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Diplomski studij povijesti, istraživački smjer: Moderna i suvremena povijest
(19. i 20. stoljeće)

Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

Opera, Music and Society in the 19th Century. An Interview with Philipp Ther



Philipp Ther

(foto: <https://www.recet.at/our-team/detail/philipp-ther>)

About professor Philipp Ther:

Philipp Ther is a professor at the Department of East Central European History at the University of Vienna. Before that, he was a professor of comparative European history at the European University Institute in Florence, a research associate at the Center for Comparative European History at Freie Universität Berlin, and John F. Kennedy Fellow at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University. During his career, he dealt with many topics from the modern and contemporary history

of (central) Europe: the history of music and opera in the 19th century; migrations, and ethnic cleansings. Since 2009, he has worked on comparative studies of post-socialist cultural and social transformations in Central and Eastern Europe, for which he founded the Research Center for the History of Transformations (RECET) and was awarded in 2019 with the Wittgenstein Award, the highest Austrian academic award. He also received a Nonfiction Book Prize of the Leipzig Book Fair for his book *Die neue Ordnung auf dem alten Kontinent* (later translated in English as *Europe since 1989: A History*). His other notable works are *How the West Lost the Peace: The Great Transformation Since the Cold War*, *The Outsiders: Refugees in Europe since 1492*, *The Dark Side of Nation States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe* and *Centre Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe*.

Philipp Ther attended the 16th International musicological conference in Zagreb in May 2025 with the keynote paper *The Making of Habsburg-Pop: The Institutionalization of the Waltz, the Polka and the Viennese Schrammel-Music in the 19th Century*. On that occasion, and because of the many topics that Professor Ther touched on in his career, the editorial staff of the journal *Pro tempore* decided to focus only on the history of music and opera in the 19th century for the purposes of this interview.

What made you decide to focus on the opera as a cultural and political institution of the 19th century for your Habilitation thesis?

At the time, I was working at the Center for Comparative European History, which was focusing on the history of civil society. In the late 1990s, this was a very fashionable topic. And I knew from my childhood and in later days during the revolution of 1989, that the National Theatre in Prague had been built on the basis of fundraising. And I also knew that other theatres were not established by an emperor or as state theaters but were financed by civic contributions. I have always found it very fascinating that we do not only have court and state theatres, but that we also have public cultural institutions which were based on fundraising and civil society support. Initially, this book was supposed to be rather an institutional history, distinguishing between various types of theatres. So, the first one and the oldest one is the court theatre, where basically the court, and then later the state, finances the entire institution, usually through subsidies. A second type is what I call aristocratic theatre. This was usually organised like a shareholder society. So, a group of people, it could go up to 60, like in the pre-1848 period in Habsburg Lemberg (today Lviv), was paying in a capital, and with that you would run the institution. This aristocratic model was also very widespread in Italian cities. But there, it was not always the aristocracy that financed the theatres, but often the local bourgeoisie. Then there is a third type, a bourgeois or to use the Czech word *občanské*, a civic theatre. There you had far more supporters than a small group of shareholders, usually an association, which could have many hundred members. In the Czech and many other cases the association collected the money to build and run the theatre.

When I did my research for this opera book, I was getting even more interested in the repertoires, and since the theatres had been financed and

run in such different ways, I was expecting that the repertoires would be very different. However, based on my comparison, I found out that the repertoires were becoming more similar. So, I was also comparing the repertoires, or, if you want, the cultural and musical program and policy. Over time, I got ever more into the music, because that is what I found most enchanting.

So, you started researching the opera houses within the framework of the history of institutions, but then widened it to cultural and musical history.

Yes. Later, I rather enlarged my focus to the musical culture, what was played, and which composers. Because of my previous focus on nationalism studies I was particularly interested in how national or international the repertoire was, and then the kind of genres, grand opéra, Wagnerism, operetta, and what was popular.

Who inspired you the most in that work, and are there some major historical works about that topic?

