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Care mi amice nec non fratre in Christo, St. Cecilia, Ethnographique. Contribution to the Intellectual Biography of Vladimir Tkalčić according to his Correspondence with the Ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi

The article contributes to the knowledge about Vladimir Tkalčić's social engagement as an intellectual by exploring his correspondence with the ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi. The correspondence is considered in the context of intellectual history and emphasised as important for studying the subdiscipline of the history of Croatian ethnology. Given the special nature of the correspondence, which combines professional and personal elements, the paper is divided into three parts that follow different aspects of the analysed correspondence: ethnographic, musicological, and personal.

Key words: Vladimir Tkalčić, Milovan Gavazzi, correspondence, interwar period, ethnology

INTRODUCTION

The professional engagement of Vladimir Tkalčić (1883–1971) and his multifaceted contributions to various disciplines (museology, history of art, ethnology, conservation) are still insufficiently researched.¹ Furthermore, relatively little is known about Tkalčić's social engagement as an intellectual. Based on the correspondence with the ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi, this paper adds to the knowledge about Tkalčić's social and professional pursuits, thus contributing to future research. The correspondence will be considered in the context of intellectual history emphasising its importance to the subdiscipline of the history of Croatian ethnology. As the title suggests, at issue here is a special kind of correspondence where the professional and the personal intertwine and are sometimes very difficult to separate. The entire correspondence between the two intellectuals will be presented through three aspects that reflect Gavazzi and Tkalčić's professional and personal relationship: 1) ethnographic interest, 2) musicological interest, and 3) long-standing friendship.

The paper is divided into three parts. The first part briefly touches on intellectual history and its applications in the context of studying the history of Croatian ethnology. The focus then turns to the three aspects of the correspondence mentioned above. Our research is based on the analytical and interpretative method, which we employed while working on archival material from the Milovan Gavazzi Personal Fonds (correspondence).² To illustrate particular topics, we used photographs from the Archives of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb.³ Furthermore, we consulted specialist literature relevant to certain segments of the history of ethnology in the period observed.

HISTORY OF CROATIAN ETHNOLOGY AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Intellectual history is a research area that brings together several different scientific disciplines, such as history, philosophy, sociology, political science, and the science of literature. It focuses on intellectuals and their social engagement, covering three central thematic areas: history of

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- 1 For more important works touching on different aspects of Vladimir Tkalčić's professional engagement, see: Horvat 1955: 209-215, Gavazzi 1972:133-137, Sunara 2012: 35-46, Sunara 2017: 21-33, Grković 2018: 110-119. The programme of the scientific conference dedicated to Vladimir Tkalčić, organised by the Croatian Ethnological Society, also confirms that there is room for further research on Tkalčić's contribution to various disciplines. For further information, see: <https://hrvatskoetnoloskodrustvo.hr/tkalcicevo-muzejsko-poslanje-kao-temelj-suvremenih-muzejskih-praksi/> (accessed on 2 February 2022).
 - 2 HR-HDA-1029-7. Osobni fond Milovana Gavazzija (Milovan Gavazzi Personal Fonds). The Gavazzi Personal Fonds are held at the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb. Gavazzi's correspondence series comprises 11,900 letters exchanged with 1,358 domestic and foreign correspondents. The letters are mostly professional, and only a limited number of them are exchanges with close friends. The latter include the correspondence with Vladimir Tkalčić. For more information on the Milovan Gavazzi Personal Fonds, see: Stipančević 2007.
 - 3 The photographic collection is held at the Archives of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology and is a significant source for studying cultural history. The items in the photographic collection are currently undergoing arrangement and description and will soon be digitalised.

intellectuals, history of ideas, and intellectual history in the narrow sense (Janković 2009: 60).⁴ Compared to conventional biographical and descriptive approaches, the *bottom-up approach* employed by intellectual history can be very useful for researching the history of Croatian ethnology.⁵ This is particularly true not only in the context of studying the professional pursuits of Croatian ethnologists but also in the context of developing ethnological science, where the latter is observed as a large network of different stakeholders.⁶ The intellectual-historical approach thus offers more research possibilities. For example, it can 1) examine the professional engagement of Croatian ethnologists against a wider historical and social background, 2) call attention to the blurring of public and private spheres in their work and determine their place in the power relations within the profession, and 3) consider the relationships between the central figures of earlier Croatian ethnology and other stakeholders within the profession. Taking into account the content of the archive material as well as the scope limitations, this paper will offer a contribution mainly to the history of intellectuals. Intellectual history has been used in researching the history of Croatian ethnology for a number of years. Our paper builds on previous researches into Gavazzi's intellectual network and sheds light on certain events from the history of the profession.⁷

MILOVAN GAVAZZI'S INTELLECTUAL NETWORK AND THE TYPOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF VLADIMIR TKALČIĆ AS AN INTELLECTUAL

One of the areas that intellectual history deals with is the study of intellectual networks and circles. Both terms are taken from social sciences and are observed here in a slightly modified sense. The term *network* thus means a broader group of people with whom an individual has established, in their lifetime, some kind of contact, while *circle* designates a smaller group of people with whom an individual shares common views and establishes a lasting contact. Milovan Gavazzi's intellectual network included a number of domestic and foreign intellectuals of

4 The three areas represent a research ideal pursued by intellectual history, but this ideal is not always reachable due to the nature of the sources and topics. The history of intellectuals comprises all scientific research on the lives of individual people; the history of ideas explores how ideas are shaped and conveyed between intellectuals and the broader masses; and intellectual history in the narrow sense focuses on the social aspect of intellectual activity (e. g. analysis of social circles in which intellectuals move, etc.). According to: Janković 2013: 11-77. For more information on intellectual history, its past, and different aspects of its application, see: Breckman 2014: 275-293, McMahon, and Moyn 2014: 3-12, Blažević 2020: 9-13, Bakšić 2020: 207-222, etc.

5 Recently, more attention has been devoted to the research of social networks and to the transmission of ideas and knowledge within the profession. It is important to point out that James Clifford was among the first who addressed this issue in the context of studying the history of (cultural) anthropology (see: Clifford 1992, Rabinow 1983: 196-207). Also, increased attention is now paid to events and personalities on the fringes of the profession since, for a long time, the focus of research was on the central personalities of the anthropological profession. For more information on new approaches in the subdiscipline of the history of (cultural) anthropology, see: Darnell and Gleach 2021.

6 To that effect, the application of Bourdieu's field theory could be of considerable interest. See: Bourdieu 2013: 112-123, Fanuko 2008: 7-41, Grkeš 2020a: 183-207, Grkeš 2020b.

