

**Ana Popović (Croatia)**

Faculty of Education, J. J. Strossmayer University of Osijek

apopovic@foozos.hr

## SOME ETHICAL ISSUES RELATED TO JOSIP RUNJANIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO CROATIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

### **Abstract**

Today, school textbooks in Croatia state that Josip Runjanin is one of the important Illyrian composers who set the Croatian anthem to music. However, this information, as well as information about his compositional contribution, is full of various controversies that are rarely mentioned by the general public. This paper explores these controversies with particular reference to issues of academic integrity and politics that led to the construction of the character and work of Josip Runjanin present in public today and their repercussions in the future.

**Keywords:** Josip Runjanin, national anthem, Franjo Kuhač, Illyrian movement, academic integrity

## Introduction

The national anthem is one of the most frequently used symbols for national identification (Mesbah, 2019). It is hard to imagine any kind of international medal awarding ceremony in sports without listening to the champion's national anthem or any formal state ceremony without it. As the editors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* put it, a national anthem is a "hymn or song expressing patriotic sentiment and either governmentally authorized as an official national hymn or holding that position in popular feeling" (2022). The custom of representing a country with an anthem originated in the West, but today it is accepted even in Arab countries (Taan, 2022). The oldest national anthem is Great Britain's *God Save the Queen*, a patriotic song used on royal ceremonial occasions since the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. It was proclaimed a national anthem in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when most of the famous national anthems were written. Some were adapted from the existing tunes, and some were written especially for the purpose. When it comes to the authors of the national anthems, they were rarely famous or established poets or musicians. One of the few was Joseph Haydn, who wrote *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser*, the first Austrian anthem. This melody is used as the national anthem of today's Germany. It is interesting to note that the German national anthem before 1922 was *Heil dir im Siegerkranz*, sung to the melody of *God Save the Queen* (The Editors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2022).

In Croatia, the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the time of the birth of national music, which was fueled by the political tendencies of the National Revival movement. Tuksar points out the problems of establishing Croatian national music with these words: "The theoretically well-founded ideas of the Illyrians about basing the new Croatian art music on the characteristics of folk music - modelled on the roots and spirit of the romantic national movements, especially of the Czechs and Poles - were broken in practice by two important obstacles: only a superficial knowledge of national folklore and a relatively weak technical training of composers" (Tuksar, 2000: 90). Nevertheless, a lot of patriotic songs were written at that time, with notable *Još Hrvatska nij' propala*, a patriotic poem written by Ljudevit Gay and set to music by Ferdo Livadić in 1835, which was also called "Croatian Marseillaise" at the time (The authors of Croatian Encyclopedia, 2021). The same year this song was written, Croatian politician and poet Antun Mihanović published his poem *Horvatska domovina*, which became famous decades later, as four of its fourteen stanzas became known as the Croatian anthem named *Lijepa naša domovino* after the beginning verse of the poem. Antun Mihanović died long before this song gained popularity, and

he never knew his contribution to the creation of this national symbol. While Mihanović's contribution is clear, this cannot be established for Josip Runjanin, the person who is said to have set the poem to music and who also did not live to see this homeland song becoming a national anthem.

### **Josip (Josif) Runjanin**

When discussing the life and opus of this “musical amateur”, as Bedina (1977) calls him, Josip Runjanin (1821-1878), one must notice that there is much information about his life and military career but not much about his musicianship. Actually, the interest in him as a musician did not arise until after his death. He was publicly unknown until 1885 when Kuhač published his discovery that Runjanin was the author of *Lijepa naša* (Kuhač, 1885: 33) – seven years after his death in Novi Sad, in today's Serbia.