Over time, Smetana, Dvořák, Fibich and other Czech composers, who were also very popular. But popular is not a major category in musicology and for academic work. But if I speak about outreach, then I must say that Croatian musicology has a global outreach. If you look at the journal *Arti Musices*, but then also the *International Review of the Aesthetics and the Sociology of Music* edited by Stanislav Tuksar¹ and Vjera Katalinić² and other musicologists in Croatia, they are being read all over the world. This is an academic journal, and yet it is well read among many academics. The popularization of music is of course also important on a national level, and I think quite a lot of people in Croatia would know Ivan Zajc and, more recently, Dora Pejačević.

And now to the first part of your question, historical works that deal with the history of 19th century music and opera. Well, I have certainly read all

¹ See for example Stanislav Tuksar, *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists* (Zagreb: Music Information Center, 1980); Stanislav Tuksar, Vjera Katalinić, ed. *Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834.-1911.). Glazbena historiografija i identitet* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2013); Stanislav Tuksar, Vjera Katalinić, Petra Babić and Sara Ries, ed. *Lisinski / Jelačić. Glazba, umjetnosti i politika: revolucije i restauracije u Europi i Hrvatskoj 1815.-1860. / Music, Arts and Politics: Revolutions and Restorations in Europe and Croatia, 1815-1860* (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Odsjek za povijest hrvatske glazbe – Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2021).

² See for example Vjera Katalinić, Franjo Velčić and Josip Žgalić, *Nikola Uđina Algarotti* (Rijeka, Krk: Glosa, 2010); Vjera Katalinić, *Violinski koncerti Ivana Jarnovića. Glazbeni aspekt i društveni kontekst njihova uspjeha u 18. stoljeću* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2006); Vjera Katalinić, ed. *Off-Mozart. Glazbena kultura i "mali majstori" srednje Europe 1750.-1820.: radovi sa međunarodnog muzikološkog skupa održanog u Zagrebu, Hrvatska, 1.-3.10.1992. / Musical culture and the "Kleinmeister" of Central Europe 1750-1820: proceedings of the International Musicological Symposium held in Zagreb, Croatia, on October 1-3, 1992* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 1995).

the works by Vjera Katalinić, more recently also Koraljka Kos³ and I enjoyed them a lot. But there are so many historical works about 19th century music that it is very difficult to point out a few, which have influenced my work the most. Among the musicologists, I always liked reading Carl Dahlhaus.⁴ He died a long time ago, but his works are still very significant and important. Among the historians, I would say I like the most the works by Larry Wolff from New York University.⁵ But then there are many more, Richard Taruskin is a landmark on Russian opera,⁶ Michael Beckerman on Czech opera,⁷ John Tyrell on Janáček,⁸ Finnish historian Hannu Salmi understands Wagner better than many Germans.⁹ We have significant works on each tradition and on many composers. But this would be a too long list to put it down in this interview. You asked who influenced me most. Frankly, this is a little difficult to tell. Among the historians, there is also very important work by Scott Spector.¹⁰ More recently, I also enjoyed Peter Wicke's writings on popular music.¹¹ But he is a musicologist, and I have always been somewhat eclectic. Eventually, I tried to develop my own way in combining the social and cultural history and the historical study of music.

³ See for example Koraljka Kos, *Dora Pejačević* (Zagreb: Koncertna direkcija Zagreb, Muzički informativni centar, 2008); Koraljka Kos, Sanja Majer-Bobetko, ed. *Božidar Kunc (1903. - 1964.): život i djelo: radovi s muzikološkog skupa održanog u Zagrebu, 20.-22. studenoga 2003. / Božidar Kunc (1903 - 1964): life and opus: proceedings of the Musicological Symposium held in Zagreb, Croatia, on November 20-22, 2003* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2007).

⁴ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-century music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

⁵ See Larry Wolf. *The Shadow of the Empress: Fairy-Tale Opera and the End of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2023); Idem. *The Singing Turk: Ottoman Power and Operatic Emotions on the European Stage from the Siege of Vienna to the Age of Napoleon* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

⁶ See Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Idem. *Opera and Drama in Russia: As Preached and Practiced in the 1860s*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981).