7 To consult recent researches into the history of Croatian ethnology, see: Petrović Leš 2018, Grkeš and Petrović Leš 2021, Grkeš 2020a, Grkeš 2020b.

various professions: ethnologists/anthropologists, historians, linguists, Slavists, and so on.⁸ Such a broad network of people with whom Gavazzi came into contact during his lifetime should not be surprising given his personal interdisciplinarity but also considering the nature of ethnology at the time, which was culturally and historically oriented and strongly focused on interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity.⁹ Gavazzi's inner circle in the interwar period included Vladimir Tkalčić, the historians Miho Barada and Josip Matasović, and the ethnologist and Gavazzi's university colleague Branimir Bratanić.¹⁰

Since the baseline in intellectual-historical research is the intellectual and their social engagement, we first have to position Tkalčić as an intellectual. Considering the wide spectrum of possible typological determinations and interpretations of the term *intellectual*, where each of them also has to be understood against the social and historical backdrop in which it appears (Janković 2013: 20), Vladimir Tkalčić's intellectual engagement, in its broadest sense, is likely to be perceived in the context of the Gramscian *organic intellectual*.¹¹ Tkalčić was never socially involved, like Gavazzi,¹² but he did sometimes act outside his museum profession because of his professional position. For example, for many years he was an associate of the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments and its successors (Conservation Office/

8 For example, Gavazzi corresponded with the Swedish ethnologist Gösta Berg, the German anthropologists Artur and Elsa Byhan, the Croatian cultural historian Vladislav Cvitanović, the Russian-American linguist Roman Jakobson, the Croatian art historian Ljubo Karaman, the archaeologist and historian Mihovil Mandić, etc. For more information, see Stipančević 2007.

9 At the time ethnology was dominated by a cultural-historical paradigm emanating from Graebner's school of culture circles (*Kulturkreis*), which was extremely interdisciplinary for the time and utilised the results of historical sciences, art history, archaeology, linguistics, classical philology, geography, etc. For more information on the cultural-historical paradigm and the school of culture circles, see: Gavazzi 1928, Andriolo 1979, Belaj 1998a and 1998b, Černelić 2007, Barnard 2011.

10 Gavazzi actively collaborated with Tkalčić and Matasović on the journal *Narodna starina*, while Bratanić and Barada were his university colleagues. For more information on Gavazzi's collaboration and contact with Tkalčić, Matasović, and Barada, see: Muraj 1993: 13, Leček and Petrović Leš 2013, Leček and Petrović Leš 2018. Gavazzi's intellectual circle expanded (and narrowed) over time. It was later joined by the Serbian ethnologist Milenko Filipović and the Slovenian ethnologist Vilko Novak, among others. (See: Grkeš 2020a: 185, Grkeš 2020b.)

11 The Gramscian *organic intellectual* is a member of a group which creates, "simultaneously and organically, its own social group or several social groups of intellectuals who ensure the group's homogeneity and raise awareness of its economic, social, and political function" (Janković 2013: 26, according to Gramsci 1973: 117). In contrast to the standard definitions of intellectuals, which emphasise political activity, Gramsci understands intellectuals in the broadest sense of the term. He also opposes the strict division between intellectuals and non-intellectuals, affirming that "each human activity implies the involvement of the intellect", where intellectuals are shaped by their function in society (Janković 2013: 27).

12 In the interwar period Gavazzi participated, together with Bratanić, in the work of festivals organised by the association Seljačka sloga (Peasant Concord) (see: Ceribašić 2003, Leček 2005, Leček, and Petrović Leš 2010). At the time of the Banovina of Croatia, he was particularly involved in the issue of school reform, through which the cultural policy pursued by the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) found its place in the educational system. Ethnology thus secured an important position within the educational system (see: Leček and Petrović Leš 2010).

Institute) and was also engaged with certain civil societies (Art Society, Committee for Erecting a Monument to King Tomislav).¹³

The correspondence between Tkalčić and Gavazzi extends from 1921 to 1970. It starts with a letter dated 11 July 1921, where the young doctor Gavazzi, employed at the time as a teacher with the Teacher Training School for Boys, addresses his older colleague working as a curator at the Ethnographic Department of the Croatian National Museum (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 11 July 1921). The last letter in the correspondence is a telegram dated 2 February 1970, in which Mrs. and Mr. Tkalčić (Antonija and Vladimir) congratulate Gavazzi on winning the Herder Award (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 2 February 1970). There was no further correspondence as Tkalčić died the following year. The correspondence also includes a letter from Tkalčić's wife, Antonija (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 30 May 1926). The frequency of correspondence was at its peak during the interwar period, especially between 1921 and 1936. The correspondence comprises 37 letters written on 49 sheets. The letters came from different parts of Europe and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, like Prague, Barcelona, Belgrade, Zagreb, Lika, Livno, and Korčula. The earliest ones were strictly professional and formally addressed ("Dear Mr. Doctor"), while from 1923 onwards they became more informal, combining professional and personal elements. The letters are full of kind and inspired mutual greetings (e. g. "My dear old labourer, fellow traveller, and sufferer!") and quite often written in Latin ("Care mi amice", "Dilecte mi Amice").¹⁴ Most of the preserved letters in the correspondence were written by Tkalčić, while only four were written by Gavazzi. We suspect that the number of Gavazzi's letters must have been higher, but our research is limited to expressing mostly Tkalčić's perspective on the events witnessed.

ETHNOGRAPHY IN TKALČIĆ'S AND GAVAZZI'S LETTERS

The ethnographic aspect of the correspondence between Gavazzi and Tkalčić covers a wide spectrum of topics that can be divided into three categories: a) work on the collection of museum materials and equipment, b) field research and scientific activity, and c) relations within the profession. According to the correspondence, Gavazzi appears as an associate of the Ethnographic Museum working on acquisitions of materials as early as 1921, when he first contacted Tkalčić from the field in Lika. Tkalčić, who had already gained a better understanding of museum materials, gave Gavazzi instructions on how to obtain certain items from the Lika area on behalf of the museum, "because there is almost nothing from up there", referring in particular

13 While assisting the Land Office, Tkalčić worked on the photo-documentation of valuable cultural and historical heritage (e. g. treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral, bells requisitioned in World War I, historical and ethnographic monuments of the Municipality of Cvetković, Chapel of St. Cross in Sedlarica, Chapel of St. Barbara's in Karlovac, etc.). According to: Grković 2018: 110-119, Tkalčić was also present at the meeting of the Committee for Erecting a Monument to King Tomislav, which took place in 1940 at the Archaeological Museum, where he participated as a representative of the Art Society (Kolar Dimitrijević 1998: 301).

14 For example: "My dear amice and brother in uncertainty", "Care mi amice nec non frater in Christo, St. Cecilia, Ethnographie", "Dilecte mi amice nec non frater in pluribus", "Dear amice", "Dear amicissime", "Dear fratele!", "Carissime", etc.



Picture 1. Rab, a photograph of a donkey with a pack saddle. Property of the Ethnology Seminar (The author is probably Gavazzi.). The text on the back of the photograph says that it was lent to Tkalčić and the Ethnographic Museum. Archives of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology.



