

MUSICAL LIFE IN THE MILITARY FRONTIER: A CASE STUDY OF THE 2ND BANAL REGIMENT AND *MILITÄR-KOMMUNITÄT* PETRINJA¹

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Abstract

The article deals with the musical life of the 2nd Banal Regiment and of *Militär-Kommunität* Petrinja situated in the Croatian Military Frontier. In the first part of the article, the organisation of military musicians is presented and 486 individual identified musicians are listed, as well as the Regiment's *Kapellmeisters* throughout the nineteenth century. The second part concerns Petrinja's civilian musical institutions (Town Guard's orchestra, *Musikverein* and the Croatian singing society »Slavulj«) and presents the circumstances of their respective

foundations and their importance for Petrinja's cultural and social life.

Keywords: 2nd Banal Regiment; military music; *Militär-Kommunität* Petrinja; Town Guard's orchestra; Petrinja *Musikverein*; Croatian singing society »Slavulj«

Ključne riječi: Druga banska graničarska pukovnija; vojna glazba; vojni komunitet Petrinja; orkestar Gradske garde; petrinjski Glazbeni zavod; Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo »Slavulj«

The topic of musical life and its institutional organization in the area of the Military Frontier is one of the goals of the research project »Institutionalization of Modern Bourgeois Musical Culture in the 19th Century in Civil Croatia and Military Border«, and this paper presents a case-study of the 2nd Banal Regiment and

¹ This work was fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project IP-2020-02-4277 »Institutionalization of Modern Bourgeois Musical Culture in the 19th Century in Civil Croatia and Military Border«.

of *Militär-Komunität* Petrinja. What makes Petrinja the best case study for this topic is the fact that it was the only town (apart from Senj) in the Military Frontier that organized a *Musikverein*, a music school, a very active singing choir named »Slavulj«, as well as three different orchestras (the 2nd Banal Regiment's ensemble, the Town Guard's orchestra and the *Musikverein's* orchestra). The town's musical life and institutions were thoroughly researched by Ivica Golec, and his work represents not only an excellent starting point for this research but also serves as a model for further, similar research.

When it comes to *Militär-Kommunitäts*, the military and civilian aspects were inextricably linked and therefore both need to be taken into account in the research. With regard to this duality, this paper will investigate the military music of the 2nd Banal Regiment as an exclusively military institution, as well as the semi-civilian and civilian musical institutions of the *Militär-Komunität* Petrinja.

Military Music

There is evidence that soldiers in the Croatian Military Frontier played various instruments (usually wind and percussion) on private, civil and military occasions as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.² However, these musicians, or groups of musicians, had not yet formed organized military musical groups but rather *ad hoc* music-making groups consisting of military men whose foremost role was that of soldiers but who also played an instrument when the occasion demanded.

It is generally accepted that the first military music band in the Habsburg Empire was founded by Baron Franjo Trenk in 1741³ as part of his »Pandour free corps«. This took place during the War for Austrian Succession and, again, its function was to make the regiment, whose soldiers were already dressed in Ottoman or Ottoman-like clothes, resemble the Ottoman army even more via sound and thus instil fear in their enemies. Military music, in general, was divided into actual war music (*Spiel*), used in military campaigns, which provided rhythm and was used for communication through sound signals, and regimental music (*Regimentsmusik*), which had more of an artistic connotation.⁴ The latter was used on various occasions — to entertain the officers, on occasions of consecrations of churches, or in social functions, like dances. These first regimental musical ensembles were quite simple — they consisted of already present military musicians, »reinforced« with those among the musicians skilled at some other, wind or string,

² Koraljka KOS: Istok i Zapad u vojnoj glazbi na turskoj granici, *Arti musices*, 21 (1990) 2, 250-256.

³ Simon KOTTER: *Die k. (u.) k. Militärmusik*, Augsburg: Universität Augsburg, 2015, 26.

⁴ Oscar TEUBER: *Die österreichische Armee von 1700 bis 1867*, Vienna: Verlag von Emil Berté & Cie. und S. Czeiger, 1895, 694.

instrument (such as reed pipe, clarinet, violin, viola or bass violin).⁵ In 1777 the first standardized regiment orchestras/bands were introduced: they consisted of eight men in total — two oboists, two clarinets, two wooden bassoons and two trumpeters or two French horn players. Since oboists took precedence in military music in this period, they became synonymous with the entire regiment's orchestra, which came to be referred to as *Hautboisten*.⁶

However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, military musical groups came to be a matter of prestige for a regiment. At first, the size and quality of a military musical group was a matter of pride for the regiment's owner, but soon this silent competition practically became the norm across the army. So, the bands grew in size, many of them having a few dozen musicians.⁷ These bands consisted solely of woodwind instruments, but the repertoire performed was that of contemporary art music arranged for brass orchestra. However, some of the more ambitious *Kapellmeisters*, supported by equally ambitious and generous regiment owners, soon introduced string instruments to their bands, thus making them capable of playing the entire contemporary repertoire in the original versions.⁸ Apart from expanding the repertoire possibilities significantly, and often doubling musicians' obligations (who, apart from a woodwind instrument or a drum, now had to master one string instrument as well), the introduction of string instruments made it possible for the regimental band to hold full-scale concerts⁹ consisting of contemporary (and various) repertoire and played by an adequate orchestra of high artistic quality. And this led to the development of the cultural life of many garrison towns across the Habsburg Empire, including those in the Croatian Military Frontier. Namely, in small towns the military musical group was often the only existing orchestra, and in larger cities it very often excelled in quality over the others.¹⁰ These concerts usually consisted of mixed military and civilian repertoire depending on the occasion

Regimental Musical Ensemble of the 2nd Banal Regiment

The composition of the Habsburg regiments and their musical formations, including those in the area of the Military Frontier, was precisely defined. The musicians were divided into those who belonged to the regiment's headquarters and those who belonged to the companies. According to the regulations from 1816, each regiment had one regimental drummer, and each company had two

⁵ *Ibid.*, 704.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 705.

⁷ S. KOTTER: *Die k. (u.) k. Militärmusik*, 31-33.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

drummers.¹¹ In the first half of the nineteenth century regimental musical ensemble consisted of 8 musicians,¹² and after 1852 of 25 musicians (drummers and musicians of woodwind instruments) — 20 Privates (*Gemeiner*), and 5 Privates 1st Class (*Gefreiter*).¹³ The following musicians are listed in the documents as musicians of regiment's orchestra:¹⁴

Table 1: Musicians of regiment's orchestra of the 2nd Banal Regiment

Johann Markovich	(1820) - 1822	hautboist
Matho Kleschich	(1820) - 1823	hautboist
Johann Szigur	(1820) - 1823	hautboist
Ivo / Janko Domitrovich	(1820) - 1829	hautboist
Ivo Dumbovich	(1820) - 1833	hautboist
Matho Lonchar	(1820) - 1834	hautboist
Thomo Mlagyenovich	(1820) - 1834	hautboist
Ivo / Johann Chernko	(1820) - 1836/ 1847	hautboist
Tomo Domitrovich	1821 - 1832	hautboist
Joso Posavec	1821 - 1833	hautboist

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Cf. Alexander BUCZYNSKI: *Obveze i povlastice krajiških časnika, Povijesni prilozi*, 11 (1992), 110.

¹³ Since 1852 regiments' musicians were more numerous and were no longer separately listed so from that period onwards it is possible to establish their position only from transfer information or from a regiment's ensemble.

¹⁴ For a clearer organization of the tables, individual references will not be listed. All the data are based on the information from *Standes Tabelle* documents of the 2nd Banal Regiment, kept in the Croatian state archives in Zagreb: Druga banska graničarska pukovnija, HR-HDA-449. These tables do not have individual archival inventory numbers, but are organized chronologically in boxes, as follows: HR-HDA-449, box 1: *Standes Tabellen* for period November 1820 – October 1822; box 2: November 1822 – October 1825; box 3: November 1825 – October 1828; box 4: November 1828 – October 1830; box 5: November 1830 – October 1832; box 6: November 1832 – October 1833; box 7: November 1833 – October 1834; box 8: November 1834 – October 1836; box 9: November 1836 – October 1839; box 10: November 1839 – October 1842; box 11: November 1842 – October 1844; box 12: November 1844 – October 1847; box 13: November 1847 – October 1848; box 14: November 1848 – October 1849; box 15: November 1849 – October 1850; box 16: November 1850 – October 1851; box 17: November 1851 – October 1853; box 18: November 1853 – October 1856; box 19: November 1856 – October 1858; box 20: November 1858 – October 1859; box 21: November 1859 – October 1861; box 22: November 1861 – October 1864; box 23: November 1864 – April 1869.

Although *Standes Tabellen* were meticulously kept, not all information on all musicians was recorded. In the following tables, the information on musicians' recruitment, transfer from or to duty as a regular foot soldier, and their dismissal or death that can be undoubtedly established will be listed in 'plain writing', and the dates when a musician is transferred, but is mentioned for the first/last/only time will be listed in brackets.

In some cases, the same person was listed with two different names (e. g. sometimes as Ivo Domitrovich, and sometimes as Janko Domitrovich, or Jura/Juro/Jure, but also Jandro Sushich). When it is clear, from the information on the company in which the musician serves and on his other transfers, that it is one and the same person, all variants will be listed. Furthermore, soldiers' names will be written as they were in the original documents, and the tables will not attempt to standardise the various graphic systems that were in use in the nineteenth century.