Kuhač made Runjanin a famous composer several years later when he included his name and biography in his *Ilirski glazbenici* (1893, eng. Illyrian musicians) - a collection of 18 biographies as a contribution to the history of the music of the Croatian National Revival. Tomašek also recognizes this text as historically relevant in creation of public image of Runjanin: “That Kuhač's text was really decisive can be proven by comparing it with what was later written about Runjanin as a composer, because it shows that all subsequent texts (in everything that is important in that component of Runjanin's biography) relied exclusively on Kuhač's work, that Kuhač's claims were accepted as historically established facts, to which hardly anything, and that which was irrelevant, was subsequently added” (Tomašek, 1990: 31). At this point, it is important to note that Kuhač himself, although his contribution to development of Croatian musicology (and especially ethnomusicology) is apparent, was an “amateur historian” as Blažeković (2009) puts it, explaining that Kuhač “did not study the methodology of historical research in his school curriculum” (Blažeković, 2009: 38). This led to certain lacunae in his findings, which he often based on oral testimonies of contemporaries. Blažeković concludes that “Kuhač ignored the 19th-century ideal that dictated that everything stated in the biography be verifiable, because he did not doubt the information obtained from narrators and correspondents. So it happened that parts of his biographies were more constructions tailored to his own convictions than unbiased reconstructions of someone's life” (2009: 47). In the case of Josip Runjanin, this led to a few controversies that have not been resolved up until today.

### **The controversy: was Runjanin the author of *Lijepa naša*?**

Kuhač based his claims that Runjanin set *Lijepa naša* to music on the testimony of Runjanin's friend Ivan Trnski (1885: 33). Apart from this song, Kuhač attributed just one more to Runjanin, also according to the testimony of Trnski: *Ljubimo te, naša diko* (Kuhač, 1881, as cited in Tomašek, 1990). Kuhač was probably aware of the fact that the opus of only two songs does not make a good score for an important national composer and that it is important to make an argument about his contribution. This can be seen in the structure of his text in *Ilirski glazbenici* (1893) – out of 14 pages dedicated to Runjanin, only four describe his actual life and work, and the first ten are dedicated to describing the anthem and the circumstances of its origin. In that first part of the text, Kuhač boldly compares *Lijepa naša* to *La Marseillaise*, drawing a parallel between Joseph Rouget and Josip Runjanin: both of them were military officers and music amateurs who got the patriotic inspiration to write songs that later became national anthems (Kuhač, 1893).

One has to notice that Kuhač's claims about Runjanin's authorship of the music rely solely on the subsequent testimonies of Runjanin's acquaintances and family. Tomašek noticed that these kinds of testimonies are often "subjectively coloured", "decorated with more or less imaginative details", and "unreliable and inconsistent in factography" (Tomašek, 1990: 33). Tomašek summarized these inconsistencies: "According to these testimonies, Runjanin's name was Franjo, Jovan-Jovo or Jozo, he had a sonorous tenor or a deep baritone, he played the guitar, zither, flute and piano, at the assumed time of the creation of the songs, of which he is the alleged author, he was a cadet, first lieutenant and a senior officer, and upon retirement a lieutenant colonel or colonel. The time of the creation of the song "Liepa naša" is stated as 1842, 1843 and 1846, the first performance would have been already in 1841 or 1847, and the place of the first performance was the house of the merchant Petar Peleš, an event (concert) of the Serbian Charity Society or the window serenade to the wife of ban Jelačić" (Tomašek, 1990: 119).

Tomašek also pointed out that these testimonies can therefore be subject to dispute (Tomašek, 1990). And they were. A couple of decades after *Ilirski glazbenici* (Kuhač, 1893), at the occasion of the erection of the monument to Antun Mihanović in Klanjec, Dr Božidar Krnic reacted to newspaper articles and publicly warned that the belief that Josip Runjanin wrote the national anthem is not correct (Krnica, 1910, as cited in Tomašek, 1990). He also suggested that the music was written by Josip Wendl, the chaplain of the regiment (and Krnic's