Picture 2. A girl in a traditional attire from Zadvorsko. The author of the photograph is Vladimir Tkalčić. Archives of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology.

to the lack of male and female shoes (*opanci*), traditional clothing, wooden containers, pottery items, and handicraft equipment and products (a loom, a woollen blanket /*biljac*).¹⁵

The collaboration between Gavazzi and the Ethnographic Museum intensified in 1923, when Gavazzi became a curator there. For example, during his scholarship in Czechoslovakia in 1925/1926, he arranged with Tkalčić to get hold of various equipment for the museum: a sound-recording device (*phonograph*), a “pocket 6 x 9” photo camera, and chemicals to protect museum items.¹⁶ For their museum work both of them used their common contact network: for instance, in 1926 they arranged to purchase musical recordings of the Czech folklorist Ludvík Kuba,¹⁷ collected during Kuba’s trip to South Serbia (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 24 April 1926). The same year, the museum, through Gavazzi, exchanged specialist literature with foreign ethnologists (like the Finnish ethnologist U. T. Sirelius),¹⁸ while sending Tkalčić’s work to colleagues in Czechoslovakia (for example, the article *Seljačke nošnje u području Zagrebačke gore* (Traditional Peasant Costumes in the Area of Zagrebačka gora) (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 4 April 1926).

The two colleagues continued to collaborate on the acquisition of ethnographic materials even after Gavazzi moved to the Department of Ethnology of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in 1927. In 1931, they focused on procuring ethnographic materials from Bosnia,

15 In the letter, Tkalčić wondered if there was a difference between male and female *opanci* and asked Gavazzi to bring a pair of each. He was interested only in typical wooden bowls and pottery products, but instructed Gavazzi to choose better and more interesting pieces “as we do not have any pottery from Lika at all”. As to traditional clothing, he showed interest in characteristic male and female attires (“but, of course, only homemade, not factory-made”) and stressed that their exact provenance, how they were made, and their individual names and the names of their parts should be recorded. In the letter, he also expressed interest in developing a good model of a Lika house for the museum. According to: HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 11 July 1921. In the next letter, Tkalčić expressed interest in a *biljac* (woollen blanket) (<https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=7665> [accessed on 20 February 2022]) that Gavazzi found during fieldwork. The *biljac* was of unusual size and untypical for peasant houses of the time, which led Tkalčić to conclude that “an ordinary size would be preferred because ‘extraordinary’ items are considered less important. What we need first and foremost are items that most clearly reflect everyday ordinary folk life.” Nevertheless, he admitted that the museum would like to acquire it as some kind of “curiosity” provided that the price was right. In addition to the *biljac*, Tkalčić was also interested in obtaining a loom and gave Gavazzi instructions on how to deliver it to the museum – a feat that required exceptionally good logistics since the loom had to be transported by rail. According to: HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 26 July 1921.

16 In several letters exchanged at the time, Tkalčić informed Gavazzi about the immediate needs of the museum. He first asked Gavazzi to visit the University Institute of Philology in Berlin to learn about new “phonography” devices (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 4 April 1926). He also expressed interest in procuring for the museum a camera with a suitable lens (Zeiss, Tessar 4,5) (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 6 October 1926). As for the protection of museum material, he asked Gavazzi to find out about obtaining a sprayer for the mixture of turpentine and petroleum oil: “Our wretched ‘Perolin’ sprayer is useless despite all repairs. Ask museum people how they ward off moths (!) and, in particular, how they maintain the sprayer because we have already tried everything, to no avail.” According to: HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 4 April 1926.

17 Ludvík Kuba (1863–1956), Czech folklorist, painter, and melographer. Between 1885 and 1929, Kuba travelled different Slavic countries, noting their traditional music. The 5,000 folk songs and melodies he gathered were published in the collection *Slovanstvo ve svých zpěvech*. Some of his material was also published in separate studies (e. g. *Narodna glazbena umjetnost u Dalmaciji* (Folk Music Art in Dalmatia)). See: <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=10763> (accessed on 10 February 2022)

18 Uuno Taavi Sirelius (1872–1929), Finnish ethnographer and the first professor of ethnology at the University of Helsinki. https://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/U._T._Sirelius (accessed on 10 February 2022). In exchange for museum publications (*Zbirka jugoslavenskih ornamenata* /Collection of Yugoslavian Ornaments/), Sirelius promised to send his work on Finnish carpets (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 4 April 1926).

such as traditional weaving equipment (used to make blankets and quilts), traditional attires, headwear, and wooden objects.¹⁹ The following year, 1932, they both made arrangements for the museum to receive a shipment of ethnographic objects from India, collected by the Jesuit Antun Vizjak during his stay in the Himalayas and Bengal (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 7 April 1932).²⁰ Efforts to obtain ethnographic objects sometimes went the other way. For example, in a letter from 1936 Tkalčić arranged with Gavazzi the purchase of a ploughshare for the Ethnology Seminar (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 10 September 1936). It is not surprising that both men were interested in ploughing tools, considering that Branimir Bratanić, with whom they both closely worked, became assistant at the Ethnology Department that same year.²¹

The correspondence between Gavazzi and Tkalčić testifies not only to their collection efforts but also to their scientific pursuits, like the publication of various articles in the journals *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* and *Narodna starina* and the preparation of the collection *Zbirka jugoslavenskih ornamenata* (Collection of Yugoslavian Ornaments).²² In this regard, as early as 1925, Tkalčić shared with Gavazzi his thoughts on the need to start a new ethnographic journal so that the journal *Narodna starina* could be “freed from excessive historical material” and “a special journal could be established as part of the Yugoslavian Academy of Sciences or the Faculty’s Department of Ethnology” (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 3 August 1925). In addition to Tkalčić’s work on the journal and his collection efforts, the correspondence with Gavazzi offers