Stephan Hreletz	1821 - 1834	hautboist
Misko / Missko Chernko	1822 - 1823	hautboist
Misko Domitrovich	1823	hautboist
Janko Mlagyenovich	1823 - 1824	hautboist
Michael / Mihael Chernko	1823 - 1831	hautboist
Joseph Matkovich	1824 - 1852	hautboist
Stefan / Stefo Posavec	1827 - 1838	hautboist
Jacob/Jakov/Johann Benchich	1831 - 1846	hautboist
Johan Turkovich	1832 - 1834	hautboist
Tomo Turkovich	1833 - 1840	hautboist
Stefo Luksich	1833 - 1843	hautboist
Johan Derdich	1834	hautboist
Stefo Shipuhs	1834 - ?	hautboist
Janko/Johann Antolish	1834 - 1850	hautboist
Joso Kuzmacz	1835 - 1849	hautboist
Joszo Thomich	1839 - 1846	hautboist
Mio Hrenn	1844 - (1852)	hautboist
Jandro Gorichky / Gorički	1847 - 1849	hautboist
Tomo Shishniacky / Šišniacki	1847 - ?	hautboist
Johan Černko	1848 - ?	hautboist
Jandro Remeta	1850 - ?	hautboist
Paul Somić	1850 - ?	hautboist
Joso Wujasić	1851 - ?	hautboist
Mio Berleković	1851-1852	hautboist
Johann Novosad	(Apr 1868)-May 1868	Banda Feldwebel
Jochan Štromar	?-Apr 1867	Banda Korporal Feldwebel
Pavo Janušević	(Feb 1867)	Gefreiter Hornist
Theodor Zuber	(Feb 1867)	Gefreiter Hornist
Mato Baljak	(May 1859)	Musikbande Gefreiter
Stefo Barić	(May 1859)	Musikbande Gefreiter
Marko Rakarić	(May 1859-Nov 1868)	Musikbande Gefreiter
Ivo Govorčin	(May 1859)	Musikbande Gemeiner
Imbro Sučić	(May 1859)	Musikbande Gemeiner
Joso Korać	(Jan 1866)	Musikbande Gemeiner
Blaž Pucović	(May 1859)	Musikbande Korporal
Johann Stromar	(May 1859)	Musikbande Korporal
Mato Šišinacki	(May 1859)	Musikbande Korporal

It was stipulated in 1844 that each regiment has two regimental drummers, and that for every two field companies, a third drummer, to be used in a regimental musical ensemble, is assigned.¹⁵ Furthermore, in times of war, each regiment

¹⁵ *Exercier-Reglement für die k.k. Linien Infanterie. 1844*, Vienna: Verlag von A. Strauß's sel. Witwe & Sommer, 1846, 2.

was assigned an additional battalion drummer.¹⁶ The battalion drummer did not carry a drum but was in charge of training the company drummers, and during military exercises he commanded the regimental drummers and carpenters (*Zimmerleute*).¹⁷ According to the available data, it can be concluded that these changes in the 2nd Banal Regiment were introduced only in 1852. In the same year, a new royal decree regarding the composition of military music was passed. It was decided that all infantry regiments must have their own military music, subordinated in economic and disciplinary matters to an officer deemed appropriate, and military orchestras active independently of infantry battalions were prohibited. *Jäger* battalions, like the infantry, were allowed to keep their orchestras, but artillery orchestras were ordered to be dissolved.¹⁸ Engineer and pioneer battalions, whose orchestras were dissolved in 1851, were again granted the right to keep an orchestra in 1852.¹⁹ *Musik-bande* was supposed to consist of a total of up to 48 members: 10 *Hautboisten* (1 sergeant, 4 corporals, 5 *Gefreiter*, i.e. Privates 1st Class) and 38 musicians (Privates). The same provision stipulates that in times of peace, a maximum of two men per regiment belong to military music. Also, the »third drummers« were abolished, and it was stipulated that in regimental music a maximum of twelve soldiers may be employed as apprentices (who still had to perform all their duties as ordinary soldiers).²⁰ In this period, the 2nd Banal Regiment usually had 25 members of the regimental musical ensemble – 5 *Gefreiter* (on couple of occasions 4) and 20 *Gemeiner* (on couple of occasions 19, and on others 21), 2 battalion drummers (former Regiment drummers) and 2 battalions hornists, as well as 2 company drummers and 2 company hornists per company. The latter numbers differed significantly during the 1850s and 1860s, so in documents we find information that a certain company at times had as many as five musicians (three drummers and two horn musicians), or that the other had only one player (drummer or horn player) – and even, although extremely rare, that at times a company didn't have a single player.

In addition to its musicians, the 2nd Banal Regiment had its *Kapellmeister*, as did all other regiments of the Habsburg army. The *Kapellmeister* was a civilian in the army's service, in charge of all musical matters in a regiment. He received a monthly fee of 20 fr., while a regiment's drummer was paid 60 for. in 1808 and 42 for. in 1841, and ordinary musicians 30 for. in 1808 and 18 in 1841.²¹

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

¹⁸ M. K. 2079 g vom 10 April 1851, Franz Joseph m p. Cf. *Kaiserlich Königliches Armees. Erster Jahrgang (November 1850 bis Ende December 1851) Nr 1 bis Nr 125*, Vienna: Aus der kaiserlich königlichen Hof und Staats Druckerei, 1851, 262-263.

¹⁹ O. TEUBER: *Die österreichische Armee von 1700 bis 1867*, 707.

²⁰ M. K. 2079 g vom 10 April 1851.

²¹ Cf. A. BUCZYNSKI: *Obveze i povlastice krajiških časnika*, 103-104.

In this period the *Kapellmeisters* of the 2nd Banal Regiment were: Johann Korzenarcz (? – 1821),²² Joseph Hauszka (1821 – 1824),²³ Anton Nerad (1825 – 1833),²⁴ Joseph Huniata (1833 – 1847),²⁵ Johann Novotny (1847 – 1867),²⁶ Josef Prochaska (1868 – 1870)²⁷ and Anton Gretsche (1871 – 1873).²⁸

From the available documents we can understand that the 2nd Banal Regiment's ensemble was of a very high quality in terms of musicians, instruments, and the artistic value of their performances. Throughout the entire nineteenth century, it was superior to the Town Guard's orchestra.²⁹ According to Carl Bernhard Hietzinger, who was 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd Banal Regiment in the period 1808-1810, the regimental musical ensemble was playing works by Mozart, Weigl, Spontini and Isouard.³⁰ However, both orchestras were important for the cultural life of Petrinja and both often performed on festive occasions such as celebrations of royal birthdays and name days, and birthdays of the Ban.³¹ They usually did not perform together but in different locations in the town, thus making the celebration more festive. One band would usually go around the town in a parade, while the other was playing at the central square; or the Town Guard's orchestra would be playing for the general public in the open, and the regimental musical ensemble would perform at the officer's ball.³²

Regimental music was especially important in the period 1860-1873, when civilian Town music experienced a temporary halt in its activities. During that period the majority of public concerts were organized by the singing society »Slatulj« or the Petrinja *Musikverein*, and the regimental musical ensemble took part in

²² HR-HDA-449, box 1, *Standes Tabelle*, November 1820, Standes Ausweis – *Standes Tabelle*, März 1821, Standes Ausweis.

²³ HR-HDA-449, box 1, *Standes Tabelle*, December 1821, Standes Ausweis – box 2, *Standes Tabelle*, December 1824, Standes Ausweis.

²⁴ HR-HDA-449, box 2, *Standes Tabelle*, June 1825, Standes Ausweis – box 6, *Standes Tabelle*, January 1833, Standes Ausweis.

²⁵ HR-HDA-449, box 6, *Standes Tabelle*, Februar 1833, Standes Ausweis – box 13, *Standes Tabelle*, November 1847, Standes Ausweis.

²⁶ HR-HDA-449, box 13, *Standes Tabelle*, November 1847, Standes Ausweis – Johann PAVLIS (ed.): *Schematismus sämtlicher Kapellmeister in der k. k. Armee für das Jahr 1867*, Prague: Druck von Carl Bellmán, 1867, 6.

²⁷ Johann PAVLIS (ed.): *Schematismus sämtlicher Kapellmeister in der k. k. Armee für das Jahr 1868*, Prague: Druck von Carl Bellmán, 1868, 6; Johann PAVLIS (ed.): *Schematismus sämtlicher Kapellmeister in der k. k. Armee für das Jahr 1870*, Prague: Druck von Carl Bellmán, 1870, 7.

²⁸ Johann PAVLIS (ed.): *Schematismus sämtlicher Kapellmeister in der k. k. Armee für das Jahr 1871*, Prague: Druck von Carl Bellmán, 1871, 7; Johann PAVLIS (ed.): *Schematismus sämtlicher Kapellmeister in der k. k. Armee für das Jahr 1873*, Prague: Druck von Carl Bellmán, 1873, 7.

²⁹ Ivica GOLEC: *Gradska limena glazba Petrinja (1808.-2008.)*, Petrinja: Gradska limena glazba Petrinja – Matica hrvatska u Petrinji, 2008, 33.

³⁰ Carl Bernhard HIETZINGER: *Statistik der Militär Gränze der Österreichischen Kaiserthums*, Vol. I, Vienna, 1817, 282.

³¹ I. GOLEC: *Gradska limena glazba Petrinja*, 33.

