TEXTBOOKS AND MANUALS AS THE BASIS OF MUSICAL EDUCATION IN ZAGREB (1829 – 1921)[1]

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In this dissertation, music textbooks and manuals in the Croatian language, written by teachers of the Hrvatski glazbeni zavod (HGZ) [Croatian Music Institute] music school, were analyzed. The research was focused on the period from 1829, when the school was founded, to 1921, when it came under state control and the Kraljevski državni konzervatorij [Royal State Conservatory] was established. In addition to textbooks and manuals, songbooks that had a textbook-manual character were also analyzed. The authors of these works were among the most highly educated musicians of their time. They were employed at the most influential Croatian music school, but also taught music in other institutions (including teacher training colleges, general education schools, and private schools), for which they also wrote textbooks. Thanks to their involvement in the general and private education system, they had a strong influence on the development of music education, as well as on the perception and status of music within a wider socio-cultural context. The analysis of literature written both for the HGZ music school and for teaching music in the general education system provides a comprehensive insight into the development and determinants of music education in Zagreb in the 19th century, the central aim of this research.

Only literature in the Croatian language was researched because it encouraged and enabled the beginning of the development and standardization of Croatian professional music terminology, as well as the development of the teachers' own pedagogical ideas, adapted to the visions and needs of the cultural, intellectual and social life in Zagreb. Until 1877, the teaching language in the HGZ music school was German, but from that year, on the initiative of the HGZ administration, it was replaced by Croatian. This created the conditions for the writing of textbooks and manuals in the Croatian language.

Only published literature was analyzed (with one exception) as it had been officially approved by the relevant institutions and used by a large number of students. Moreover, a sufficient number of sources have been preserved, allowing the history of their use to be traced. The research was based on the hypothesis that textbooks and manuals express values and attitudes reproduced by their own culture, and that their meaning derives not only from their content but also from the role assigned to them by society. Accordingly, this dissertation is focused on

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both the interpretation of the discursiveness of music education in Zagreb in the sociocultural context as well as the reconstruction of the system of values and meanings of music that was created and confirmed in that context. Within the framework of the educational system, the values and meanings of music are defined and regulated by educational policy – through prescribed curricula and the textbook content aligned with them – making the analysis of these elements essential for achieving the aims of this research. Furthermore, this research is a historiographical contribution to both the interpretation and structuring of the history of 19th-century Croatian music, as well as to a historical understanding and critical reflection of contemporary Croatian music education.

The first part of the research was focused on the activities of HGZ music school, which included thorough analysis of primary sources (among which the most important are the Annual reports of the HGZ music school published since 1868) and secondary sources. This analysis resulted in findings that were not revealed in previous research, such as a periodization of the development of school's activity and new insights into the school operation, the foundation of teaching of various musical disciplines, and its educational goals. The importance of the school within the context of civil society was pointed out – it worked persistently on awakening national consciousness and cultivating national musical expression. Previously established theses that emphasized the school's exclusively cosmopolitan character are challenged by findings suggesting that the institution was neither strictly cosmopolitan nor nationally exclusive, and that its teachers successfully combined these two dimensions.

The activities of the HGZ music school were also analyzed in the context of the general education system – its legislative framework and the role of teachers in 19th-century Zagreb society. The legislative framework was reflected primarily in the education of music teachers, the financing of public educational institutions, the prescription of textbooks and curricula, the social and political functions of music subjects in both general and professional education, as well as in the permanent struggle for the national language and identity. Increasingly high levels of professional and pedagogical competence were expected of teachers, and during the 1870s pedagogical literature in the Croatian language was published intensively. Teachers also became more active in asserting their professional status and advocating for better living and working conditions.

The presentation and analysis of the literature are divided into two parts: the first is dedicated to textbooks and manuals, and the second to songbooks. Each work was analyzed using the same methodology and presented according to a consistent scheme. The information about the place, time and circumstances of its writing, its purpose and the scope of its use are presented first. This is followed by a biography of the author (with particular emphasis on his pedagogical activities) and a presentation of the textbook's contents accompanied by analytical comments.

The section concludes with an assessment of the author's methodological and professional musical principles.