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- 19 At that time, Gavazzi was on the field in Livno. In addition to documenting crafts, Tkalčić wanted to obtain tools “to demonstrate the processing of materials and products at all stages” (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 15 July 1931). Therefore, he asked Gavazzi to also record on film the aforementioned traditional process of making blankets and shearing wool. (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 15 July 1931). Furthermore, Tkalčić instructed Gavazzi to procure “a blanket with a hood for about 300 dinars”. He was also interested in obtaining certain parts of traditional dress: *biljača* (cloth dress), *modra* (blue dress), *sadak* (women’s longer sleeveless jacket), red cap, *šadare* (a type of scarf), *bošča* (embroidered scarf/apron), as well as a tool used to twist *oputa* (leather straps) and weave belts (*Bretten-Weberai*). Tkalčić asked Gavazzi to look for *poculice* (female caps) “similar to the those found in Imotski and Orubica” in case he visited Kupres. According to: HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 22 July 1931.
- 20 The Jesuit Tomo Marković asked Gavazzi that the museum receive a shipment of 13 boxes from the Catholic missionaries from India. The boxes were sent by Antun Vizjak, who worked in Darjeeling in the Himalayas and Bengal. (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 7 April 1932). For more information on Tomo Marković, see: <https://enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=39036> (accessed on 10 February 2022).
- 21 In 1936, Branimir Bratanić was employed as the first assistant at the Ethnology Department (Petrović Leš, <https://etno.ffzg.unizg.hr/odsjek/povijest-odsjeka/> [accessed on 10 February 2022]). In 1947, he defended his dissertation entitled *Orače sprave u Hrvata* (Ploughing Tools in Croats). See: <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=2718> (accessed on 10 February 2022).
- 22 Tkalčić started publishing the collection *Zbirka jugoslavenskih ornamenata* (Collection of Yugoslavian Ornaments) (1925–1934). The collection consisted of six volumes, each with four sheets filled with reproductions “in colours of various national ornamented handicrafts, dutifully accompanied by data” (Gavazzi 1972: 135). Preparations to publicise the collection *Zbirka jugoslavenskih ornamenata* were not without political tensions. In a letter from 1926, Tkalčić informed Gavazzi that the preparation of the publication had been temporarily stopped due both to his personal differences with Berger and to political reasons. “Z. J. O. (Collection of Yugoslavian Ornaments) is asleep because the director has different plans than I do, but also because the higher-ups have taken a strange attitude towards this edition (as I have been informed by ‘Naklada’). My guess is that the word ‘Yugoslavian’ bothers them, or that someone is trying to turn a profit” (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 10 March 1926). Tkalčić, together with Gavazzi, collaborated on the journal *Narodna starina*, which was established by Josip Matasović in 1923 and published by the museum as “some sort of official gazette” (Gavazzi 1972: 135). For more information on Matasović and his research approach, see the the proceedings *Josip Matasović i paradigma kulturne povijesti* (Josip Matasović and the Paradigm of Cultural History) (Ed. Suzana Leček).

an insight into his other activities, such as his work on international exhibitions (Paris 1925, Philadelphia 1926, Barcelona 1929)²³ and on the 1926 renovation of Banski dvori in collaboration with the painter Maksimilijan Vanka (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 4 April 1926).²⁴

The letters in which Gavazzi and Tkalčić talk about power relations and events within the profession in the interwar period are particularly important for the subdiscipline of the history of Croatian ethnology. They reflect the unfavourable position in which intellectuals of the time found themselves as they constantly had to balance between different political factions. Active anti-regime intellectuals were often forcibly retired or transferred to the back of beyond of the country as punishment, while the pro-regime ones were removed from office soon after the political climate changed.²⁵ One such situation happened soon, in 1925, after the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) formed the government with the People's Radical Party and gained control over the Ministry of Education, whose jurisdiction also included cultural institutions.²⁶ The goal of the politically motivated personnel selection that followed was to place politically suitable intellectuals in key positions in cultural as well as scientific and educational institutions. In such a situation, Tkalčić found himself at a disadvantage, as a museum man and a cultural worker who was not particularly politically active. In a letter from 1926, he spoke about his unfavourable situation within the profession and reported rumours that he and Salamon Berger would be removed from the leadership of the Ethnographic Museum, that the position would be taken over by the art historian Antun Jiroušek²⁷, and that Tkalčić himself would be transferred to a position in the Sarajevo Museum:

23 Numerous international exhibitions in which Tkalčić participated required considerable effort on his part, and he frequently complained about this in his letters: "Besides all this wonderful intellectual work, there is still that ghastly, vampirish Paris exhibition, which will pretty soon be joined by the spectre of the Philadelphian one, which again means reports, programmes, opinions, and inevitable meetings" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 24 December 1925); "In addition, we are bogged down in calculations, and there is that exhibition in Philadelphia, too! The situation at work is terribly unpleasant, and if I were not quite phlegmatic, I would go haywire" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 19 January 1926).

24 For more information on Maksimilijan Vanka's art, see: *Maksimilijan Vanka: retrospektivna izložba* (Maksimilijan Vanka: Retrospective Exhibition), Klovićevi dvori Gallery, 2002.

25 The state had at its disposal various "instruments" of control over intellectuals. The Ministry of Education controlled positions that attracted intellectuals at the time – positions in education (schools, faculties, libraries) and culture and arts (museums, galleries). Hence, the state could deploy officials across the country as it saw fit. The historian Josip Matasović was thus transferred to Skopje as punishment, and so was the ethnologist Milenko Filipović, who was suspected of being a communist sympathizer. See: Leček and Petrović Leš 2011: 164, Grkeš 2020: 32.

26 For the political history of the time, see, for example: Banac 1988, Matković 1998, Matković 1999, Goldstein 2008, Šute 2019, etc.

27 Antun Jiroušek (1873–1948), Croatian art historian. In 1925, he became director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts. See: <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=29183> (accessed on 10 February 2022). According to some data, Jiroušek, as an intellectual, seems to have gravitated towards the HSS. For example, he wrote for the following magazines: *Obzor*, *Vijenac*, *Seljačka prosvjeta*, *Katolički list* (Muraj 2001: 41, Leček 1995). He also pursued cartography and drew, among other things, geographical maps for Stjepan Radić's book *Moderna kolonizacija i Slaveni* (Modern Colonisation and the Slavs) (1904). According to: <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=8673> (accessed on 10 April 2022).

“No one can tell me anything about your salary. I find it better *quieta non movere* than for the Authorities to notice. Since Šenoa²⁸ has been ‘removed’, I have no one closer at the Ministry and dare not bring up the issue, which could be ill-solved just because it comes from me. You need to know, ‘rumour’ has it that the Director and I in particular will be ‘removed’ to make room for the renowned Jiroušek, and I am to be sent to Sarajevo. These are words that have been said in public, but there is still nothing in black and white. Of course, we have taken counteraction, but there is no telling how it will end in these turbulent times” (HR-HDA-1029-6, box 93: 5 February 1926).

The uncertainty greatly affected Tkalčić’s work, as he frequently lamented in his letters to Gavazzi.²⁹ He often compared his situation with that of his best man – the historian, conservator, and museologist Gjuro Szabo, who, after the new government took control, was relieved of the position of director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, which was then given to Antun Jiroušek (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 6 April 1926). Tkalčić’s unfavourable position within the profession started to improve already towards the middle of the year, after the political crisis had ended. However, the Ethnographic Museum was still facing adversity. After Gavazzi was offered the position of professor at the Ethnology Department, Tkalčić and Berger were faced with the task of finding an adequate replacement for Gavazzi. This person had to be professionally and politically acceptable to the museum in order to prevent “all sorts of Jiroušeks” from entering the museum, an institution that was considered extremely important for national identity at the time.

“But let us move to another topic. The faculty nominated you for the position of professor at the university. That is certainly nice, and I do indeed congratulate you from the bottom of my heart, but I am also sorry to see you leave the Museum. Hence, we need to find a successor for you as soon as possible. Just recently, the Director visited the Minister³⁰, and they spoke about you. He (that is, the Minister) said that you would no longer be at the Museum and if we had a proposal for your successor, we should put it forward. The choice fell on Dr. Deželić, and we will nominate him in a few days and thus use this favourable constellation to avoid having someone potentially unsuitable forced on us. What is your take on all this, did you know about it, and did you agree to be nominated as a professor at the university? People say that you did, and we have to strike while the iron is hot, otherwise all sorts of Jiroušeks will push their way in, which we cannot allow under any circumstances while we have heads on our shoulders, that is, while we are still “in position” (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 10 March 1926).