grandfather!), because Josip Runjanin, as he had little or no music education, could not have written the music. These claims were later repeated by his cousin, the publicist and professor Gejza Krnic. He (Krnić, 1935, as cited in Baras, 2015) goes further in his explanation and says that Runjanin's wife and daughter did not remember him composing *Lijepa naša* and claims that the song *Ljubimo te, naša diko*, which is also attributed to Runjanin, was again written by Wendl. He explains that Trnski (who had a disagreement with Wendl) deliberately misinformed Kuhač and that everyone accepted these claims as true because of his reputation as a musicologist (Krnić, 1935, as cited in Baras, 2015). Gejza Krnic also suggests that the evidence to his claims could be found in the regiments archive, but that it was burned during First World War (Krnic 1929). Tomašek evaluates these claims as an "episode" (1990: 35) because the disputes did not get as much credit as the original claims. Indeed, Kuhač's claims (1885, 1893) were repeated by other musicologists: Širola (1922), Andreis (1962, 1980), Županović (1980), and even Tuksar (2000), thus *making* them true. On the other hand, historian Tomo Šalić puts an "accepted opinion" in his interpretation of the events (Šalić, 1998: 25), and the sole fact that even in relatively recent years, there are authors that address these issues (for example Baras, 2015, Mrkalj, 2020) suggest that it is not a mere "episode", and that the lack of any material evidence keeps an open door for discussion on this matter. It is also interesting to highlight the biographical note about Runjanin in *Proleksis enciklopedija* (where Tomašek himself was among the editors) contains a big dissociation to the claims about Runjanin's authorship of *Lijepa naša*: "Unprovenly, he is credited with the tune for the song *Slava dobroga glavara (Ljubimo te, naša diko)* by I. Trnski, sung in honour of Colonel J. Jelačić (later Croatian ban) and for *Horvatska domovina* by A. Mihanović, which was famous as the Croatian anthem for decades (*Ljepa naša domovino*), although it was declared as such only on 29.2.1972." (The Editors of Proleksis Enciklopedija, 2014).

### **The controversy: is *Lijepa naša* plagiarized?**

It seems that Kuhač was well aware of the possibility that Runjanin's melody was, in fact, plagiarism because he went to great lengths to prove that it was not. First of all, when comparing with *La Marseillaise*, he mentions that Rouget was inspired by a *Credo* of a mass by Viennese composer Holtzman that was sometimes played in Strassbourg. He establishes that Rouget "did not commit a theft" but only "used a couple of phrases which involuntarily remained in his head from that melody" (Kuhač, 1893: 232). When establishing that Rouget did

not, in fact, plagiarize his melody, Kuhač claims the same for Runjanin: the way Rouget relied on this German melody is the way that Runjanin relied on an Italian melody (Kuhač, 1893: 233). He also identifies the Italian template as the *Ah! O sole, più ratto* duet by Edgardo and Enrico in Donizetti's *Lucia di Lamermoor*, and claims that "our melody (the melody of the anthem, op.a.) is not plagiarized, but freely reworked and Croatianized" (Kuhač, 1893: 233). Kuhač, however, does not specify in what way Runjanin Croatianized the melody but just establishes that it was done "in the musical tradition of his (Croatian, op.a.) nation" (Kuhač, 1983: 234). Kuhač also writes that the information that Runjanin sang this tune in Italian to his cousin during his stay in Ruma caught him by surprise because, in his analysis, he found "that it was built according to the musical tradition of Croatian, not Italian tradition, and that it is almost impossible that this melody is of Italian origin" (Kuhač, 1983: 238). Tomašević finds a couple of inconsistencies in these interpretations and asks where Runjanin, a young military officer, would even hear a tune from this opera. (Tomašek, 1990). He also asks how it is possible that this template was not identified earlier by a musician but referred to Kuhač secondhand from Marijan Derenčin, according to Eugenije Kumičić, who both were not musicians (Tomašek, 1990). Tomašek conducts his own music analysis of the tunes and finds no great resemblance whatsoever – which means that the thesis of the "Italian template" is misplaced and that the melody is, in fact, original (Tomašek, 1990). However, the information that Runjanin based his tune on this template persists until today.

### **The controversy: what is Runjanin's real name?**

It is interesting to note that Kuhač referred to Runjanin as "Josip", whereas his given name was "Josif" (Mrkalj, 2020). Tomašek addresses this issue and concludes that "the circumstances in which Runjanin spent his lifetime made the use of that form of his name exceptional" (1990: 117). In military files, his name can be found in the forms of "Josef" or "Joseph", and in later Croatian and partly Serbian literature, he is addressed as "Josip" and (wrongly) "Ivo" (Tomašek, 1990). Tomašek argues that the form "Josip" was also used in Runjanin's family because his daughter Wilhelmina used this form in a letter she wrote in 1921 (43 years after his death!) (Tomašek, 1990). He then resumes that: "Because of all this, and respecting the rules of onomastics, the form of Runjanin's name, which is traditionally common in Croatia (that is "Josip", op.a.), has been retained in this discussion, regardless of sporadic, politically negatively intoned different opinions" (Tomašek, 1990: 118).