³² *Ibid.*, 34-36, 45.

them whenever needed, as well as playing at dances taking place after the concerts.³³ In this period works of both famous contemporary European and of local composers were played. For example, overtures or arias from operas by Daniel Auber, Gioacchino Rossini, Giuseppe Verdi and Gaetano Donizetti; on top of that various smaller pieces by composers such as Ivan Zajc, Heinrich Proch, František Škroup, Ljudevit Prochaska, and the Regiment's *Kapellmeister* Antun Greč and others were also regularly performed.³⁴

However, in 1873 the long-awaited process of the demilitarization of the Military Frontier finally began, so with the abolishment of regiments their bands were abolished too. On the other hand, the loss of the military orchestra incited the revival of Town Music activities.

Musicians in Companies

While data on officers, alongside whom regimental drummers, hornists and *Hautboisten* were recorded, is relatively easily available, the names of people with the status of an ordinary soldier, of whom there were several thousand in the Military Frontier (and in which status the company drummers and horn musicians were), were not recorded in the *Monath Tabellen* records. Their names and other, mostly scarce data, are found only when there is a change in the status of that person: when he enters or leaves military service, when he is transferred to another company, when he is sent on a task to some other city/region with his company, when he is advanced or degraded, or when he is changing positions (most usually from that of a private to company's drummer), or, when he is arrested, in hospital, deserted, as well as when a soldier (player) died.

For the purposes of this report, thorough research has been conducted on the documents of the 2nd Banal Regiment's music for the period 1820-1869. It should be pointed out that the records were kept only until April 1869, so we lack information for the last four years of the period of existence of the Military Frontier.

In this period the existence of 486 musicians in total was recorded: 323 drummers, 116 hornists and 47 musicians of the regimental musical ensemble. In most cases, at least part of their careers can be traced, and in some cases we have enough information to establish when they became military musicians and when they left the service, where from/to they were transferred, and even when they entered service as military musicians only to be dismissed (usually due to *Wirtschaftswegen*, i.e. for economic reasons) and then re-engaged a couple of years later when the conditions for their service were met again. We even find one example of a person who was (re-)engaged a total of three times and a total of 26 instan-

³³ *Ibid.*, 57.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

ces when the same soldier was reengaged. Namely, Jovo Drakullich, who served as a drummer in the 9th field company, was moved to the position of a regular foot soldier in August 1822, then moved back to drummer in September of the same year. He was then dismissed for economic reasons in November 1830, re-engaged in April 1831 as a drummer in the 17th reserve field company and then finally dismissed in November 1832. During this period he was even imprisoned in the Regiment's prison from 30 August to 15 October 1831. This example, besides information on the drummer Drakullich himself, also shows that even the scarce information we do possess on individual musicians/soldiers does provide valuable insight on mobility and dynamics within the regiment. Valuable as they are, detailed discussion on that matter would go far beyond the scope of this article, and the same goes even for the table in which that information would be shown. Thus, on this occasion only the names and years of service for each musician will be listed, and the rest of the information remains as a source for future research.

Table 2: Drummers of the 2nd Banal Regiment:

Ivan Berlekovich	(Mar 1821) - Dec 1836	Jovo Drakullich	? - Aug 1822 / Sep 1822 - Nov 1830 / Apr 1831 - Nov 1832
Ivo Bogich	(Mar 1821) - Nov 1823	Petar Peskir	? - Nov 1822 / Apr 1831 - May 1836
Nicola / Nikola Boichin	(Mar 1821) - May 1824	Waszo Gÿurich	Nov 1823 - May 1834
Thanasia Borojevich	(Mar 1821 - May 1824)	Adam Keszich	May 1823 - (Nov 1823)
Illia Czvetoevich / Czvetojevich	(Mar 1821) - Nov 1834	Wuk Nossinich	May 1823 - (Aug 1840)
Marko Derdelich	(Mar 1821) - Nov 1830	Ilia Wuxanovich	? - Nov 1823 / Jan 1825 - Nov 1829
Joseph Dusich	(Mar 1821 - July 1821)	Gaspar Zlogledya	? - May 1823
Gligo Jainich / Jainić	(Mar 1821 - Dec 1834)	Pavo Drakullich	May 1824 - ?
Pavo Janĵanin	(Mar 1821) - Nov 1830 / ? - Oct 1835	Miko Puczovich	July 1824 - Dec 1836
Szimo Lÿubichich	(Mar 1821) - Oct 1823	Jovo Borojevich	(Oct 1826) - Nov 1840
Philip Mandich	(Mar 1821) - May 1824	Sztojan Gyurich	Nov 1826 - ?
Lazo Milĵevich	(Mar 1821 - Dec 1837)	Sztojan Kaszay	? - Nov 1826
Jovo Ochigria	(Mar 1821) - Nov 1827	Ivan Paraminskÿ	Nov 1826 - May 1836
Marko Podrapovich	(Mar 1821) - Jan 1825	Stojan Korassich / Sztojan Koraszich	Nov 1827 - Nov 1830 / Nov 1832 - May 1836
Mihailo Podrapovich	(Mar 1821)	Georg / Gerga Kozarchanin	Nov 1827 - (Nov 1846)
Chiro / Chirin Sussnyar	(Mar 1821) - Dec 1832	Tomo Borojevich	(Nov 1828)
Kuzman Veszelino- vich	(Mar 1821 - July 1821)	Ivan Devich	Nov 1828 - ?
Szimo Wukoszavljĵevich	(Mar 1821) - May 1821	Simo Dragash	Nov 1829 - Nov 1842
Gyrach Wukottich	May 1821 - ?	Theodor Grahovac	Nov 1829 - Jan 1834
Waszo Arbutina	Nov 1822 - Nov 1829	Mihailo Vender / Wender	Nov 1829 - Feb 1838

Stevan Boroevich	Nov 1830 - (Dec 1834)
Gajo Kasap	Nov 1830 - Nov 1843 / Nov 1848 - ?
Szergÿen Lagÿarevich / Szerdjen Lazarevich	Nov 1830 - Dec 1836
Janko Wuksanovich	Nov 1830 - (Nov 1833)
Gÿuka Boltehsich	(Apr 1831)
Illia Czvetoevich	(Feb 1831)
Marco Devich	(Feb 1831 - July 1831)
Waszo Drakulich	(Feb 1831)
Szimo Gÿurich	(Feb 1831 - Nov 1833)
Thoma Knesich	Apr 1831 - ?
Petar Kurtovich	(Feb 1831) - May 1836
Marco / Marko Marich	Apr 1831 - (Nov 1846)
Pavo Matlekovich	Apr 1831 - May 1836
Arsenia Nossinich / Noxinich	Apr 1831 - May 1836
Damian Radanovich	(Feb 1831) - Dec 1832
Theodor Szerdanovich	(Feb 1831 - Nov 1843)
Gÿuragÿ / Gÿuka Weselinovich	Apr 1831 - May 1836
Kuzman Weszelinovich	(Feb 1831)
Jovan Vućetić / Wuch- etich	May 1832 - May 1836 / Apr 1848 - Nov 1848
Waszo Drakullich	(June 1833 - Nov 1833)
Sztevan / Stevan Rada- novich	Nov 1833 - Apr 1850
Pavo Chaich / Paul Čaić	Nov 1834 - Apr 1853
Pavo Chubakovich	? - Dec 1834
Niko Duzovich	(Dec 1834)
Joszo / Jovan Gÿurich	May 1834 - May 1836
Misko / Miko Ivan- chich / Ivančić	(Dec 1834) - Mar 1850
Gyuragÿ Jovich / Gyuragy Jović	Nov 1834 - Apr 1850
Moises / Mojo Krunich	Feb 1834 - Nov 1845
Tomo Kuessich	? - Nov 1834
Jukan Loncharevich	(Dec 1834) - Apr 1840
Jakov Memichanin	? - Oct 1834
Petar Paripovich	(Dec 1834) - Dec 1836
Stiepan / Stipo / Stefo Rakarich / Raka	(Dec 1834) - Nov 1847
Todor Serdanovich	(Dec 1834)
Luka Bogichevich	Nov 1835 - Nov 1843

Joso Kuzmac / Jozo Kuzmacz	Nov 1835 - Apr 1850 / ? - (May 1859)
Luka Plavsich	Nov 1835 - Nov 1842
Jovo Dragoilovich	? - May 1836
Stojan Jasich	Dec 1836 - (Feb 1848)
Alois Kunich	(Sep 1836 - Oct 1836)
Stojan Lotina / Lottina	Dec 1836 Nov 1845 / Apr 1848 - ?
Jefto Radunovich	? - May 1836
Ilia Vratan / Wratan	Dec 1836 - (Nov 1850) / May 1859 - Aug 1859
Simo Wallentich	Dec 1836 - Oct 1842
Jefto Reskovich	Dec 1837 - (Feb 1848)
Nicola / Ninko Czve- toevich	Nov 1838 - (Dec 1838)
Petar Kerbavacz	Dec 1838 - (Feb 1848)
Stojadin / Stojan Ple- tikosich	Mar 1838 - (Aug 1848)
Simo Jehitovich	Nov 1840 - Nov 1847
Mato Waiczek	Apr 1840 - (Feb 1848)
Jeftenia / Jefto Wulich	Aug 1840 - (Nov 1850)
Jandria Ovuka	Nov 1842 - Nov 1843 / ? - (Apr 1848)
Mio / Mihailo Terde- nich / Terdenić / Terdinić / Terminić	Nov 1842 - Nov 1862
Pavo Tomich / Tomić	Nov 1842 - Nov 1846 / Apr 1848 - Mar 1849
Simo Valentich	? - Nov 1842
Pavo Jovich	Nov 1843 - (Aug 1849)
Raphael Marianovich / Marianović	Nov 1843 - Apr 1850
Wujo Radulovich	Nov 1843 - Dec 1845
Johann Rebits	(Mar 1843)
Stevan Segonich	Nov 1843 - ?
Millovan Bogdanovich / Bogdanović	Nov 1844 - Sep 1850
Thanasia Kordich / Tanasia Kordić	? - Nov 1844 / Apr 1848 - July 1848
Martin Navalich / Navalić	Nov 1844 - Nov 1855
Antun / Anton Knes- sich / Knezich / Knežić	Nov 1845 - (Oct 1851)
Nicola / Nikola Devetak	Jan 1846 - Dec 1861