From the field of music theory, the following works were analyzed: Franjo Kuhač's *Katekizam glazbe* [Catechism of Music] ([1]1875, [2]1890), Ivan Oertl's *Obćenita teoretično-praktična pripravna nauka glasbe* [General Theoretical-Practical Preparatory Music Theory] (1880), Antun Stöckl's *Kratak opći nauk o glazbi za učenike glazbene* škole *Hrvatskog zem. glazbenoga zavoda u Zagrebu* [A Short General Music Theory for the Students of the Croatian Music Institute Music School in Zagreb] (1899) and Vjenceslav Novak's *Priprava k nauci o glazbenoj harmoniji* [Introduction to Music Harmony] ([1]1889, [2]1898). The analysis of these works provides insight into the definition and scope of music theory, identifies the European authors who served as models for Croatian teachers, examines the methodological and didactic principles they followed, and evaluates their contribution to the development of music education and music theory in Croatia. Kuhač's *Katekizam glazbe* laid the foundations of Croatian professional musical terminology, while the textbooks by Oertl and Stöckl were the first music theory textbooks written in Croatian specifically for the needs of the HGZ music school, largely following Kuhač's terminology. For this reason, particular attention is also paid to terminological issues in these two works.

The only textbook on harmony is Vjenceslav Novak's *Nauka o glazbenoj harmoniji za učiteljske* škole *(i privatnu poduku)* [Music Harmony for Teachers' Schools and Private Lessons] ([1]1890, [2]1898). This work testifies to the development of harmony theory in Zagreb and demonstrates the extent to which, and the purposes for which, harmony was taught in the 19th century. As the author based almost all musical examples and some harmonic exercises on church and secular folk songs, the textbook bears witness to the national and cultural symbolism of the two songbooks: one is *Cithara octochorda* (Vienna, 1701, 1723; Zagreb, 1757) for church songs, and the other is *Južno-slovjenske narodne popievke* [South Slavic Folk Songs] (vols. 1-4; Zagreb, 1878-1881) collected and edited by Franjo Kuhač for secular songs.

Three textbooks are devoted to singing lessons: Vjenceslav Novak's *Pjevačka obuka u pučkoj* školi [Singing Training in the Elementary School] (1892), Vilko Novak's *Teoretska i praktička obuka zbornog pjevanja u srednjim* školama [Theoretical and Practical Training in Choir Singing in Secondary Schools] (1900) and Janko Slogar's *Elementarna teorija glazbe i pjevanja za pripravnu školu Hrv. zemalj. glazbenog zavoda u Zagrebu i za niže razrede srednjih učilišta* [Elementary Theory of Music and Singing for the Preparatory School of the Croatian Music Institute Music School in Zagreb and for the Lower Classes of Secondary Schools] (1909). All these works deal with choir singing which was based on the practice of intonation and accurate interval performance, incorporating elements that are now an integral part of solfeggio teaching. The first textbook to include not only the performance but also the aural recognition of musical elements was Slogar's textbook; thus, Slogar can

be regarded as a pioneer of modern solfeggio. Vjenceslav Novak's textbook is the first work in which the methodology of teaching of singing in elementary schools was elaborated both theoretically and practically, and the author explicitly referred to the most influential European and Croatian pedagogical authorities, including Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Johann Friedrich Herbart, Jan Ámos Komenský, Stjepan Basariček, Milan Kobali and Ljudevit Modec. Novak based his teaching on the analytical-synthetic method, according to which the students analyzed songs already familiar to them (from personal experience), synthesized abstract musical terms and laws from them and thereby gained an understanding of the musical system. With this textbook, he laid the foundations of modern music pedagogy in the general education system.

Ćiril Junek's *Glazbeno nazivlje* [Musical Terms] (1909) is the only lexicographic work intended for teaching. It contributed to the research of the issue of musical terminology from the perspective of the beginning of the 20th century, when the HGZ music school was reformed and raised to a very high level and when a large fund of textbook literature in the Croatian language was already in existence.

Vjenceslav Novak's *Povijest glazbe* [History of Music] is the first and only textbook devoted to the teaching of the history of music. It was published in 1994, about a hundred years after its manuscript was written, and it is the only analyzed work that was not published at the time it was written. It is included in the dissertation because, with this work, Vjenceslav Novak founded the teaching of the history of music and had a great influence on his successors, who taught the history of music at the HGZ music school for the next 20 years. The work is also the first historical synthesis written in the Croatian language, thus connecting historiographical and pedagogical principles. The starting point of Novak's historiographical methodology is the writing of the history of musical heroes, and for him the primary historical fact was the musical work. He presented history as compositional progress. Within the synthesis of European art music, he presented a synthesis of the history of Croatian music, which, according to him, began with the 19th century.