⁷ Michael Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák: Searching in America for the Composer's Inner Life* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2003).

⁸ John Tyrell, *Janáček Years of a Life*, vol. 1–2 (London: Faber and Faber, 2006 and 2007).

⁹ Hannu Salmi, *Wagner and Wagnerism in Nineteenth-Century Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic Provinces: Reception, Enthusiasm, Cult* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005).

¹⁰ Cultural historian with the focus on the Habsburg Monarchy and Central Europe. See Scott Spector, *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka's Fin de Siècle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Idem, *Violent Sensations Sex, Crime, and Utopia in Vienna and Berlin, 1860-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

¹¹ See for example Peter Wicke, *Rock und Pop. Von Elvis Presley bis Lady Gaga* (Munich: C.H: Beck, 2011).

Your book in the German version is named *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft*, which translates as “in the centre of society”.¹² Can you explain to us what made opera houses so important for 19th century society, and did they lose that importance over time? And if so, why?

I will split up my answers to that. So, the first one is expressed in the title, more so in the German title, in the centre of society. Opera was the place to go. First of all, it was a social event and a social meeting place where the elites of the given society, whether they were more aristocratic or more bourgeois or even lower bourgeois, would go. So, it was a matter of prestige to attend the theatre and, of course, the most prestigious genre, the opera. In a way, you can also summarise this with the phrase “to see and to be seen”. There’s an element of social representation in that. Then the opera was a marketplace for political changes. Very often you found major political discourses and events happening in opera theatres. Sometimes they even served as the epicentres of politics. Just one brief example, the Belgian Revolution in 1830 started after Auber’s opera *La Muette de Portici* was staged. For all small nations, the national theatres were very significant. The national theatres were usually not called opera houses, but their most important genre was opera. This is true for the National Theatre in Prague, and, of course, also the *Narodno kazalište* in Zagreb. You have them all over Central and Eastern Europe. And then last but not least, opera combined different genres of art.

We have to remember, and now I arrive at the second part of my answer, that the media situation was very different in the long 19th century because there was no reproducible media yet. So, no radio, no cinema, only very late in the 19th century gramophones. People had to go to the theatres or to the opera or the concert halls to get the live experience of culture. Which means that at the time opera also served a lot of entertainment purposes. Culture was much more centred on theatres, this is why they are so centrally located in all traditional European cities.

And this then leads me to your second question where I will try to give a brief answer. Theatres lost some of their social and cultural relevance because there was competition from new media. Moreover, radio and reproducible media like records could be used in private space. Later, television came. So, there were other forms of entertainment which were new and therefore very attractive. But I would not claim that music theatre lost all of its importance. It remained very significant through much of the 20th century. Here I can maybe mention an example from Austrian history. When Austria was reestablished as a republic after the *Staatsvertrag*, there were speeches of the politicians on the balcony. Yet, the most important and culminating event was the first new staging in the freshly renovated *Staatsoper* in 1955. This was the major foundational event for the Republic of Austria. If you look at the 1989 revolutions, music played a major role again, for example in Estonia, where people inau-

¹² English translation of the book: Philipp Ther, *Center Stage: Opera, Music and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2014).

gured a singing revolution. In Croatia also, singing was very significant, as well as public stagings of music. And so, I think even in the late 20th century, we can see that music at large still retained some of its previous importance.

You said that for the smaller nations in the 19th century the opera was especially important. Why was that so? Was it because of the nationalist reasons or something else?

No, because they were parts of empires, and this meant that they only had limited autonomy. The national building had to be done through literature, theatre, reading halls. But again, the music theatre was the most prestigious genre. This is why it was important, and this is why, especially in Croatia, national activists built up institutions like reading societies, and on the higher end, a national theatre. The *Narodno kazalište* expressed the aspiration to be a civilised nation which operates on the same level as the old grand imperial nations. And more or less, all the smaller nations succeeded in doing this. Establishing themselves first as cultural nations and then eventually reaching independence. Now, there's no clear causal connection between the two. Without World War I the Habsburg Empire might not have fallen apart or lasted much longer. Anyhow, cultural emancipation was a key step for mobilising the nation.