Jovan / Jovo Dragass / Dragaš	Nov 1846 - Apr 1851
Jacov Missljenovich	Nov 1846 - June 1847
Mato Somich	Nov 1846 - ?
Janko Antolchich	July 1847 - Apr 1850
Gyuragy Chuchus / Chušus	June 1847 - (June 1848)
Wujo Kresich / Vujo Krešić	Nov 1847 - Oct 1851
Martin Rakarich / Rakarić	Nov 1847 - (July 1854)
Jovan / Jovo Vulić / Johann Wullić	June 1848 - Aug 1862
Maxim Abramovich	Nov 1848 - Nov 1849
Janko Antolić	(Aug 1848) - Mar 1850
Ivan Banich	Nov 1848 - Nov 1849
Adam Barić	Oct 1848 - ?
Jovan Bradarich	Nov 1848 - ?
Jovan Cerljeniza	Nov 1848 - (Aug 1850)
Gyuragy / Juro Cucuz	(Apr 1848 - Oct 1848)
Gjuragj Dazgić	Oct 1848 - ?
Miško Dembich	Nov 1848 - Nov 1849
Gyuragj Dragić	Apr 1848 - (Nov 1849)
Anton Gavrich / Gavrić	Dec 1848 - Apr 1851 / May 1857 - Aug 1859
Ostoja Gollubovaz	Nov 1848 - ?
Adam Grubjesich / Grubjesić	Nov 1848 - (Aug 1850)
Pavo Ivanchich / Ivančić	Nov 1848 - Nov 1853
Stevan Ičitović	Dec 1848 - ?
Gjuro Jainić	Apr 1848 - Nov 1849
Marko Janchich / Jančić	(Feb 1848) - Nov 1855
Petar Januzović	June 1848 - Oct 1848
Stanko Jekić	June 1848 - Dec 1849
Jovo Jurišić	Apr 1848 - May 1849
Mihailo Kravaica	Sep 1848 - May 1849
Petar Kupljanin	Oct 1848 - ?
Ivo Maidangjić	Apr 1848 - ?
Tomo Marić	Sep 1848 - Dec 1861
Juro / Gjuro Merkšić	Sep 1848 - (July 1850)
Blaž Mutavgjia	Nov 1848 - (Nov 1849)
Marko Paripovich / Paripović	June 1848 - (Mar 1857)

Rade Pertilaza	July 1848 - (Nov 1849)
Adam Piktia	Apr 1848 - Nov 1849
Ivo Piktia	June 1848 - Nov 1859
Teodor Reskinich	Dec 1848 - Nov 1849
Theodor Reškinović	Dec 1848 - Nov 1849
Božo Stanivuković	Nov 1848 - (Feb 1860)
Mile Sterkalj	Sep 1848 - July 1849
Simo Stojaković	June 1848 - ?
Mato Tomich / Tomić	(Feb 1848 - June 1854)
Nikola Volarević / Nicola Wolarevic	Apr 1848 - (Nov 1850)
Martin Vratar / Wratar	Oct 1848 - Dec 1849
Toma Vukmanović	Nov 1848 - ?
Adam Banich	? - Nov 1849
Franz Berkanaz	Aug 1849 - ?
Petar Berkavez	(Nov 1849)
Luka Bogdanović	July 1849 - May 1853
Lazo Brezac / Brezacz	(Nov 1849) - Aug 1850
Jovo Chikarich / Čikarić	(Nov 1849) - Apr 1851
Jovan Dragoević / Dragoevich	(Nov 1849 - Jan 1851)
Teodor Drobljenović	(Nov 1849)
Jurica / Juro Elchia / Elčia	Sep 1849 - Nov 1855
Jacob / Jakov Fratrovich / Fratrović	May 1849 - (Nov 1850)
Nicola / Nikola Gyurich / Gyurić	Nov 1849 - (Nov 1850)
Joso Janusich	Nov 1849 - (Nov 1849)
Radovan Korizma	(Nov 1849 - Aug 1850)
Sava Landus	(Nov 1849)
Mio Marić	Feb 1849 - (May 1857)
Miško Mitar	Dec 1849 - Sep 1850
Joso Mucavac / Muczavacz	(Nov 1849) - Mar 1850
Jovan / Jovo Nosinić / Nožinić	Feb 1849 - May 1849
Damjan Nožinić	Sep 1849 - Nov 1851
Miko Oros	Dec 1849 - Oct 1856
Matia Podrich / Podrić	May 1849 - (Jan 1853)
Ilia Stojakovich	? - Nov 1849
Petar Svilokos	May 1849 - (Nov 1850)
Teodor Veselinović	Mar 1849 - Aug 1849 / Feb 1850 - Mar 1861

Gligo Zuber	Sep 1849 - Nov 1862
Stefo Antolihs / Antoliš	(Aug 1850 - Nov 1850)
Ivo Cikarich	(Aug 1850 - Jan 1851)
Waso Deverdek	(Aug 1850)
Jovo Dragičević	May 1850 - Nov 1866
Teodor Dragoević / Dragoevich	(Aug 1850 - Nov 1850)
Simo Drakulić	July 1850 - Apr 1861
Nicola Gjurić	(Nov 1850)
Adam Ivković	Mar 1850 - ?
Joso Janisović	? - May 1850
Millić Killić	Mar 1850 - ? / May 1859 - July 1859
Joso Madjarić / Magjarić	July 1850 - (May 1857)
Gajo Mačak	Jan 1850 - ? / May 1859 - Aug 1859
Jovan / Jovo Miličević	July 1850 - Nov 1855
Juro Puštić	(Aug 1850)
Gjuro Ranić	(Aug 1850 - Nov 1850)
Joso Repchia	(Aug 1850)
Ignatia / Ignaz / Ignjat Smiljanić	July 1850 - Nov 1861
Stevan Sogonich / Sogonić	(July 1850) - Sep 1851
Jura / Juro / Jure / Jandro Sushich	(Aug 1850 - Oct 1851)
Ilija Varenčić / Warenčić	Apr 1850 - Aug 1850 / May 1859 - Nov 1862
Nicola / Nikola Vidović / Widowić	Oct 1850 - Nov 1862
Milovan Vučenović / Wuchenovich	Mar 1850 - (Feb 1852)
Nikola Ćorić	July 1850 - Nov 1855 / May 1859 - Aug 1859
Ilija Dragosaolević	July 1851 - ?
Jovo Dragosavljević	Feb 1851 - ?
Teodor Dragosavljević	? - Feb 1851
Marko Ivančić	(Nov 1851)
Gligo Kresoević	May 1851 - Oct 1851
Gavro Matiević	Nov 1851 - (Feb 1860)
Pavo Navialić	July 1851 - Nov 1855
Jovo Paić	Nov 1851 - Oct 1856
Lazo Polmiac	Oct 1851 - ?

Stjepan / Stipan Sol-lomun	Nov 1851 - July 1853
Nikola Stanković	Nov 1851 - (Feb 1860)
Gavro Matiašević	Sep 1852 - Nov 1862
Jovan Pribičević	Nov 1852 - Nov 1865
Tanasia Zunić	June 1852 - Nov 1862
Nikola Chorić	(Oct 1853) - Nov 1855
Petar Kalinić	(May 1853) - Aug 1863
Luka Paripović	May 1853 - Mar 1861
Juro Suštić	(Jan 1853) - Aug 1862
Kuzman Višnić / Kuzman Wisnich	Aug 1854 - Nov 1866
Stevan Vujaklia	May 1854 - (Aug 1862)
Dmitar Dobrić	(Nov 1855 - Oct 1856)
Dmitar Uzelać	? - (Nov 1855) / May 1859 - Aug 1859
Mio Alapić	Oct 1856 - Nov 1866
Nikola Basić	Oct 1856 - ?
Gjuragi / Gjuro Dragaš	Dec 1856 - Nov 1858
Ivo Ferić	Dec 1856 - ?
Niko Jergović	Sep 1856 - ?
Lazo Kosier	Sep 1856 - Nov 1863
Ivo Lovreković	Sep 1856 - ? / Aug 1862 - Nov 1863
Mato Maglić	Aug 1856 - (Mar 1861)
Lovro Marković	Sep 1856 - (Aug 1862)
Arsenia Meangija	Sep 1856 - ? / Jan 1858 - Nov 1864
Tanasia Milovanović	Sep 1856 - Nov 1861
Stevan Suminja	(Oct 1856 - May 1857)
Stipan Tomić	Oct 1856 - Nov 1857
Mijat Vuković	Oct 1856 - (Nov 1858)
Stevan Bogdanović	(May 1857) - Nov 1865
Pavo Dobrić	Dec 1857 - (Apr 1859)
Miko Jergović	Dec 1857 - Aug 1862
Luka Kušan	Dec 1857 - Nov 1863
Teodor Spica / Theodor Spitza	Nov 1857 - Aug 1862
Jovan Lončarević	Nov 1858 - Feb 1867
Jandro Banić	May 1859 - (Feb 1867)
Mato Domitrović	(Nov 1859 - Feb 1860)
Teodor Keškinović	? - ? / May 1859 - Aug 1859
Ilija Koričić	May 1859 - ?
Tomo Marčinko	May 1859 - Aug 1859

