the Croatian cultural environment also played an important role in the intertwining of cultures. Slovenian tenors were very popular in the Croatian opera, but we have to underscore the work of the Slovenian soprano Irma Polak. Upon finishing her education in Ljubljana and a brief period of her activity in Vienna and Ljubljana, Irma Polak came to Zagreb in 1901, where she blossomed into the most popular operetta singer and actress and was well-loved by audiences. She made a large number of records, which predominantly included her hits from the opera and operetta repertoire. Still, her recordings also include several Slovenian songs. Among her first gramophone recordings made in 1907 we can find a Slovenian traditional song Prišla bo pomlad (5484l, 3-13739), a song she must have liked particularly since the first verse is carved into her gravestone.

Old gramophone records from Croatia and Slovenia, sharing a common history, represent an important collection of sonority and can, due to their historical value, be justifiably considered as being a highly important musical heritage. The recordings encompass different music and artistic genres and reflect the aesthetics and sonority of the past. Since music is an experiential phenomenon, difficult to describe and verbalise, this is especially valuable. The recorded material enables us to take a look at certain musical and aesthetic tastes of a particular period. Because of its rich content and the sonority conveyed by such a collection, it can be of interest for all scientific disciplines dealing with the research into music and artistic performance from the historical perspective.

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PREPLETENOST HRVATSKE I SLOVENSKE GLAZBENE BAŠTINE NA NAJSTARIJIM GRAMOFONSKIM PLOČAMA

SAŽETAK

Premda su gramofonske ploče sa snimkama iz Slovenije i Hrvatske proizvodile različite diskografske tvrtke, na počecima glazbene industrije u tim je zemljama važnu ulogu imala tvrtka Gramophone Company. Detalina analiza njezine dokumentacije pokazuje da su snimke u Zagrebu i Ljubljani za tu tvrtku učinjene u razdoblju od 1902. do 1912. Neke od tih snimaka nastale su u najranijem razdoblju proizvodnje gramofonskih ploča uopće, prije nego što su to dosad pretpostavljali slovenski i hrvatski istraživači. Snimke u Ljubljani (oko 160) i Zagrebu (gotovo 600) za tu su diskografsku kuću u navedenom razdoblju učinila dvojica snimatelja, braća Franz i Max Hampe iz Berlina. Tako velikim brojem snimaka obuhvatili su raznolike izvođače, od poznatih opernih pjevača, glumaca i vokalnih skupina do zanimljivih instrumentalnih sastava (npr. tamburaškog zbora) i različitih puhačkih orkestara. Snimljeni repertoar sadrži popularne pjesme iz opera i opereta domaćih autora, govorene točke i kuplete iz šaljivih scenskih djela te marševe za vojničke puhačke orkestre. Tradicijska (narodna) glazba također je dobro zastupljena. Sustav alfanumeričkih kodova za matrice i ploče u kataloškim popisima kojima je tvrtka Gramophone Co. označavala pojedine snimke otkrivaju važne informacije o veličini ploče, tehnologiji snimanja, snimatelju, vrsti snimljenog sadržaja, području na kojem je sadržaj snimljen i za čije je tržište namijenjen, a na osnovi tih podataka je moguće odrediti i godinu snimanja. Rane snimke Gramophone Co. odražavaju prepletenost kulture Slovenaca i Hrvata. Mnogi su hrvatski umjetnici u svoj repertoar uključili slovenske pjesme koje su očigledno bile popularne i u Hrvatskoj. Važnu ulogu u tome imali su i slovenski umjetnici koji su djelovali u Hrvatskoj. Snimke na starim gramofonskim pločama danas svjedoče o zvučnoj sastavnici kulture na ovim prostorima na početku prošloga stoljeća i zbog svoje povijesne vrijednosti s pravom se mogu smatrati važnom glazbenom baštinom.

Ključne riječi: glazbena industrija, gramofonske ploče, Gramophone Company, Slovenci i Hrvati, glazbena baština