When we are talking about empires, how did the three main political regimes in Central Europe, the Prussian, the Habsburg, and the Russian regime, approach opera and opera houses?

They [opera houses] were very central for imperial representation. The power of the monarchies and the dynasty was always shown through the music theatre. You have that in all three empires. And they even commissioned specific works, for example, to celebrate the coronation of the new emperor, a new king. You could also find singing events which shows how significant this was. The opera was an older tradition already in the age of Baroque, but it continued throughout the 19th century. This was one of the reasons why the royal dynasties and the aristocracy invested so much money in the royal theatres and in cultural representation. And again, opera being the most prestigious of the cultural genres was, of course, also the most significant one for imperial representation. But they also did much more. They supported composers. Some emperors were very interested in music.

In the Habsburg Empire, investment into culture was also driven by the loss of status as first ranking great power in 1859 and 1866. After the defeat against Piedmont and Prussia, Austria was second-ranking in military affairs and in power politics. As a kind of *Ersatz*, a compensation for the loss of political power, the Habsburg dynasty and the state continued to invest massively in theatres, opera and concert music.

There's a fourth continental empire, which you did not mention yet: that is the Ottoman Empire. This empire was shrinking, but it invested a lot into court music, and invited, for example, the brother of the famous Gaetano Donizetti, the opera composer, to Istanbul where Giuseppe Donizetti served

as a court composer. In Egypt, you find the same pattern. As investing into music became universalised, many states tried to represent themselves through cultural institutions, in particular national theatres, and the opera being played there.

The theme of the current issue of our journal is Myths and Narratives. With that in mind, when we speak of myths, to what extent did 19th-century music draw upon national myths from the past as its subject matter (with Wagner perhaps being the most prominent example)? And conversely, to what extent was music itself used to mythologize certain contemporary historical events (for example, Tchaikovsky's Marche Slave)?

In opera there are many mythical narratives. This comes out of Romanticism, which provided a lot of fairy tales and collections of national myths since the early 19th century. Music was deeply inspired by romanticism, we might even call it the most romantic art, and composers used those plots a lot. Since you are asking about Wagner: his entire oeuvre is filled with national myths. However, as I stressed in my book, his operas were not only about myths. Myths seem very distant and maybe not so close to truth. Many of Wagner's seemingly mythical narratives were pertaining to real historical events. If we interpret Wagner as a nation builder, and as a self-proclaimed folk historian, then you can see that he was not only setting myths to music, but that most of his operas were about what he perceived as national German history. Of course, his interpretation may not have always been based on facts, but, for example, *Die Meistersinger of Nuremberg*, his most famous national opera, was quite close to the historical knowledge of the time. The plot was invented, but it contained multiple references to major events in national history. The same is true for *Tannhäuser und der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg*, and *Der Ring des Nibelungen* pertains to medieval German history. Wagner acted as a mythologist and a historian, he mixed myths and history. Among other nations, you see the same pattern. Smetana's operas were about major periods and events of Czech history. Some parts of his plots are mythical, but more are based on historical knowledge of his time. We must remember that academic historiography was not as developed yet, and professional historians based their books quite a lot on myths in the first half of the 19th century. Romantic historians and Romantic composers acted as mystifying historians. If you look at Croatian opera, you can again see the same pattern. Take for example *Nikola Šubić Zrinski* by Ivan Zajc, where he combined national myths and early modern history. The main message was to position Catholic Croatia as an "antemurale christianitatis", a bulwark against the Ottoman Empire. The defence against the Turks was of course a part of Croatian history, but then turned into a myth that was supposed to define the historical mission of the nation. *Zrinski* can also be interpreted in a different way, as a comment on the imperial ambitions of Hungary, and its attempts to rule over Croatia. Operas were often multi-referential, and historical plots could be interpreted in a timely manner.