So basically, Runjanin was baptized as “Josif” and called “Josef” or “Joseph” during his lifetime. He became known as “Josip” after Kuhač wrote his name that way in his *Ilirski glazbenici* (1893). This form became “traditionally common”, as Tomašek (1990: 118) put it, only because everybody kept referring to Runjanin from Kuhač’s text. Kuhač is, however, not to blame for this Croatization of Runjanin’s name – the orthography of the Croatian language at the time did Croatianize all names: after all, in the same text, Runjanin wrote Rouget’s name as “Josip” as well, and today his name is spelt “Joseph” in Croatian (for example in *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, 2021, or *Proleksis enciklopedija*, 2013).

Taking all of this into account, a hypothesis was formed: the public image of Josip Runjanin, created by Franjo Kuhač, persists to this day, regardless of the controversies surrounding it.

### **Addressing these controversies in Croatian public – method of research**

It is well established that the national anthem is a symbol of national identification (Winstone and Witherspoon, 2015; Abril, 2007; Abril, 2012). As Abril defines it: “it is a unique musical work in that it functions primarily as a malleable symbol of a bounded geographical region” (Abril, 2007: 73). It can have many functional dimensions: emotional, communication, symbolic, and integration (Abril, 2007). In other words, it represents a sonorous definition of a nation, and therefore it should be a matter of common knowledge in Croatia. Abril makes an interesting personal note on the use of the anthem in the curriculum: while he was at his first music teaching post, the principal’s only request on the curriculum was to make sure that all the students learn the national anthem (Abril, 2007). It is interesting to put a personal parallel to this detail: the principal at the school where this author’s first permanent music teaching post was, made the same request.

It is always presumed that the teacher would not teach their students something inaccurate, and this also goes for the content of the student textbooks. Nobody would deliberately put something that is not true in there, would they? It has been previously stated that “today’s educators are preparing the young generations for a future they themselves do not know what will look like, but positive pedagogic theories highlight that they have a goal of creating a *society of knowledge*” (Popović and Perić, 2019: 285), and therefore it is important that the educators give out accurate information to their students, regardless of their age. Educators have an important role in shaping their students’ opinions, and given

the fact that, in Croatia, all of the population is obliged to attend preschool and elementary school programmes, the information provided to students of these ages becomes common knowledge in the Croatian public. In communication studies, educators are, therefore, the ones responsible for ‘priming’ (Marsen, 2006) the Croatian public for future actions and opinions. It seems as though, in order to *simplify* or make the content *clearer*, the contextual facts given around the circumstances of the origin of the Croatian national anthem tend to picture a story that becomes inaccurate.

When mentioning the term public, one must define what it includes. This paper relies on Blumer’s view of the public as an audience defined in terms of its civil practices and rights within a sociopolitical context (Blumer, 1951, as cited in Marsen, 2006). When describing public opinion, Kunczik and Zipfel noted: “public opinion is formed when many people hold the same opinion on a certain topic, carrying within themselves the awareness of the overlap of their opinions” (1998: 185). The distinction between the scientific and general public should also be noted. While the scientific public is (supposedly) equipped for critical thinking, the general public’s opinions can sometimes be based on false information that has been uncritically accepted from unverified sources. The creation of the nation’s public image relies heavily on the shared common knowledge of the general public and is also heavily based on national symbols. Although national symbols are mostly perceived as a visual category (Haramija, 2017), the anthem can also be included in this category.