In the area of teaching instruments, four textbooks/manuals were analyzed: Franjo Kuhač's *Prva hrvatska uputa u glasoviranje za djecu i za odrasle samouke* [The First Croatian Instruction in Piano Playing for Children and Self-taught Adults] (1896-1897), Vjenceslav Novak's *Uputa u orguljanje i zbirka preludija* [Instruction in Organ Playing and Collection of Preludes] (1893), Vitězslav Roman Moser's *Teoretičko-praktična* škola *za gusle* [Theoretical-Practical Violin School] (1896), and *Tehničke vježbe za gusle. Za porabu učenicama i učenicima Narodnoga zemaljskoga glazbenoga zavoda* [Technical Exercises for Violin. For the students of the Croatian Music Institute Music School] (1894). These textbooks were written for the instruments that were most commonly taught in the 19th century. In addition to the didactic-methodical principles, the authors' aesthetic principles were also analyzed.

The presentation and analysis of nine songbooks form a separate part of the dissertation. Four church and five secular songbooks by Gjuro Eisenhuth, Franjo Kuhač, Ivan Zajc and Vilko Novak were analyzed in the context of the development of secular and church songbooks during the 19th century. While the church songbooks contain chants of the Mass Ordinary and songs related to holidays and periods within the church year, the secular ones address topics from a child's everyday life (nature motifs, health habits, virtues such as diligence, humility, gratitude, philanthropy, and patriotism). By teaching general moral and socially acceptable forms of behavior, songbooks fulfilled their pedagogical function. They also regularly reflected the Romantic idealization of folk art, so folk songs were a significant part of their content.

The analysis of songbooks focused on the children's repertoire, the musical structure of the songs, the lyrics, methodical-didactic principles, and the analysis of the socio-cultural perception of the child. The church songs were analyzed in the context of the secularization of education and the Cecilian movement. All songbooks bear witness to the tradition of children's songs and their importance in the civic culture of Zagreb in the 19th century and they also reveal the significance of professional musicians/composers in the world of children's songs – they successfully adapted their artistic impulse to the age of the children and to the function of the songs, thereby creating the history of Croatian children's songs.

One of the fundamental features of music textbooks and manuals in 19th-century Zagreb was that their authors collected and systematized musical knowledge in the Croatian language. This was the result of a half-century long process of institutionalization of music education and the professionalization of local musicians who, from the 1870s onward, were able to shape their educational principles in pedagogical literature. While textbooks for teaching instruments mainly focused on the technical-practical aspects of performance, music theory textbooks dealt with a complex and comprehensive body of knowledge required by all musicians, and thus had the most far-reaching influence. The common point of view among all authors was that theoretical knowledge is a prerequisite for the interpretation of a musical piece – such knowledge transforms musical performance from mere technical reproduction into a creative interpretation of the score. These ideas encouraged the development of theoretical disciplines that gradually became an indispensable part of a complete and high-quality musical education, including acoustics, elementary music theory, harmony, counterpoint, musical forms, composition, music aesthetics, and music history. The educational system supported the development of music theory, so the first music theorists were actually teachers. The first teacher/theoretician dedicated exclusively to music theory was Vjenceslav Novak, and together with Antun Stöckl and later Vilko Novak, he occupied an extremely important and pioneering place in that field.

The specific political position of Croatia in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy generated a persistent struggle for national and cultural affirmation. This was manifested in the educational system mainly through the definition of folk music as the canon of Croatian art music. Folk music was understood as a determinant of authentic and primordial beauty that is inscribed in every member of the nation, so it was believed that children were able to adopt it easily and immediately. It combined the patriotic spirit that education had to encourage and nurture with the demand for aesthetics. In the educational process, the aesthetic experience of music was particularly emphasized. It was based on an idealistic understanding of music: music was understood as a medium through which an individual realizes the deepest knowledge of beauty given directly by God. According to this view, a strong educational effect was attributed to it, manifesting itself in the stimulation of sensibility and artistic taste, the formation of a sense of order and harmony, and the development of intellect. The results of the research also contribute to insights into previously unknown or lesser-known aspects of the activity and artistic-pedagogical principles of its authors, who had a great influence on the spirit and ideas of the time and place in which they worked.