Gjuragj Nesvanulica	Nov 1859 - Nov 1866
Mato Osović	May 1859 - ?
Petar Pauković	May 1859 - Aug 1859
Ilija Piktia	May 1859 - Aug 1859
Gjuro Pralica	Nov 1859 - (Nov 1867)
Jandro Viljevac	May 1859 - Apr 1868
Mato Čović	(Aug 1859) - Nov 1865
Pane Boičin	Jan 1860 - Nov 1866
Nikola Cernobernja	(Oct 1860)
Marko Corić	Jan 1860 - ?
Juro Dragić	Feb 1860 - (Oct 1860)
Jovo Gaić	(Oct 1860) - Oct 1868
Tanasia Nožinić	Oct 1860 - Aug 1862
Stevan Unjaklia	(Oct 1860)
Juro Abramović	(Mar 1861 - Feb 1867)
Adam Derndelić	(Aug 1861) - Apr 1868
Jandria Jović	Mar 1861 - Nov 1866
Gjuro Oroz	? - Nov 1861
Franz Pucović	Mar 1861 - (Feb 1867)
Gjuro Šimić	Dec 1861 - Feb 1867
Mato Alapić	Nov 1862 - Mar 1867
Stipan Alapić	Nov 1862 - (Oct 1866)
Petar Gačeša	Nov 1862 - ?
Marko Golubović	Aug 1862 - (Nov 1867)
Tanasia Ivić	Nov 1862 - ?
Petar Kljaić	Aug 1862 - (Oct 1865)
Stevan Kostreš	Aug 1862 - (Feb 1867)
Mihailo Kovačević	Aug 1862 - Sep 1866
Stefo Lukšić	? - Aug 1862
Jovan Marovac	Aug 1862 - (Nov 1865)
Petar Miodrag	Aug 1862 - (Feb 1867)
Stevan Saponja / Šaponja	Aug 1862 - Feb 1867
Vaso Smolić	Aug 1862 - (Nov 1866)
Petar Crnobrnja	Nov 1863 - (Feb 1867)
Ilija Galiaš	Nov 1863 - Oct 1868
Pane Joaniš	Nov 1863 - ?
Joso Karanović	? - Nov 1863
Mile Lazić	Nov 1863 - Apr 1868

Mato Lukšić	Nov 1863 - (Feb 1867)
Jandria Milovanović	? - Nov 1863
Milić Paripović	Nov 1863 - (Feb 1867)
Jandro Premic	(Nov 1863)
Nikola Bobeta	(Nov 1864)
Jandro Dragić	Aug 1864 - (Feb 1867)
Nikola Robeta	Aug 1864 - ?
Theodor Aluga	(May 1865 - Feb 1867)
Dane Ivaniš	(May 1865 - Sep 1866)
Jandro Mačak	Oct 1865 - Nov 1867
Juraj Pucović	(Nov 1865)
Lazo Rešković	Nov 1865 - Oct 1868
Kuzman Stanivuković	Nov 1865 - (Feb 1867)
Dmitar Vukmirović	May 1865 - (Feb 1867)
Jandro Barbarić	Sep 1866 - (Apr 1867)
Marin Živanović	Sep 1866 - ?
Mato Kokorić	(Nov 1866)
Marko Miletić	? - Nov 1866
Kojo Plavšić	(Nov 1866)
Brane Pupović	(Nov 1866)
Petar Zeec	(Nov 1866)
Marko Čorić	(Feb 1867)
Mio Dragić	(Feb 1867)
Ilija Dupallo	Apr 1867 - ?
Adam Gjurgjević	(Feb 1867)
Nikola Miletić	Feb 1867 - Apr 1867
Mato Navialić	(Feb 1867 - Apr 1868)
Lazo Rostovaz	(Feb 1867)
Jovo Sečoris	(Nov 1867)
Pavo Stojaković	(Feb 1867) - Apr 1867
Stevan Aluga	Nov 1868 - ?
Lovro Mazić	(Nov 1868)
Stojan Medaković	? - Oct 1868
Jovan / Jovo / Ivan Dragoilovich / Dragoilović	(Mar 1850) - Apr 1851 / ? - (Nov 1861)
Gyuka Botlussich	? - May 1832
Toma Reszanovich	? - May 1832

Table 3: Hornists of 2nd Banal Regiment:

Petar Beko	Oct 1851 - (Nov 1859)	Ivo Lisek	Nov 1855 - Oct 1856
Marko Cernojević	Oct 1851 - Apr 1854	Teodor Markić	(Aug 1855)
Jandria / Jandro Dabić	Oct 1851 - Oct 1856	Teodor Merkšić	? - Nov 1855 / Sep 1856 - (Oct 1860)
Imbro Gyukić	Oct 1851 - (May 1857)	Jovo Miloević	May 1855 - ?
Stojan Kladarin	Oct 1851 - (Nov 1859)	Sofro Pačkić	? - June 1855
Adam Krunić	Oct 1851 - (Apr 1861)	Adam Peškir	Aug 1855 - Nov 1863
Sofro Packić	Oct 1851 - ?	Jovo Runjaić	Aug 1855 - (Nov 1859)
David Roksandić / Roxandić	Oct 1851 - Sep 1856	Joso Valentić	(Apr 1855)
Prokop Savurdić	Oct 1851 - Oct 1854	Gligo Vukomančić	(Aug 1855) - May 1859
Ivo Antolčić	Apr 1852 - (Aug 1862)	Martin Filar	Oct 1856 - ?
Mato Barich	Feb 1852 - ?	Blago Kesić	Sep 1856 - Nov 1862
Stevan Beko	Apr 1852 - Aug 1862	Sava Nožinić	Sep 1856 - (Jan 1860)
Jakov Berkiševac / Jakub Berkiševaz	Apr 1852 - Nov 1862	Ivan Paramin	Dec 1856 - (Feb 1867)
Marco / Marko Bogić	Apr 1852 - Nov 1857	Ivo Piktia	Sep 1856 - (Aug 1862)
Mihailo Galiaš	Apr 1852 - (Nov 1855)	Jovan Tomić	Oct 1856 - Nov 1857
Kuzman Gjurić	Apr 1852 - ?	Miho / Mio Vriochki / Vriocki / Vriocky	Feb 1856 - (Feb 1860)
Kuzman Gyurich	(May 1852) - June 1859	Teodor Vukosavljević / Wukosavljević	Sep 1856 - (Jan 1860)
Jovan Klaić	Apr 1852 - Nov 1857	Lovro Felbabić	Dec 1857 - (Feb 1860)
Damian Milinkovich / Damjan Milinković	Apr 1852 - (Nov 1855)	Mihael / Mihailo / Mile Gjurić	Nov 1857 - Nov 1866
Matia Resanović	Sep 1852 - Jan 1858	Ivan Jakopović	(Mar 1857) - Nov 1857
Ivo Rokić	Nov 1852 - (Aug 1861)	Matia Jakovljević	Nov 1857 - Aug 1862
Jandro Turkovich	Feb 1852 - (Apr 1867)	Stefo Maslovara	(May 1857 - Jan 1860)
Vujo Živković	Apr 1852 - ?	Adam Tomić	Nov 1857 - Nov 1858
Stevan Knežević	(Jan 1853)	Adam Bogdanović	Nov 1858 - Oct 1868
Jefto Maslovara	(Apr 1853 - Jan 1860)	Simo Abramović	May 1859 - (Feb 1860)
Proko Skadarka	(Jan 1853 - Jan 1860)	Stevo Bakarić	(May 1859)
Jandro Tivković	? - Apr 1853	Adam Bogdanić	(June 1859 - Sep 1862)
Mio Tomić	Apr 1853 - (Feb 1860)	Dmitar Jagetić	(Sep 1859 - Nov 1867)
Toma Vazek	(Apr 1853)	Sava Jasić	May 1859 - ?
Toma Vazek / Tom Waizek / Tomo Waicek	(Apr 1853 - May 1857)	Carl Kunert	June 1859 - (Aug 1859)
Nikola / Nicola Vuičić / Wuičić	May 1854 - Nov 1862	Marko Kutlić	Dec 1859 - (Feb 1867)
Petar Baljak	(Nov 1855) - Aug 1862	Jandria Mattić	June 1859 - ?
Stojan Brajenović	(Nov 1855 - Nov 1858)	Čiro Milković	May 1859 - (Feb 1860)
Jefto Erak	June 1855 - (Feb 1856)	Stefan / Stefo Mišić	June 1859 - (Aug 1859)
David Gruić	(Aug 1855) - Nov 1855	Joso Osić	May 1859 - (Oct 1860)
Jovan Kljaić	(Nov 1855)	Gjuro Pavičić	June 1859 - (Aug 1859)
Pavo Kljaić	? - Jan 1855	Gligo Raak	(Apr 1859 - Aug 1862)
Stjepan / Stipan Lazić	Nov 1855 - Nov 1863	Vasilj / Wasilj Resanović	Nov 1859 - (Jan 1860)