A special category in the letters are references to individuals and events within the profession. Tkalčić mentioned the director of the Ethnographic Museum, Salomon Berger, quite often in his letters. During Gavazzi’s stay in Prague in 1926, Tkalčić conveyed to him greetings from the

28 Probably Branko Šenoa, Croatian art historian, painter, and graphic artist, son of August Šenoa. In 1921, he was appointed director of the Academy of Fine Arts. For further information, see: <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?ID=59444> (accessed on 10 February 2022).

29 “My position is still unstable and unclear thanks to partisan gestures of peasant peacemakers. However, what is there to write about? If I am “dismissed”, this will not be my end. And even if it is, what is that compared to the heavenly glory and the height of the political ideals of our forward-looking politicians of all parties, factions, and colours!?! – For now, we are still here.” (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 10 March 1926).

30 At the time, the Minister of Education was Stjepan Radić (17 November 1925–15 April 1926). Further research is needed on Gavazzi’s arrival at the Ethnology Department and his relations with the HSS.

director and the museum staff and informed him about Berger's health, which was beginning to deteriorate.³¹ Since Berger and Tkalčić had opposing views on the organisation and management of the museum, the latter frequently complained in his letters with the words "woe to the empire with two heads" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 4 April 1926).³²

After moving to the Museum of Arts and Crafts in 1934, where he assumed the position of director, Tkalčić continued to follow events at the Ethnographic Museum.³³ At the time of the well-known conflict between Gavazzi and Ivo Franić, he sided with his friend and gave him the information he needed to write newspaper articles against Franić. Hence, together they commented on the court case that Franić had brought against journalists of the Zagreb-based newspaper *Večer*.³⁴ It was Gavazzi who reported on the course of the court proceedings as, at the time, Tkalčić was resting on the island of Korčula due to his poor health. The proceedings proved that

31 HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93, 4 April 1926, 26 September 1926, 2 October 1926. Due to his illness, Berger often delayed museum activities and participation in various social events. In a letter from 1926, Tkalčić referred to Berger's health: "Berger is sick a lot and growing old, although at the moment he is not ill and is back to normal. He and the rest of the museum send their best regards. The museum staff also get sick occasionally, for example, Mrs. Baldauf had to be taken to the hospital for contagious diseases because of 'Rothlauf' (erysipelas), so she asked for a long leave. What can you do, poor woman, but it is an inconvenience for us." (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 1 September 1926).

32 Berger's way of running the museum better served his own business interests than Tkalčić's efforts to bring museology to the fore. For an overview of museum activities of the period, see: Gjetvaj 1989, Bušić 2009: 281-300.

33 In 1936, he confirmed to Gavazzi that he had been following the court case against Franić, which he had read about in the journal *Novosti*: "As for the trial, I have read only *Novosti*, whose report was shamefully delivered and garnished. But what good does it do when the truth is different? What is important and substantive has been established, everything else is completely secondary." 93: 10 September 1936).

34 On 10 March 1935 Franić took over as director of the Ethnographic Museum after the ethnomusicologist Božidar Širola, with whom Gavazzi frequently collaborated as curator, was removed from the post. Franić had worked at the General Directorate of State Railways and was appointed director of the Ethnographic Museum along political lines. The government of the Yugoslavian Prime Minister Bogoljub Jevtić did him a favour by repealing the legal regulation that required every museum employee to pass a professional exam and serve three years before becoming a director (Pletenac 2000: 27). Thus, the government allowed political staffing in museum institutions as well. He was a supporter and member of the Yugoslavian Radical Community (JRZ). The Archives of Yugoslavia contain a letter from Franić to Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović, in which Franić advises how to resolve the Croatian question and improve the position of the JRZ in Croatian political life. See: Karaula 2009: 227-235. With Franić's arrival, the journal *Narodna starina* ceased to be the gazette of the museum. Instead, Franić started *Vjesnik etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu za etnografiju, etnologiju, antropologiju i prehistoriju* (Journal of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb for Ethnography, Ethnology, Anthropology, and Pre-history). Feeling attacked in an article published in the Belgrade-based *Pravda*, which praised Franić's management of the museum, Gavazzi responded to the attack by publishing an article in *Obzor*. This soon developed into a newspaper polemic that led to a court case. It is clear from the letters that Tkalčić should have been called as a witness, but the idea was soon abandoned ("Dr. Bratić decided not to summon you as a witness – it was not necessary as our cases of plagiarism were actually more than enough" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 7 June 1936).

Franić plagiarised several works;³⁵ however, the case was eventually annulled due to procedural formalities, and, according to Gavazzi, the judicial council seemed politically inclined to the defendant:

“However, the plagiarism was clearly and indelibly proved to the court, and, in addition, the court was convinced that F’s work contained many defects and rather (!) grand statements. On the other hand, it is a disgrace that the senate rejected truthful evidence of F’s incompetence at the museum as well as the witnesses who would testify to that – although it had already started, during the last hearing, to more or less impartially question witnesses precisely on that matter – where, for example, Kus and Klemenc gave devastating statements (I assume you too have read about this). – But now that things have developed the way they have, the public needs to know – even if the court did not want to hear it! – what F. is doing at the museum and how he is doing it. I have sharpened my quill, and I am writing!” (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 7 September 1936).

In their further correspondence about the conflict, Gavazzi asked Tkalčić for additional information and his opinion about the attribution of certain paintings that Franić had mentioned in the book *Reorganizovani Etnografski muzej* (The Ethnographic Museum Reorganised), where he presented his interventions in the museum collection.³⁶ Questioning Franić’s painting attributions, he contacted Tkalčić with the following question:

“In his delightful file ‘The Ethn. M. Reorganised’ etc., F. also says about those paintings hanging above the entry to the central room (let us call it, for example, the ‘octagon of religion and folk traditions’): ‘It (i. e. the wall) is covered by a number of original paintings on wood, canvas, and tin, in various styles, from the Gothic, through the Renaissance to the Baroque and the 19th century.’ (!) Now, I ask you as the first and foremost expert on these museum paintings: are there actually any Gothic paintings there? Or Renaissance ones? And is a man qualified in art history allowed to simply say ‘from the Gothic, through the Renaissance etc.’ (the Baroque is still there, I remember that much)?? So, I am asking you to give me your ‘expert instruction’, a plain piece of paper will do, which I would use in my article if your answer turns out to be as I suspect it might (of course, your name won’t be mentioned, unless you expressly allow it or want it)” (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 7 September 1936).