One can argue that elementary school textbooks are the media that shapes public opinion and vice versa, that public opinion shapes elementary school textbooks, making this connection a feedback loop, especially because by law, all citizens of the Republic of Croatia should read them, therefore the impression they give out is very important. Different interpretations of the same historical events in school textbooks can be seen both chronologically (the interpretation of the historical events in the span of a few decades can vary significantly) and geographically (the interpretation of the historical events can vary significantly from one country to another). Analysis of the contents of the school textbooks is, therefore, a big indicator of the *Zeitgeist* of the nation. Analysis of the music textbooks can be made in order to establish their compliance with the national curriculum (Popović & Gigić, Karl, 2020), to research their role in the development of students’ intercultural competencies (Nuhanović, 2017), to determine to what extent traditional music (Nikolić, 2022) or singing (Vidulin-Orbanić and Terzić, 2011) is represented in classes, and generally to establish



how music lessons are conducted (Gortan-Carlin and Bačić, 2014). Researchers also resort to this method in order to avoid the appearance of socially acceptable answers, which often happens in survey research.

Given into account all that has previously been written, we can establish that analysis of the Croatian music textbooks for elementary school can help establish how controversies surrounding Josip Runjanin are addressed in public today.

## **Results**

Previous research has already established that the Croatian anthem has been included in the textbooks for music in the upper grades of elementary school and that it should be covered both by singing and listening (Popović and Gigić Karl, 2020). In this research, we took a closer look at the contextual facts about the anthem that was given to the students along with or without the score in a convenient sample of available music textbooks that have been used in Croatia in the span of the last few decades.

In the textbook for 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, published by Školska knjiga, one can find just short information about the anthem – the students are supposed to listen to it with just the information that Antun Mihanović wrote the lyrics, and Josip Runjanin the music (Stanišić & Jandrašek, 2008: 29). This is a very accurate version – although there is no explanation provided, it suggests the agreed version of the authors of the anthem, and leaves it to the teacher to explain the other circumstances.

In an older textbook for 5<sup>th</sup> grade by the same publisher, the very first lesson is dedicated to the national anthem (Novačić and Ećimović, 1994: 3). The students are supposed to sing the anthem to show their love for the homeland, with appropriate accompanying text, which among other things says: “The beauty of the Croatian homeland was sung by poet Antun Mihanović and composer Josip Runjanin in 1846 in the song *Horvacka domovina*. Soon everyone was very happy to sing this song. It was declared the official anthem of Croatia, under the title *Lijepa naša domovino*, in 1891 in Zagreb” (Novačić and Ećimović, 1994: 3). This contextual information is a little problematic: they do not state that there is a controversy regarding the author of the music, and they also give an incorrect detail – the song was given official status as the national anthem in the Constitution of the Socialistic Republic of Croatia in 1972, and this was confirmed by the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia in 1990. In 1891 this song was performed on the occasion of the Croatian-Slavonian economic

exhibition. During the exhibition, the Croatian Singing Association performed three songs that pretended to become the Croatian national anthem, and *Lijepa naša* got the biggest approval and delight of those present, but nothing was officially declared on this occasion (Šalić, 1998: 26-27).

An older textbook for 6<sup>th</sup> grade by the same publisher (Novačić and Marković, 1995: 59) gives out the same narrative (Picture 1). Along with other information, it gives the description of the origin of the anthem: "During the Illyrian revival (19th century), Antun Mihanović wrote the poem *Horvatska domovina*. Josip Runjanin set the verses of that song to music in 1846. The song soon became popular, and in 1891, it became the official anthem under the title *Lijepa naša domovino* (Novačić and Marković, 1995, 59).

### Himna\*

U staroj Grčkoj himna je bila svečana, žrtvena pjesma u čast bogova i heroja.

Što je himna danas?

Kada se izvodi himna?

Kako se ponašaju prisutni ljudi prilikom izvođenja himne?



ANTUN MIHANOVIĆ



JOSIP RUNJANIN

U doba ilirskog preporoda (XIX.st.) napisao je Antun Mihanović pjesmu *Horvatska domovina*. Stihove te pjesme 1846. godine uglazbio je Josip Runjanin. Pjesma je ubrzo postala popularna, a službenom himnom pod naslovom *Lijepa naša domovino* postala je 1891. godine.

\* grč. hymnos – hvalospjev, svečana pjesma

**Picture 1.** The lesson on the national anthem in an older textbook for 6<sup>th</sup> grade by the Školska knjiga publishing house (Novačić and Marković, 1995: 59).