Mio Sović	June 1859 - ?	Josef Beloberg	(Jan 1864)
Imbro Vlašić	May 1859 - (Oct 1868)	Mato Popović	(Nov 1864 - Oct 1868)
Sava Šešto	(Nov 1859)	Nikola Radelić	Nov 1864 - Jan 1866
Jovan Živković	May 1859 - ?	Franz Šipuš	Aug 1864 - ?
Jandro Korenić	(Feb 1860)	Gjuro Skadarka	(Nov 1864 - Nov 1866)
Nikola Nožinić	Oct 1860 - Oct 1868	Georg Šipuš	(Nov 1864)
Matia Kordić	Feb 1861 - Nov 1862	Kojo Dragaš	Nov 1865 - ?
Adam / Anton Udić	May 1861 - (Aug 1861)	Radovan Eror	July 1865 - ?
Ivan Vračan	(Aug 1861) - Nov 1866	Gjuro Mesar	? - June 1865
Vinko Živković	Mar 1861 - Jan 1863	Mato Šipuš	Feb 1865 - Oct 1868
Nikola Berić	Aug 1862 - (Nov 1867)	Radovan / Rade Resanović	Jan 1866 - (Feb 1867)
Mato Cernko	Nov 1862 - ?	Petar Vuikovac	(Nov 1866 - Feb 1867)
Mato Kljaić	Nov 1862 - (Nov 1866)	Stanko Dragić	(Feb 1867)
Čiro Kuppen	Aug 1862 - (Feb 1867)	Marko Lončar	(Feb 1867)
Gjuragj Mesar	Nov 1862 - ?	Jovan Sundać	Nov 1867 - ?
Petar Vinkovac	Aug 1862 - ?	Jakov Gvardian	(Nov 1868)
Nikola Badetić	Jan 1863 - ?	Jakov Lottina	(Nov 1868)
Ivan Kuzmac	Apr 1863 - Nov 1864	Antonio Rustinjac	(Nov 1868)
Marko Persić	Nov 1863 - (Nov 1866)	Alexa Ćorić	(Nov 1868)
Mihailo Roxandić	Nov 1863 - ?		
Stevan Terkulja	Nov 1863 - ?		

In the period between November 1820 and April 1869, 5,709 separate entries on musicians were found in the 2nd Banal Regiment's *Standes Tabellen*, among them 3,312 entries referring to the regiment's drummers and regiment's orchestra, 1,979 entries on individual musicians in companies, and 418 entries stating that 1, 2 or 8 musicians were commanded on a certain task or campaign, but without listing their names, as well as 368 entries on regiment's *Kapellmeisters*. The vast majority of them (1,235, i.e. 62.5%) refer to transfers from one company to another (and only seldom between different regiments). Others concern enlistments (17%), departures (12,5%), and other matters (a total of 8% that provide information on soldiers away on manoeuvres, those sent to military campaigns, missing in battle or those on leave; as well as on soldiers in regiments hospital in Petrinja, and those in regiments prison at certain periods).

It was customary for soldiers to acquire rudimentary music skills from other, already active, musicians and that is reflected in the enrolment statistics: nearly 96% of musicians had first been regular foot soldiers (and on two occasions musicians were moved from the ranks of marksmen), and only 14 of them originally entered service as musicians. On the other hand, it was rare for a musician to be transferred to the status of a regular foot soldier (which occurred in only 5% of cases, but it should be pointed out that such a move would not have been considered as a demotion, as musicians and foot soldiers were of the same military rank).

It was, however, much more common for a musician to leave the army for economic reasons (31%), due to defects obtained during service (9%), or old age (8%). 7% of musicians died during their service and for 40% of soldiers we do not have more detailed information apart from the fact that they were discharged from service at a certain point.

Being an indispensable part of a military company, musicians always partook in campaigns and missions in civil Croatia and in other parts of the Habsburg Empire, on which the regiment, or its companies, were sent. They also participated in ceremonial occasions, so eight drummers of the 2nd Banal Regiment were sent as part of its delegation to Ban Franjo Vlašić's funeral.³⁵ Also, they performed both before and after the second performance of the first Croatian dramatic play *Juran and Sofija* in Sisak in 1839.

However, it was much more common for military musicians to take part in exclusively military matters. So, seven musicians of this regiment were sent as »assistance in execution« after the suppression of the peasant uprising in Krašić in December 1830³⁶ and nineteen were sent as assistance to the 1st Banal Regiment's troops in reprisals against Podzvizd in July 1845.³⁷ Some companies were fighting in the war against the Hungarian Revolution in 1848-1849,³⁸ but the 2nd Banal Regiment was mostly sent on Italian campaigns. So, we find the entire Regiment's orchestra alongside the Regiment's drummer and six drummers from companies sent against the revolution in Piedmont in 1821,³⁹ one drummer sent to Morbegno in June 1831, two drummers sent to Milan in March 1832, one sent to Milan in September 1832, three to Milan in October 1832, two to Lecco in March 1833 and

³⁵ HR-HDA-449, box 10, *Standes Tabelle*, May 1840, 2nd field company, 5th field company, 6th field company, 7th field company, 8th field company, 9th field company, 11th field company, 12th field company (all under »Commandirt«).

³⁶ HR-HDA-449, box 5, *Standes Tabelle*, December 1830, 3rd field company, 4th field company, 6th field company, 7th field company, 9th field company, 11th field company, 12th field company (all under »Commandirt«); *Ibid.*, January 1831, 4th field company, 6th field company, 7th field company, 9th field company (all under »Commandirt«).

³⁷ HR-HDA-449, box 12, 2nd field company, 3rd field company, 4th field company, 5th field company, 6th field company, 7th field company, 9th field company, 10th field company, 11th field company, 12th field company (all under »Commandirt«). On the reprisals themselves cf. Kristina MILKOVIĆ: *Represalije protiv Podzvizda 1845. godine. Fenomen četovanja i maloga rata u kasnim krajiškim društvima na hrvatsko-bosanskoj granici*, *Povijesni prilozi*, 30 (2011) 40, 195-224.

³⁸ Cf. HR-HDA-449, box 14, *Standes Tabelle*, November 1848, 17th reserve field company (under »Gestorben« it is stated that drummer Tomo Marich died in hospital in Vienna on 30 November 1848); *Standes Tabelle*, March and April 1849, 15th reserve field company (under »Vermissst«, drummer Pavo Tomich vent missing on 5 March after battle at Szolnok); *Standes Tabelle*, July 1849, 24th reserve field company (under »Gestorben«, drummer Mile Sterkalj died at Hospital in Titel).

³⁹ HR-HDA-449, box 1, *Standes Tabelle*, April 1821, Regiments Staab, 3rd field company, 4th field company, 5th field company (all under »Commandirt«), *Standes Tabelle*, May 1821, Regiments Staab, 3rd field company, 4th field company, 5th field company (all under »Commandirt«), *Standes Tabelle*, June 1821, Regiments Staab (under »Commandirt«).

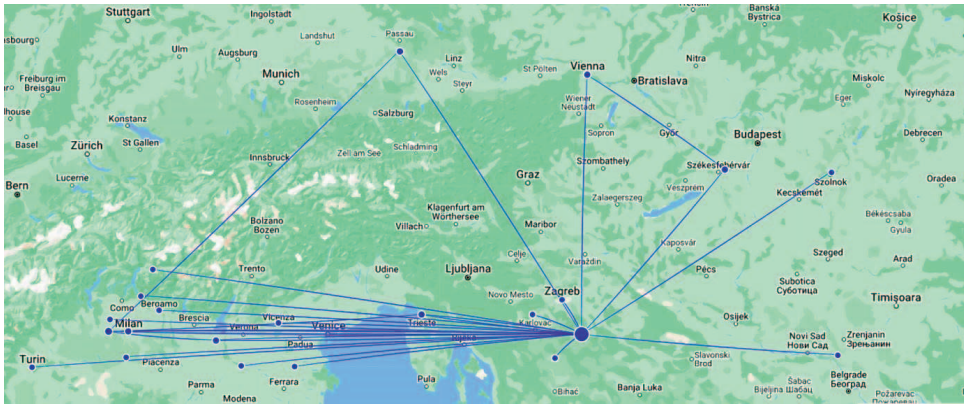


Figure 1. Missions/battles at which musicians of 2nd Banal Regiment took part (compiled by P. Babić)

two to Bergamo in August 1833.⁴⁰ In the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849 the 2nd Banal Regiment again fought predominantly in Italy and military musicians often suffered casualties: five drummers (Marko Janchich, Mio Terdenić, Martin Navialich, Mato Tomich, Martin Rakarich) were taken prisoner in July 1848 (presumably, after the Battle of Custoza), but all of them were recovered, Jovan Nožinić died at Vicenza in May 1849 and Pavo Jovich went missing on 12 August 1849 at Rovigo.⁴¹ In the war of 1859 we find this Regiment's musicians with forces at the battles of Magenta and Solferino: 25 of them went missing – 24 in the battle of Magenta and two in the battle of Solferino. One of them was Tanasia Milovanović, who went missing on 4 June in the battle of Magenta, was recovered two days later, only to go missing again on 24 June in the battle of Solferino and finally returning to Petrinja (by a today unknown route) on 23 September 1859.⁴² Eight missing drummers were recovered as early as 6 June, while eleven more returned from French captivity via Schärding (in Upper Austria) in August, three more via Trieste in early September and the final three returned to Petrinja in late September 1859.⁴³ From the available data it seems that even though military musicians

⁴⁰ HR-HDA-449, box 5, *Standes Tabelle*, June 1831, 2nd field company; *Standes Tabelle*, March 1832, 2nd field company; *Standes Tabelle*, October 1832, 2 field company, 3rd field company, 4th field company; box 6, *Standes Tabelle*, March 1833, 6th field company; *Standes Tabelle*, August 1833, 2nd field company (all under »Commandirt«).