In a rather detailed reply, Tkalčić analysed from his personal memory each of the mentioned paintings and provided his expert opinion, stating that the attributions were wrong because they

35 Franić was particularly exposed to attacks by the journalists of the newspaper *Večer*, published in Zagreb. Franić sued them for two articles, accusing them of slander and claiming that the people behind them were Gavazzi, Tkalčić, and the journalist Stjepan Širola (Stipančević 2016: 181). In 1936 *Večer* reported on Franić’s lecture that allegedly came from the book by the ethnologist Edmund Schneckweis: *Grundriss des Volksglaubens und Volksbrauchs der Serbokroaten*. Gavazzi also wrote about it in the daily newspaper *Hrvatska straža* in an article that provided evidence of Franić’s plagiarism (Pletenac 2000: 11). According to T. Pletenac, the lawsuit remained without result and, most likely, “the statute of limitations was enforced” (Ibid: 11). As a result of the litigation, all affairs that occurred while Franić was managing the museum came to public light. The accusation that he had turned the museum into a “winery” turned out to be true. It was also proved that the porter, with Franić’s permission, stored wine casks in the museum’s basement and sold them to interested parties (Stipančević 2016: 181).

36 See: Franić 1936.

were based on incorrect methodology.³⁷ He also advised Gavazzi to look at the list of paintings again and make a note of them in order to prevent Franić's later attempts to conceal his mistakes:

"Of course, to be on the safe side, you may want to carefully examine and list all the paintings hanging on this wall because it cannot be ruled out that, after your article is published, F. will not sneak in a Gothic or Renaissance painting at a later date. This would ease your scientific mind, and mine as well. – Enough has been said about this, let us move on to other things" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 10 September 1936).

There is no further information about the conflict between Gavazzi and Franić in the correspondence. We can assume that Tkalčić remained informally involved in the conflict because the newspaper polemic between the two adversaries continued in the following period. The conflict officially ended only in 1939, when Franić was removed from office and Gavazzi was appointed acting director of the museum.

MUSICOLOGY

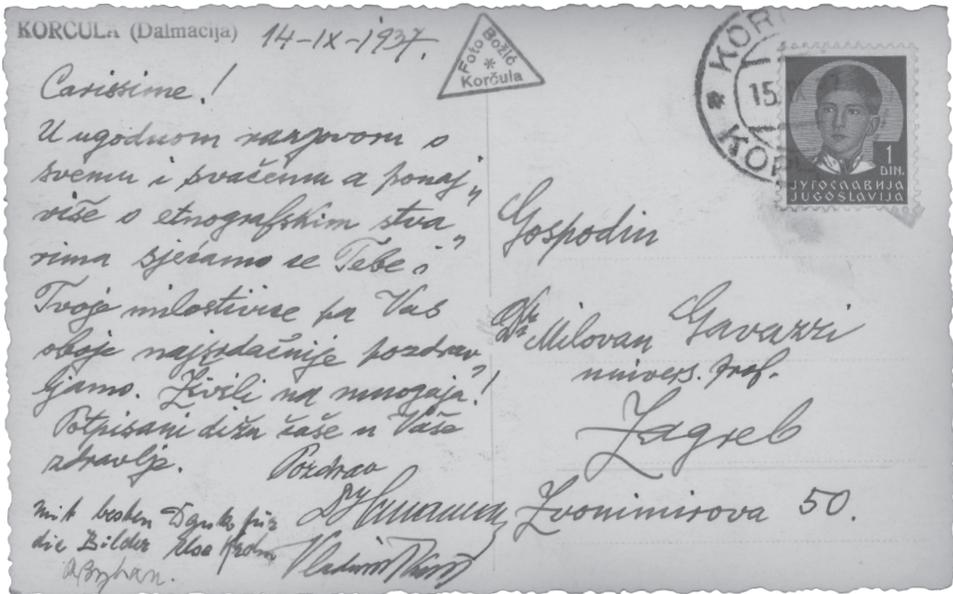
The second important area through which Gavazzi and Tkalčić were closely connected as intellectuals was musicology. Hence, the salutation at the beginning of Tkalčić's letter, used in the article's title, referring to St. Cecilia, the patron saint of music, poets, and the blind, comes as no surprise. Both intellectuals developed an interest in music and music-making because of their family backgrounds. Tkalčić's father, Zvonimir, was a pianist who gathered well-known Zagreb musicians in his salon.³⁸ Tkalčić's brothers were also musicians: his brother Juro (1887–1957)

37 Tkalčić believed that the Gothic paintings Franić mentioned were not in the exhibition and pointed out some of his earlier mistakes (e. g. when, in his work on Zagreb Cathedral, published in the paper of the association Društvo Zagrebčana, he incorrectly described the Baroque church furniture as coming from the Renaissance). The work was, in fact, Franić's unsuccessful doctoral dissertation, which was rejected by Ferdo Šišić as a potential member of the examination committee (Stipančević 2016: 180). He also claimed that the exhibition did not include any Renaissance paintings, with the sole exception of the 17th-century painting from the chapel in Bencetići, which, in his opinion, was not at all a product of high art but rather of Renaissance folk art. Furthermore, he stated that Franić might have mistakenly characterised certain Eastern European and Byzantine Orthodox icons shown at the exhibition as Renaissance or Baroque, which would mean that his classification was wrong "in the terminological model of Western art history" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 10 September 1936). In one of the later letters, his criticism of Franić became even more scathing, and Gavazzi wrote: "I feel sorry for you, for me, and for all the others who have to deal with this animal or, better yet, vermin! But vermin and the like keep people pretty busy" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 15 September 1936).

38 According to Vladimir Tkalčić, Tkalčić's nephew, well-known Zagreb musicians gathered in the salon of the Tkalčić family. See: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/morton1905/11783502524> (accessed on 10 February 2022).

was a cellist and composer, while his brother Ivo (1875–1937) was, like their father, a pianist.³⁹ In Gavazzi's family, his maternal cousins (the Hennebergs) were also musicians, and Gavazzi himself was exceptionally well-educated in music. He played the flute, the trombone, and the timpani at the Music Institute and made music with his friends, the brothers Dragutin and Maksimilijan Mandl (Županović 1977: 100).⁴⁰ In the interwar period, music and the emerging musicological science were important links between the two intellectuals. In 1919, Gavazzi defended his doctoral dissertation on ethnomusicology: *Ritmika hrvatskih narodnih pjesama* (Rhythmics in Croatian Folk Songs). In 1920, Tkalčić established the Folk Music Department of the Ethnographic Museum, and Božidar Širola was appointed head of the department (Gavazzi 1972: 134).⁴¹ Gavazzi, immediately after his transfer to the museum, became one of the department's associates.⁴²