So, the symbolisms of the events change and so do the narratives about them.

Yes, and we should not forget that many of those historical plots were put back into distant times, or territories, because of censorship. So, on the surface, this was about remote periods and places. Yet, *de facto*, the pieces were about contemporary history and recent events. Like in state socialism, people were able to read between the lines, they understood very well the political significance of those plots.

You were mainly dealing with the Central European operas, but of course we cannot forget Paris, “the capital of the nineteenth century” as Walter Benjamin called it. How much did the Parisian music and opera scene influence the rest of Europe? Are there any cultural transfers that you would particularly highlight between Paris and Central European operas? Also, are there cultural transfers between Central European operas?

Walter Benjamin, like so many 19th and 20th century intellectuals, loved Paris, but I have to relativise his statement here. It's quoted a lot. Of course, Paris was culturally very significant, but in the last two decades of the 19th century the centre of operetta production moved from Paris to Vienna. Viennese operetta was certainly as lively and as significant, after the turn of the century it had an impact on music theatre repertoires all over the world. There always were several cultural and music capitals in Europe. Paris certainly was the most important musical centre between 1815 and 1848, and was the birthplace of the French Grand Opéra. It was the place to be and to excel, and thus influenced all European opera composers, above all Wagner, who, of course, did not admit that, and got ever more polemical against French and especially Franco-Jewish composers. For the region of Central and Eastern Europe we must consider the German impact. Among all “small nations” in Europe, Wagner was taken as an example to the authors of the national opera who wanted to create them in their national language. Opera was perceived as a tool for national emancipation, which was indeed very relevant for all nations that lived in an imperial space. They did not have national boundaries like the Netherlands or Belgium, and they did not have national independence. The imperial setup was pivotal for Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, Ruthenes who were ruled by the Habsburg Empire. At first, they emancipated themselves by cultural means, hence also through music and opera. It is another question how deeply Wagner served as an example, whether only for plots, or also the structure of his *Musikdramen*. Some composers from small nations like e.g. Ferenc Erkel still preferred Italian number opera. Other composers worked more in a Wagnerian mode. This is true for Smetana, later Dvořák and Fibich, and in general for almost all 19th century Czech composers. Hence, it depends on the country. Anyhow, all small nations in Europe – this is also true for Catalonia, Ireland, Finland, Norway etc. – were looking at Germany as an example of how to build a nation through culture. They perceived and emulated Wagner very actively, although then they always developed their own opera style and other musical genres.

Are there particular operatic works from the 19th century that you consider especially important for understanding the political climate of that era?

I mean, there's the problem of what to pick from such a huge array of works in so many countries. So, let me reassess a Czech opera for that case now, for example Smetana's *Braníboři v Čechách* (*The Brandenburgers in Bohemia*), his first opera, and then *Dalibor*. Both were dramatic operas that dealt with the political and social aspirations of Czech society in the 19th century, including their demands for democracy and larger participation. But then you also have *The Bartered Bride*, a comical opera, which was at the same time a positivist portrayal of contemporary society. The plot contains a lot of political and social criticism: against social hypocrisy, petite bourgeois manners of life. If one aspires to understand Croatian society in the 19th century, listen and study the operettas and opera by Ivan Zajc. Dora Pejačević's very peculiar modernist way of life intrigues me as a historian to study her as well. She is relevant beyond Croatia for gender studies, and how women could enter the very male dominated field of music.

To what extent did the aesthetic elements of opera like music, libretto or stage design reflect the ideological messages of their time?

This is a huge question. I think it is difficult to boil it down to one single statement. Because opera is so multi-referential, it expresses so many things. It is impossible to reduce the message of one piece to one single ideology. Even Wagner was much more than a radical nationalist and antisemite. I think that the kind of nationalism of every given period can be analysed especially well by studying the librettos. The stage designs were excellent examples of how to invent tradition, to stage the nation how it might have looked. The chorus, the large choirs entering the stage were a symbolic representation of the nation. And then you find, creatively invented elements of so called national styles. Usually, they were much less unique than as contemporary nationalists thought. They were quite universal, you find similar elements in different national music cultures. We should be critical about some of the content today, especially the portrayal of women on stage. But sometimes you also find significant and progressive female figures.