⁴¹ HR-HDA-449, box 13, *Standes Tabelle*, July 1848, 4th field company, 5th field company, 6th field company; box 14, *Standes Tabelle*, June 1849, 2nd field company; *Standes Tabelle*, August 1849, 1st field company (all under »Abgang«).

⁴² HR-HDA-449, box 20, *Standes Tabelle*, June 1859; *Standes Tabelle*, September 1859, 8th field company.

⁴³ HR-HDA-449, box 20, *Standes Tabelle*, June 1859; *Standes Tabelle*, August 1859; *Standes Tabelle*, September 1859.

were part of operational forces in battles, and were taken prisoner and killed, it happened at a lower rate than with other soldiers. According to Mirko Valentić, 10% of soldiers were killed or mortally wounded in the battles of the revolution of 1848/1849,⁴⁴ but only four drummers of the 2nd Banal Regiment were recorded as casualties in these battles.

Civilian Music Organisations of Militär-Kommunität Petrinja

Militär-Kommunitäten were privileged towns in the territory of the Military Frontier and had special administrative-legal status, a town magistrate and special privileges. *Militär-Kommunitäten* were created in the eighteenth century with the idea of becoming economic centres of the regimental districts which gravitated towards them. Commerce, trade and crafts production organized there were intended to supply all the Military Frontier's needs, thus making that territory self-sufficient.⁴⁵ Apart from trade and crafts that were — although still very rudimentary — more developed in *Militär-Kommunitäten* than in the rest of the Military Frontier region, these towns were also the most developed centres of cultural life in this territory.

As was already mentioned, *Militär-Kommunität* Petrinja had a *Musikverein*, a music school, a very active singing choir »Slavulj«, as well as three different orchestras (the 2nd Banal Regiment's orchestra, the Town Guard's orchestra and the *Musikverein's* orchestra). The latter two later merged into one performing body, so that the town had two of them — the *Musikverein's* orchestra and the regimental musical ensemble. The first three associations were founded on private initiatives, but the *Musikverein* and the music school soon became very important institutions in the public sphere, while both orchestras were founded by official institutions, the military authorities and the Town of Petrinja, respectively.

Town Guard's Orchestra / Town Music

In 1808 the Town Guard, together with its orchestra, was founded in Petrinja. It was first intended to be an assistant organization helping the police and the army, but already during the first decade of its existence it was transformed into a social institution that cherished local patriotism and, whenever possible, contributed to the town's cultural life.⁴⁶ However, the Town guard was a semi-military

⁴⁴ Mirko VALENTIĆ: Društvena i gospodarska struktura Prve banske pukovnije 1848.-1881. godine, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 19 (1987) 1, 25.

⁴⁵ For more information on the phenomenon of *Militär-Kommunitäts* cf. Alexander BUCZYNSKI: Nastanak i organizacijski oblik vojnih komuniteta od 1748. do 1850., *Arhivski vjesnik*, 34-35 (1991-1992) 35-36, 185-194; Alexander BUCZYNSKI: *Gradovi Vojne krajine*, vol. 1 and vol. 2, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 1997.

⁴⁶ I. GOLEC: *Gradska limena glazba Petrinja*, 29, 32.

organization since it was organized in regiments and battalions and its members wore uniforms and carried arms.

The Town Guard's orchestra played at all the important public occasions (such as royal birthdays and birthdays of the Ban, various festivities, church holidays, etc.), often alongside the regimental musical ensemble; however, it also performed on its own, especially when the entire 2nd Banal Regiment was conducting manoeuvres or away fighting.

In 1841 the Town Guard's orchestra merged with the newly founded Town Music, established as part of the *Musikverein*. According to the *Musikverein's* regulations, Town Music was to serve Petrinja's needs for public music-making. However, certain misunderstandings occurred with the Town Guard. Namely, the *Musikverein's* Town Music was supposed to be a complete orchestra, while the Town Guard claimed that the brass section should fall under their jurisdiction. A sort of compromise was achieved by agreeing that the entire orchestra, now named just »Town Music«, was to formally remain under the jurisdiction of the *Musikverein*, while in reality it was part of the Town Guard.

During the 1840s leading members of the *Musikverein* were active participants of the Illyrian movement and often organized patriotic events at which the Town Music was performing. By the end of the decade, the number of active musicians began to decline and the music school could no longer fulfil the town's needs. Even though at one point Petrinja's Major Joseph Wagner even came up with the idea of settling in Petrinja several Bohemian families (as many as would suffice to provide no less than ten musicians for the Town Music) and provide them with various benefits, these efforts were not enough to fulfil all the needs of Town Music.⁴⁷ During the period of Neoabsolutism the activities of the *Musikverein's* Town Music stagnated, only to completely stop in the period 1860-1873.

However, the *Musikverein* once again became an important factor in the cultural life of Petrinja after demilitarization in 1873 when it organized a number of successful concerts and took part in almost all public occasions celebrated in Petrinja. In that period, the institution's ground rules were articulated once again, and it was agreed for the music school to be reopened. Now, musicians were officially hired, all of them signed contracts and they were prohibited from accepting other engagements without the *Musikverein's* permission. The musicians had fixed salaries, and the rates for hiring the orchestra were fixed at a minimum of 30 forints. A *Kapellmeister* was appointed as superior to the musicians, and the musicians were obliged to attend all the rehearsals, to be punctual and take care of their instruments and their uniform.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴⁸ I. GOLEC: *Gradska limena glazba Petrinja*, 55-56.

Musikverein

The *Musikverein* in Petrinja was founded in May of 1841 as a society of music lovers, being the sixth society of that kind in Croatia (founded after those in Križevci, Varaždin, Zagreb, Senj and Osijek). It first operated according to Zagreb *Musikverein's* rules, since Petrinja *Musikverein's* rules were approved only in September of 1842. The *Musikverein's* first president was the merchant Mihail Miličić, and its founding members were: Josip Jelačić, at the time lieutenant colonel of the 1st Banal Regiment in Glina, and later Croatian Ban; his brother Đuro Jelačić; Josip Šokčević, Croatian Ban in the 1860s; Croatian officer, writer and participant in the Illyrian movement Ivan Trnski; the bishop of Zagreb Juraj Haulik; and others.⁴⁹ The *Musikverein* was sponsored especially during its first two decades by prominent patrons such as the abdicated king Ferdinand V, the dowager queen Karolina Augusta, Ban Josip Jelačić and Ban Josip Šokčević.⁵⁰

The *Musikverein* consisted of five departments: for church music, choir singing and music theory, as well as the town music and the music school. Not long after its foundation, Georg Karl Wiesner von Morgenstern visited Petrinja in September of 1841 and expressed his content with the progress that pupils of the Music school have made in the short five months of its existence. He stated that the exam he attended served as »a fine testimony of our thriving national education«.⁵¹

Since its foundation, the *Musikverein* organised public concerts in which professors and pupils of all departments participated as performers, sometimes even those from the regimental musical ensemble, as well as some members of the audience. According to newspaper reports, these concerts were usually very well received. Thus, one especially extensive report was published in the Illyrian newspaper *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, and the reporter praised very much the high artistic level of the performances of both singers and instrumentalists. (He especially praised two sopranos, one of which sang so exquisitely that the reporter confessed to applauding so forcefully that he eventually damaged his gloves.)⁵² According to the preserved concert programmes, these concerts contained works not only by the most popular composers of the time such as Mozart, Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, Bériot, but also by Croatian composers Rusan, Wiesner von Morgenstern, Zajc and others.

⁴⁹ Ivica GOLEC, *Vojni komunitet Petrinja kao gospodarsko i prosvjetno središte Banske krajine (1777.-1871.)*, Sisak: Državni arhiv u Sisku – Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2003, 385.

⁵⁰ I. GOLEC: *Gradska limena glazba Petrinja*, 54; I. GOLEC: *Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo »Slavulj« Petrinja (1864.-2004.)*, Petrinja: Matica hrvatska Petrinja – HPD »Slavulj« Petrinja, 2004, 28.

⁵¹ Georg Karl Wiesner von Morgenstern's report of 11 September 1841 published in Illyrian national newspapers, cited from: Ivica GOLEC: *Kroz stoljeća limene glazbe u Petrinji*, Petrinja: Gradska limena glazba Petrinja – Matica hrvatska Petrinja, 1998, 21-22.

⁵² D. G.: Ceciline u Petrinji, *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, XI (1845) 50, 197-198 [3-4].

The Music School

The Music school was opened as part of the *Musikverein* in 1841. In the beginning, the school had just one teacher and the pupils were taught singing and violin over the course of two grades. It was planned that another teacher, when hired (which soon happened), should teach also the brass instruments, which was especially important since these students could eventually become members of the Town Music's orchestra. From 1852, because more teachers were hired and the interest for music education rose, the School expanded to three teaching grades.