Newer versions of the Školska knjiga music textbooks do not bring any changes in the narrative around the national anthem. The 5<sup>th</sup> grade textbook from 2011 supposes that the students will both sing and listen to the anthem and, along with some information about what an anthem is, lists three notes about our national anthem: that the lyrics were written by Antun Mihanović, that it was set to music by Josip Runjanin and that it became the official anthem in 1891 (Korečić, 2011: 23).

In their textbook for 4<sup>th</sup> grade, published in 2013, students are supposed to listen to the anthem and learn about homeland songs and the anthem. Not much information about our national anthem is given, and the names of Antun Mihanović and Josip Runjanin are listed along with the title of the anthem, suggesting that they were the authors (Dvořák, Jeličić Špoljar & Kirchmayer Bilić, 2013: 24), similar to their version of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-grade textbook from 2008 (Stanišić & Jandrašek, 2008: 29). Their 5<sup>th</sup>-grade textbook brings something new in regard to information about the anthem. Along with the information that it originates from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that Antun Mihanović wrote the lyrics and Josip Runjanin wrote the music, it lists the year 1990 as the year it was declared as the national anthem of The Republic of Croatia (Dvořák, Jeličić Špoljar and Kirchmayer Bilić, 2013a: 22) – which is actually accurate.

The current issue of their elementary school music textbooks covers *Lijepa naša* in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grade. The 4<sup>th</sup>-grade textbook (Banov et al., 2021: 62) brings picture portraits of both Mihanović and Runjanin, along with the information that Mihanović, “a lawyer from Zagreb”, wrote the lyrics, and Runjanin, “a composer” from Vinkovci, set them to music – this leads to the wrong conclusion that Mihanović’s primary occupation was law, Runjanin’s primary occupation was composing. The 5<sup>th</sup>-grade textbook (Banov et al., 2021a: 18) does not give much new information about the Croatian national anthem or Runjanin but repeats that Runjanin set Mihanović’s lyrics to music and that the song was proclaimed as a national anthem in 1990.

In the textbook for 4<sup>th</sup> grade by the Profil publishing house, there is an interesting addition – the students are supposed to listen to two different arrangements of the anthem and learn to sing it (Sikirica and Miljak, 2008: 57). The information about the anthem includes the photos of Mihanović and Runjanin, with a short note that includes their full name and also their contribution: Mihanović is described as “poet”, and Runjanin as “composer” (Sikirica and Miljak, 2008: 57). This also gives out a bit inaccurate impression – although Mihanović wrote poems as well, he was primarily an active politician and writer, as Runjanin was

a military officer who also made music, but is certainly not a composer (even if we add up all of the music works attributed to him, his opus still consists of just two songs).

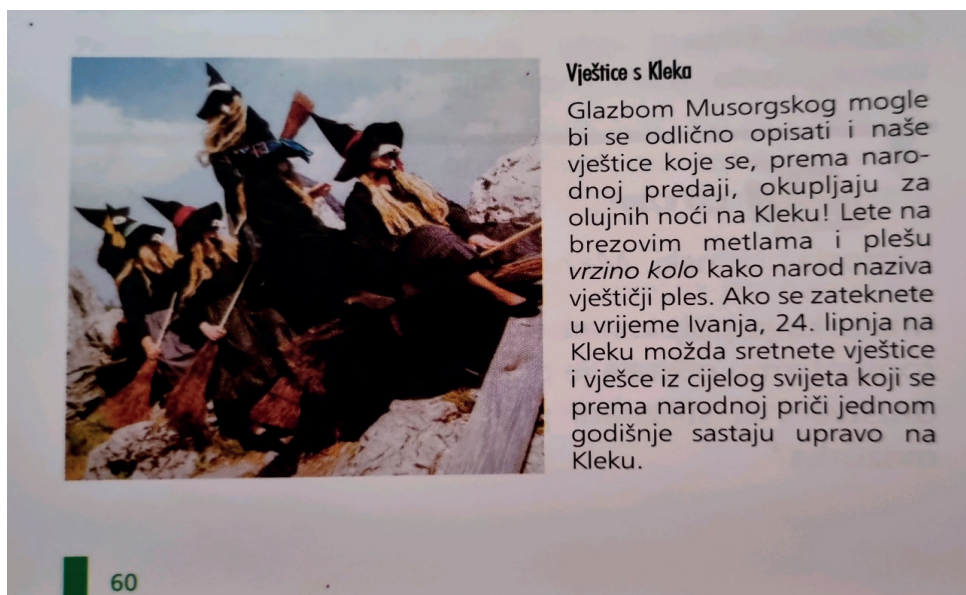
In their current issue of textbooks, the national anthem is covered only in 4<sup>th</sup> grade, where Profil Klett keeps the same narrative: in their 4<sup>th</sup>-grade textbook (Janković, Stojaković and Ambruš-Kiš: 2021: 69), it is stated that Antun Mihanović wrote the lyrics and that Josip Runjanin set them to music. Their digital material includes further information about *Lijepa naša* under the unit named National music identity. In addition to claiming that Runjanin set the lyrics to music, it also states that it was performed as a national anthem from 1860. – which is also very questionable.