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- 39 Gavazzi 1972: 136. Vladimir Tkalčić was the nephew of Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, historian of the city of Zagreb. Vladimir's brother Juro (1877–1957) was a renowned composer and cellist. He studied in Zagreb, Vienna, and Paris and was the first Croatian cellist of European reputation and prestige. During his stay abroad from 1895 to 1914, he played in various musical ensembles with his brother, the pianist Ivo. From 1914 to 1927, he worked as a chamber musician and professor at the Conservatory and the Music Academy, while from 1927 to 1941 he worked as a musician and a teacher in Belgrade, Dubrovnik, and Zagreb. According to: <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=61531> (accessed on 10 February 2022). Ivo Tkalčić (1875–1937) was a renowned pianist. He studied at the conservatories in Prague and Vienna. Together with the fiddler Schendler-Petersen, he formed a chamber trio and organised tours in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Germany. At the invitation of his friend Antun Gustav Matoš, Ivo went to Paris and stayed there for many years. They also performed across the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. According to: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/morton1905/11783502524> (accessed on 10 February 2022). His sister Draga was Antun Gustav Matoš's love interest. His brother Milan was a pharmacist (Grković 2018:110).
- 40 In the academic years 1909/1910 and 1910/1911, he attended the school of the National Land Music Institute in Zagreb to learn to play the flute, and then the trombone and the timpani (Županović 1977: 100). Dragutin Mandl (1892–1959) was a Croatian engineer and tram designer. He was employed with Zagrebački električni tramvaj (Zagreb Municipal Transit System), where he worked on tram building. According to: <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=38581> (accessed on 15 February 2022).
- 41 The Department functioned within the Museum with Širola as its curator and director. The latter post was later taken up by Gavazzi. The department was established in 1921 under an order from the Commission for Education and Religion. Its main task was to collect Yugoslavian music using modern musicological methods and to compile a critical edition of collected materials (Tkalčić 1922: 10). The department had an expert library, a phonographic workshop, phonographic archives, and a collection of folk instruments and materials related to folk music (Tkalčić 1922: 11). It very quickly established connections with the Vienna-based Phonograph-Archiv der Wissenschaften, which sent it a phonographic apparatus for sound recording, since making gramophone records was still expensive at the time (Gavazzi 1972: 134). Documents from the Ethnographic Museum's Collection in the Croatian State Archives testify to the hard work that the members of the Department put into obtaining recording equipment and organising fieldwork (HR-HDA-512-Ethnographic Museum, general files).
- 42 The correspondence with Tkalčić includes a letter Širola sent to Gavazzi (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 14 May 1926). In the letter, Širola consulted Gavazzi on the description of some phonographic recordings in the museum, which Gavazzi had edited.



Picture 3 & 4. A postcard from Korčula sent to Gavazzi in 1937., Archives of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology.

Even more interesting is the fact that both of them were contributors for the journal of sacred music *Sveta Cecilija*, where they published their articles on musicological topics.⁴³ For example, in 1922 the journal published articles by Milovan Gavazzi, the brothers Vladimir and Juro Tkalčić, Ludvik Kuba, and Božidar Širola,⁴⁴ most of whom were associates of the Folk Music Department. Of particular significance was Tkalčić's contribution entitled "Spasavajmo naše narodno muzičko blago" (Let Us Save Our National Music Treasure), published the same year. In the text, written in the style of salvage ethnology,⁴⁵ Tkalčić took a theoretical and practical approach to the issue of collecting musicological material, which he deemed equivalent to other ethnographic material such as "mind creations" and "handicrafts".

"The music of our people and everything connected with it, just like all our other ethnographic material, be it mind creations or handicrafts, is disappearing day by day. The old saying 'It is high time we salvage whatever we can', as banal as it may sound, is just right here. There are too many reasons, mostly justified, that force our farmers to abandon their old ways of life, traditional clothing, house-building techniques, and other old technical skills, old shapes of tools and field implements, etc. Unfortunately, our farmers have also abandoned their songs, although there is no justified reason for this, and succumbed to the influence of external cultural elements that bring new life forms" (Tkalčić 1922: 11).

In the article mentioned above, Tkalčić also emphasised the importance of collecting ethnomusicological material and gave instructions on how to describe and collect such materials, supporting his contention with the following facts: 1) the materials should be saved ("secured") and preserved as a document to allow insight into the psyche of the nation but also to gain "knowledge about man in general";⁴⁶ 2) such preserved musicological materials should be re-vitalised (particularly in areas where they no longer exist) and made widely accessible, especially to musicians and composers so that they may "find in them inspiration for their artistic creation" in an effort to build "our own spiritual culture, as free of foreign elements as possible" (Tkalčić 1922: 11).

43 Gavazzi's works were related to the research of the 18th-century collection *Cithara octochorda*, written in the Kajkavian and Latin languages: "Prilog narodnim melodijama u 'Cithari octochordi'" (Contribution to Folk Melodies in *Cithara octochorda*) (1919), "Narodni elementi u 'Cithari octochordi'" (Folk Elements in *Cithara octochorda*) (1920), "Iz povijesti pjesme 'Narodi se kralj nebeski'" (From the History of the Song "Narodi se kralj nebeski") (1922), and the paper "Muzika starohrvatskih crkvenih prikazanja" (Music of the Old Croatian Church Miracle Plays) (1924). (According to Županović 1977: 99). For Gavazzi's work on ethnomusicology, see: Bezić 1996: 53-68.

44 Milovan Gavazzi: "Prikaz glazbe u Bosni u 'Neue Musik-Zeitung'" (Overview of Music in Bosnia in the "Neue Musik-Zeitung") (138-168), "Iz povijesti pjesme 'Narodi se kralj nebeski'" (From the History of the Song "Narodi se kralj nebeski"); Božidar Širola: "Ludvika Kube 'Nešto o istarsko-dalmat. pučkoj popijevci'" ("A Note on Istrian and Dalmatian Folk Singing" by Ludvik Kuba), "Natjecanje pjevačkih društava u Pragu" (Prague Choral Society Competition), "Glazba i glazbenici kod Hrvata, Srba i Slovenaca" (Music and Musicians in Croats, Serbs, and Slovenians); Juro Tkalčić: "† Camille Saint-Saëns"; Vladimir Tkalčić "Spasavajmo naše narodno muzičko blago" (Let Us Save Our National Music Treasure).

45 For more information on salvage ethnology, see: Potkonjak 2004: 111-139.

46 "(...) that we for ever secure and preserve this treasure as a document of our nation's great capacity to express its spiritual convictions in music, and thus provide materials for studying its psyche and contribute to the knowledge about man in general" (Tkalčić 1922: 11).

LONG-TERM FRIENDSHIP

The correspondence between Tkalčić and Gavazzi also gives direct insight into the personal relationship of the two intellectuals, which is difficult to separate from their social and professional pursuits. The friendship between the two men started in 1923, after Gavazzi was hired as a curator at the museum. The letters sent in the next period were friendly, more intimate, and less formal compared to the earlier ones. To understand the content of each letter, it is important to know the context of the conversations and the details of the lives of the two intellectuals, as they sometimes communicated in phrases known only to them. For example, the term *gynecej* in the letters most likely refers to their wives (Antonija Tkalčić and Božena Gavazzi), but also to their female colleagues at the museum (Tereza Paulić, Jele Novak, Zdenka Sertić, etc.)⁴⁷.