Musikverein's members' children took precedence at enrolment, the annual fee was between one gulden and half a gulden, and the school year followed the military year starting on 1 November (and ending on 20 September, leaving forty days of vacation). Since Music school pupils also regularly attended the Normal school or the School for girls, daily schedules were so organized as not to disturb the »primary« education. Pupils were mostly children of citizens of Petrinja, but not exclusively of the town elite: apart from the officers' and high-ranking clerks' children, there were also children whose fathers were the local mailman, cobbler, wheelwright or mason.⁵³ Until the beginning of the 1850s the School was thriving, having patrons such as Ferdinand V, Karolina Augusta, Josip Jelačić, Mojsije Baltić and others, but then it stagnated until the 1860s to only later thrive again, thanks exclusively to the personal efforts of newly arrived teachers.⁵⁴

The Music school pupils regularly performed at public concerts, sometimes along with musically educated members of the audience. The young musicians appear to have been highly motivated and talented, as we find multiple records praising their skills, as well as the information that the so-called »young music« was sometimes performing alongside Town Music's orchestra.⁵⁵

Croatian Singing Society »Slavulj«

Petrinja's first choir was part of the Department for choir singing of the town's *Musikverein*. Its members were predominantly musically educated officers and their wives, as well as some of the more prominent citizens. In general, they were people considered to be the town's elite. The repertoire of this occasionally completely private society consisted of works by Austrian, Italian, German, and Czech composers, and it only seldom included Croatian pieces.

In 1861 another initiative began: prominent citizens such as headmaster and school teacher Ivan Hübl and Josef Břiza, town prosecutor Johan Webersik, regi-

⁵³ I. GOLEC: *Vojni komunitet Petrinja*, 363.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 364.

⁵⁵ I. GOLEC: *Gradska limena glazba Petrinja*, 38-39; I. GOLEC: *Vojni komunitet Petrinja*, 363.

mental judges Franjo Greger and Leopold Martin Krainz and administrative officer Nestor Halagić founded a four-part male choir.⁵⁶ This choir was not associated with the *Musikverein's* Department for choir singing, but was a completely private initiative apart. Josef Břiza, a school teacher of Czech origin — who was at first just one of the singers, but soon became the choirmaster — immediately realized how important the singing society could be not only for the development of the town's cultural life, but also for the national cause. Thus, Břiza initiated the foundation of another singing society, members of which should be citizens of Petrinja »that have a nice voice and a little music education«, with the idea »to teach them in a private surrounding the art of the national male quartet and thus create a musical basis for the cultivation of national song in Petrinja«. ⁵⁷ With that intention, Břiza founded the Croatian singing society »Slavulj« (Nightingale) in 1864. Its members were predominantly Croats, merchants, craftsmen and a couple of officers and clerks, most of them born and raised in Petrinja. However, the vast majority of members of the aforementioned choir at the Department of choir singing did not join »Slavulj«. ⁵⁸ Břiza dismissed their absence with the comment that »they were Germans, after all«. ⁵⁹ The society immediately started its activities, even though its ground rules were sanctioned by Zagreb's *Generalkommando* as late as 1869 (and not without difficulties, caused by the society's overly patriotic spirit). The first compositions they performed were the arrangement of one Tirolean march (the name of which is today unknown), *Naprej zastave slave – Forward With the Banners of Glory* by Davorin Jenko and *Byvali Čechove statni junaci – Čechs Were National Heroes* by František Škroup. During the first year of its activity, »Slavulj« gained substantial popularity with the citizens of Petrinja, so in 1865 it advanced from a private initiative to a public singing society. ⁶⁰ In the following period »Slavulj« was performing at the majority of important events taking place in Petrinja, but we lack more detailed information on them since the first preserved concert programme dates only from 1870. The scarce information available via the newspaper reports and memoirs of Vilim Grgić, a »Slavulj« singer at the time, provides us with information on a couple of patriotic songs that were set to music by Josip Břiza: *Mi smo braća ilirskog sinci plemena – We Are Brothers, Sons of the Illyrian Tribe* by Mato Topalović and *Napitnica – Drinking Song, Pozdrav domovini – Salute to the Fatherland, Majci – To Mother* and *Strossmayerova koračnica – Strossmayer March* by Petar Preradović, as well several other poems by various authors. Apart from these, the society was performing songs by other, mostly Slavic composers

⁵⁶ I. GOLEC: *Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo »Slavulj«*, 28-29.

⁵⁷ ***: Pabirci o postanku hrv. pjev. društva »Slavulj« u Petrinji, *Banovac*, IX (1896) 32, 1-2, cited by: I. GOLEC: *Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo »Slavulj«*, 29.

⁵⁸ I. GOLEC: *Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo »Slavulj«*, 30-33.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

(Vatroslav Lisinski, Ludwig Toman, Benjamin Ipavec, Josip Prohaska, Davorin Jenko, Josef Škroup and others).⁶¹

During that period, on the eve of the abolishment of the *Militär-Kommunitäten* as separate administrative entities in 1871, »Slavulj« was the most important, the largest and all-inclusive singing society in the whole territory of the Ban's regiments. In 1871 it counted 27 singers and 63 patrons. This public society, completely belonging to the civilian sphere of Petrinja's cultural life was not affected by the demilitarization of the Military Frontier (1873) but continued its activities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, until the present day.

Conclusion

Petrinja's musical life was heavily influenced by its military circumstances. Its oldest orchestra, and the one of the highest quality, was the 2nd Banal Regiment's orchestra and even the Town guard's orchestra had all the features of a military orchestra prior to 1841. On the other hand, one of the two most important purposes of the Music school was to educate musicians for these two orchestras. However, being the *Militär-Kommunität* and in the vicinity of Zagreb, the civilian sphere inevitably had to develop, too. This process was closely connected with the Illyrian movement, so all the newly founded institutions manifested correlated patriotic connotations. Institutions such as the *Musikverein*, the Music school and the Croatian singing society »Slavulj« contributed a great deal to the cultural life of Petrinja and turned this town into one of the foremost examples of civilian-military duality on the territory of the Croatian Military Frontier.

Sažetak

GLAZBENI ŽIVOT U VOJNOJ KRAJINI. STUDIJA SLUČAJA DRUGE BANSKE GRANIČARSKJE PUKOVNIJE I VOJNOG KOMUNITETA PETRINJA

Članak se bavi glazbenim životom Druge banske graničarske pukovnije i vojnog komuniteta Petrinje. U prvom dijelu prikazan je ustroj vojnih glazbenika – pukovnijske glazbe i glazbenika u satnijama te su izložene informacije o promjenama u njihovu sastavu i broju kroz 19. stoljeće. Identificirani su pojedini glazbenici i utvrđeno je postojanje njih ukupno 486 (323 bubnjara, 116 hornista i 47 glazbenika pukovnijskog orkestra). Također su doneseni podatci o glazbenicima koji se mogu rekonstruirati iz dostupnoga gradiva, pri čemu su osobito zanimljive informacije o načinu na koji je pojedini vojnici postajao vojni

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

glazbenik (glazbene vještine uglavnom je stjecao »u hodu« od ostalih vojnih glazbenika, a ne u sklopu formalnog obrazovanja), o prilikama u kojima su glazbenici Druge banske pukovnije nastupali te, posebno, podatci o njima u ratnim sukobima.

U drugom dijelu članka prikazane su petrinjske civilne glazbene ustanove: orkestar Gradske garde, Glazbeni zavod i Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo »Slavulj«. Orkestar Gradske garde bio je poluvojna udruga, organizirana u pukovnije i bataljune, a članovi su nosili uniforme i oružje, ali ni u kojem smislu nije bio podređen vojnim vlastima. Taj je orkestar bio vrlo aktivan i iznimno važan za glazbeni život Petrinje, a u društvenim je prilikama često nastupao zajedno s pukovnijskim orkestrom. Godine 1841. u Petrinji je osnovan Glazbeni zavod, koji se sastojao od pet odijela: onoga za crkvenu glazbu, za zbarsko pjevanje, za glazbenu teoriju te od Gradske glazbe (koja se stopila s orkestrom Gradske garde) i glazbene škole. Za glazbeni život grada posebno je bila važna glazbena škola, u kojoj su se u početku poučavali samo sviranje violine i pjevanje, ali je ubrzo angažiran i učitelj za poučavanje puhaćih glazbala (koja su bila potrebna za buduće popunjavanje Gradske glazbe). Gradska je glazba tijekom 1840-ih godina bila aktivna u gradskom kulturom životu, tijekom 1850-ih je stagnirala, a u razdoblju između 1860. i 1873. u potpunosti je prestala s radom. Pjevačko društvo »Slavulj« organiziralo se s ciljem okupljanja petrinjskih domoljuba. Okupljalo je značajan broj članova i nastupalo na većini značajnih događaja koji su se odvijali u Petrinji.

Naposljetku, može se ustvrditi kako je glazbeni život na prostoru Vojne krajine prije svega bio određen njezinim vojnim karakterom, koji je snažno utjecao čak i na glazbu koja je pripadala civilnoj sferi. Unatoč tome, Petrinja je kao vojni komunitet imala razvijeniju civilnu sferu s Glazbenim zavodom, glazbenom školom, zborom i više orkestrara. Pa ipak, u Petrinji su vojna i civilna sfera tijekom cijelog 19. stoljeća bile nerazdruživo povezane, pri čemu su obje vrste orkestrara sudjelovale u istim događajima, neovisno o njihovoj izvornoj namjeni.