Similarly to other publishing houses, in the textbook for 4<sup>th</sup> grade published by Alfa publishing house, one can find the name of Josip Runjanin placed in the upper right corner of the score of the anthem, suggesting that he composed it, but not much explanation is added (Gašparđi et al., 2014: 38). In their textbook for 7<sup>th</sup> grade, they bring the score of the song and complete it with information that Antun Mihanović wrote the poem *Horvatska domovina*, and published it in 1835, that it was sung as a national anthem from 1891, and that it was introduced in official documents as a national anthem in 1972 (Gašparđi et al., 2014a: 24). Along with the score, the textbook brings a picture portrait of Antun Mihanović and the page from the *Danica Horvatska*, where *Horvatska domovina* was first published. We can find the name Josip Runjanin in the upper right corner of the score, indicating that he was the author of the melody, but no information about him nor the occurrence of the melody is provided.

Their current issue of elementary school music textbooks covers *Lijepa naša* in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grade. The 4<sup>th</sup>-grade textbook (Đonlić, Ostojić and Brlečić, 2020: 24) mentions the name of Josip Runjanin in the upper right corner of the score as the author of the music above the name of Antun Mihanović, who is noted as the author of the text. Also, at the bottom of the page, suggestions for listening to a couple of examples of the anthem include only the name of Runjanin, as the author of the music. The 5<sup>th</sup>-grade textbook (Gašparđi et al., 2019: 30) is somewhat inconclusive – the unit that covers the national anthem includes the name of Josip Runjanin in the upper right corner of the score, but the additional note includes the sentence that seems to be unfinished: “On those verses, he (it is unclear who, of. a.) wrote the melody. (sic!)”. The suggestions for listening to a couple of examples of the anthem at the bottom of the page do not include the name of any author.

## Discussion

When discussing the public image of Runjanin, it is interesting to note that Kuhač, its main creator, was also responsible for creating the public image of Vatroslav Lisinski (Popović, 2021; Ries, 2021). His eagerness to create an idiom of Croatian national music left us with incomplete data, which have been interpreted very biasedly. The results of the textbook analysis show that information about the national anthem, which students learn to this day, relies almost solely on his texts with no revision. The idea that this can be justified by the need for clarity and simplicity of the textbook text is refuted in the analyzed textbooks themselves. For example, the text commentary, along with the music of Musorgsky, mentions Croatian witches that, “according to legend”, gather on the mountain of Klek during stormy nights (Ščedrov & Marić, 2003: 60). They even provide the students with the information that if they were to be located on Klek on the 24 June, they might encounter witches from all over the world gathered there, “according to the folk tale” (Ščedrov and Marić, 2003: 60; Picture 2).



**Picture 2.** The lesson on Musorgski for 8<sup>th</sup> grade by the Profil Klett publishing house (Ščedrov and Marić, 2003: 60).

This example shows that as little as adding a simple syntagm as “according to legend”, “according to the folk tale”, or simply “allegedly” changes the perspective completely and prevents misinterpretation or incorrect conclusions.