The personal aspect of the correspondence covers a vast array of topics that both intellectuals were happy to address: hedonism, health and illness, love for their wives, etc. The letters give insight into Gavazzi's scholarship in Prague, a period that has so far been little researched. While Gavazzi was in Prague, Tkalčić, as the museum's manager, supported him by taking care of his paperwork. For example, he filled out documents in his name and even falsified his signature in certain places when necessary (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 10 March 1926). At that time, Tkalčić took upon himself to receive Gavazzi's salary and pay it into the bank account to allow Gavazzi a smooth stay in Prague. In his letters, Tkalčić often expressed concern that financial circumstances/money troubles might affect Gavazzi's health:

"I am depositing your salary into your account, but don't tighten your belt too much because, my dear, without health, you have nothing. Instead of suffering as a student, shorten your stay in Prague and spend the rest of your leave somewhere in your homeland where it is cheaper" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 5 February 1926).

In the following years, Tkalčić's health gradually deteriorated. It appears from the letters that, for health reasons, in 1926, 1934, and 1936 he frequently stayed on the island of Korčula, where his brother Juro had a house.⁴⁸ Gavazzi sent several letters to that address, reporting on events in the profession and in political life, such as the Zrinski Gobelin affair at the Museum of Arts and Crafts and the court proceedings involving Ivo Franić.⁴⁹ Korčula had an exceptionally escapist effect on Tkalčić, who went there because of health problems and exhaustion from the work that he, as museum manager, increasingly had to shoulder as Berger grew older. In his letters, he depicted Korčula as a hidden arcadian landscape and often described its beauties in detail: the sun, the sea, the scents of rosemary, pine, and oleander.⁵⁰ He made particular references to

47 "Please give our warm greetings to the members of the famous *Gynecej* and let them know that, just like woman has always been an indecipherable enigma to man, those two puzzles sent to the two of us are also beyond our grasp, although we sense that some deep secrets are at play. – Sabljak and I send our best regards to the Director and to you!" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 30 January 1923). This attitude towards women was by no means limited to the analysed correspondence. For more information, see: Leček and Petrović Leš 2013: 307-341.

48 According to information provided by Tkalčić, Vladimir Tkalčić, M.D.

49 For more on the conflict about the Zrinski family Gobelins, see: Srša 2016: 61-79.

50 "The dawn has brought such a wonderful calm like we haven't seen this year. Peace, tranquillity, the sun, the scents of rosemary, pine, and oleander, and the sea as smooth as oil" (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 15 September 1936).

gastronomy: his love of sea delicacies (fish, oysters, lobster, etc.) and wine (*Dingač, Grk*). These letters show another side to Tkalčić – calmer, more relaxed, and hedonistic:

“My health has improved only over the last few days, so I can finally start to rest and recover. The weather here is lovely despite the occasional sirocco, bora, or storm. Just colossal for my nerves. There is no heat except for the sun and the warm sea, the air is incredibly fresh, and so is the fish, the lobster, and the oysters, which we enjoy with Grk, Dingač, and other spiritual delicacies. As to short sea and land tours, we’ll have the chance to talk about that in person” (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 10 September 1936).

After the 1930s, the letters became rarer. Out of the last four letters of the correspondence, three are from 1965. That year, the letters were exchanged in Stubičke toplice, where Tkalčić, who was 83 at the time, shortly stayed to rehabilitate a broken arm.⁵¹ In one letter, Gavazzi thanked Tkalčić for wishing him a happy 70th birthday and encouraged him to take more active care of his health:

“I don’t like it one bit that, as we can see from the card, you are not walking at all, which is not very nice of you. Those years when you could not walk are far behind you, and it doesn’t exactly bode well for you to learn to walk again now. But, as I write this, I hope that you have already made the first steps, as painful as they may be, because everything will pass, you just have to be patient, as I know very well from my own environment.” (HR-HDA-1029-7, box 93: 16 November 1965).

Gavazzi expressed profound respect for his friend on several occasions. When Tkalčić turned 70, Gavazzi published a short article in the corresponding proceedings.⁵² Also, in 1970, he wrote a short biographical note on Tkalčić for the book *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* (Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia). His private archives include a newspaper clip about Tkalčić’s death, which he marked and saved. Gavazzi showed the greatest respect for his friend in the obituary published in the journal *Etnološka tribina* in 1971. The text of the obituary differs in form and content from the style in which obituaries of the time were written. Gavazzi, who had always been rather reserved and distant in his manners and, particularly, in writing these types of text, talked about Tkalčić’s human qualities, which actually constituted the essence and substance of their friendship:

“Much is due to his nature and background: by nature, he was unobtrusive, self-critical, and aware of the extent of his intellectual capacity, while by background, he came from a family that also produced two musical artists (a pianist and a cellist and composer). What is more, by following, in the present day, the role model of his uncle Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, pioneer of the history of Zagreb, Vladimir Tkalčić was almost predestined for the role that fate had in store for him – that of a pioneer of our museology, including archaeological museology, arts and crafts museology, and ethnographic museology” (Gavazzi 1972: 136).

CONCLUSION

From a research point of view, the correspondence between Vladimir Tkalčić and Milovan Gavazzi offers a range of new insights that are relevant for the subdiscipline of the history of

51 According to doctor Vladimir Tkalčić Jr., Tkalčić’s arm was broken when he was accidentally hit by a tram at the corner of Frankopanska street.

52 The name of the proceedings was *Tkalčićev zbornik* (Tkalčić Proceedings). See: Gavazzi 1958.

Croatian ethnology and intellectual history. This research, written as a smaller case study, is intended to contribute to future researches on Vladimir Tkalčić's intellectual pursuits. Methodologically, the work is based on the study of Tkalčić's correspondence with the ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi, which is presented from three different aspects: ethnographic, musicological, and personal. The analysed letters testify to the professional endeavours (ethnography, musicology) of the two intellectuals and speak about the power relations within the profession in the interwar period. They offer insight into Gavazzi's scholarship in Prague, which has been little researched so far, as well as into Tkalčić's involvement in the well-known conflict between Franić and Gavazzi. In addition, the work addresses the musicological aspect of the correspondence, as musicology was indeed one of the areas that closely connected the two intellectuals, both professionally and personally. As a result, the personal and professional elements in the correspondence could not be fully separated because they strongly overlapped due to the long-standing friendship between the two men.

The letters express not only professional engagement but also a deep friendship and respect between two colleagues who shared common views on life and a love for their profession – for museology, ethnology, and music. Furthermore, the letters help understand the position of intellectuals in one of the turning points of the Croatian history, the interwar period, which was marked by national unrest, political conflicts, and development of culture and civil society in the context of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The correspondence between Tkalčić and Gavazzi thus provides a bottom-up view of life and everyday reality of intellectuals as well as of processes of (re)shaping the cultural policies in the 1920s and 1930s, when the HSS was active. Accordingly, this work is considered an introduction to future research on the intellectual Vladimir Tkalčić, especially in light of the fact that next year, 2023, will mark the 140th anniversary of his birth.

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