How do you approach interdisciplinary work that bridges music history, cultural history, political history and the studies of nations and nationalism? Also, what challenges do you face when analysing the history of music from a broader socio-political perspective?

I always listen first to the music. I also did that for my next book, which will appear in the fall. It will be in German, a possible English title could be *The Sound of Habsburg, A Musical History of the Austrian Empire*. In Germany it will be *Der Klang der Monarchie, eine musikalische Geschichte des Habsburger Reiches*. There I'm using mainly concert music, because I studied opera before and I wanted to do something different. When I listen to the music, I try

to get a sense of its meaning. Then I look at the score, which might appear a little old-fashioned for present day musicologists. Then, I move over to the creator, the composer, and his political convictions and his social background and social position. I'm originally a social historian, so this is probably where I have the longest experience. I try to interpret music and its creators as a social historian. And then, you move on to the larger context, which is, of course, the family, the social group, the society surrounding the composer, but also surrounding the work, the music institution. Concert halls and opera houses or semi-private salons were the most eminent musical spaces. Where was the music played? How was it played? That part of the study is very close to social history, and sometimes political history, because everything was so politicised. This is also sometimes true for a lot of instrumental music. Think about the *Rákóczi March*. This was a revolutionary march, drumming up the Hungarian national movement. Then you also have all the national anthems and national songs. That leads us back to the meaning of the music. There's always the trouble that what I listen to today as a historian, and my interpretation, might be very different from what the contemporary listeners saw in the work. That's why I need to deal with the reception. How was the music perceived at the time? And this is then a different interpretation from a traditional musicology point of view. I say traditional, because nowadays musicologists use very different approaches. As I stated before, Croatian musicology is excellent, and musical sociology as well. Again, Stanislav Tuksar and Vjera Katalinić come to my mind, who both interpret music also as a social phenomenon. If you do that you need different sources, especially about contemporary audiences. How did they perceive the music? What was the meaning of the music for them? Then I try to arrive at what you posed in your question, to analyse music from a broader socio-political, historical perspective. But it always can only be an approximation, there's always different ways to interpret music. I have used these frameworks in my aforementioned book. So far there has been no Croatian translation of my books yet, so I hope this time it might happen. *The Sound of Habsburg* will focus a lot on the political dimension of music. Some opera, but above all, some operetta and popular music as well as military music, and highbrow concert music. And I will try to show how music helped to keep the Habsburg Empire together.

Are you writing that book with somebody else? Are you a co-author or the only author?

I'm the only author. It will be a big monograph, in fact a new book format. In *Center Stage* I included notes to show examples of national opera. But who can read notes among the general readers? Not so many people, I am afraid that for most readers notes are like hieroglyphs. This time, I developed a new kind of book, and this is why I called it in German *das Vertonte Buch*. In English I would simply label it as a "musical book". It will contain QR codes that lead to music examples, which are provided by a streaming service company named *Idagio*. Every five or ten pages, there will be a musical source, which I perceive as a kind of text. I have written the entire history of the Habsburg Empire

around these musical sources, which readers then can listen to by clicking on their smartphones. There will be no advertisements like on Youtube.

That's a nice idea, and it's more enjoyable for the public and everybody else.

It will be a musical book filled with sound. I hope it will be liked by experts, and by the general public. Like the previous book, *Center Stage*.

Thank you for the interview!

Pro Tempore

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Tiskano u 75 primjeraka.

ISSN: 1334-8302

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sredstvima koja je ustupio Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

sredstvima dobivenim na Natječaju za studentske programe Studentskog zbora Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

Redakcija časopisa Pro tempore im iskreno zahvaljuje na finansijskoj podršci.

Časopis se ne naplaćuje.

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