Another good example of handling these issues is the case of a piano from the funds of the Croatian History Museum. When describing the instrument, the information that this is the “piano on which, according to the legend, the Croatian national anthem ‘Lijepa naša’ was composed (‘Croatian national anthem from Glina in Croatia’, which was ‘composed by Antun pl. Mihanović’, and ‘the melody was composed in 1846 by Josip Runjanin’)” are provided on the Facebook page of the museum (Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2020: accessed on 26/8/2022). Although the source of the quotes in this post is not disclosed, we can establish that they are derived from Kuhač’s texts, and the fact that there are quotation marks added around these simple data suggests that the museum staff wanted to disassociate from these claims. Also, it is important to note that they also added a disclaimer “according to the legend” about the piano. The reason for this can be found in Vrbanić (2021: 125-126); she concluded that the claim that this piano, now a part of the permanent exhibition of the Museum of Peasant Revolts in Gornja Stubica, was connected with the first performance of the national anthem “should be taken with extreme caution, and the story that Josip Runjanin played it primarily as a historical legend because the characteristics of this piano indicate that it was only created around 1860”. This is a more recent revision because not so long ago, Škiljan (2002: 89) claimed that it was the piano on which Josip Runjanin composed the Croatian national anthem.

Although traces of this kind of historical revisionism can be found in recent scientific papers that deal with the facts and circumstances surrounding the creation of the Croatian national anthem, it cannot be found in elementary school music textbooks. The authors of the textbooks have dropped some obviously incorrect information over the years, e.g. the year 1891 as the year *Lijepa naša* became the national anthem, the narrative surrounding the national anthem, and Josip Runjanin as the only possible author of the music remains unchanged from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is most obvious in the case of Runjanin’s first name: although it is relatively easy to prove that he was not named “Josip” but “Josif”, and that, for most of his life, his name was spelt as “Joseph”, he is still publicly known as “Josip” in Croatia, suggesting that Marijan (2019: 400) was correct when he claimed that, if revising old claims is not the basis of science, “we are enslaved by constant and unquestionable truths that thus turn into dogma”. Even Tomašek (1990: 118) admitted this when he decided to use the Croatianized version of

Runjanin's name because it had been the established norm by the time he wrote his paper. This form of his name that became traditional in the Croatian public can even be found in the name of a public music school in Vinkovci and the names of streets across the country (Popović and Gigić Karl, 2020). Changing it back to his baptismal name, "Josif", or the German version "Joseph" makes no sense now, as it is questionable how the public would react to that and whether they would accept such a change, no matter how justified it may or may not be.

The question of Runjanin's authorship has also been dogmatized: one cannot imagine what would happen if, by any chance, the autograph of the score proving that Runjanin is not the author of the tune (which is highly unlikely, but still possible!) is found. Would this issue be addressed the same way as it is for Runjanin's first name? Would the official narrative remain the same, with the explanation that he was "traditionally" attributed to this song, and therefore no changes should be made? Would Josip Runjanin Music School keep its name if it were proven that Runjanin did not write the Croatian national anthem?

The issue of alleged plagiarism of the melody has also been dogmatized: although Tomašek (1990) has established that the melody was original and that it bares almost no similarities with the alleged original, which Runjanin also maybe never heard, the information that he was inspired by the melody from *Ah! O sole, più ratto* duet by Edgardo and Enrico in Donizetti's *Lucia di Lamermoor*, can still be found today.

All of these findings confirm our hypotheses that the public image of Josip Runjanin, created by Franjo Kuhač, persists to this day. This confirmation opens a new question: what are the ethical issues connected to dogmatic excepting of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century interpretation of the occurrence of the national anthem?

The obvious one is the matter of academic integrity: is it ethical to keep the 19<sup>th</sup>-century narrative created by Franjo Kuhač in the 21<sup>st</sup>-century textbooks? The creation of national identity happens through national symbols, and fostering positive identity through nationally salient music (Winstone and Witherspoon, 2015) is the responsibility of educators. Ignoring the controversies surrounding the Croatian national anthem in textbooks makes this fostering feel "tainted".

Also, there is the question of social responsibility. It is interesting to note that the national anthem is defined in the constitution, but the *Constitution of Croatia* (1998), in the Solomonic solution manner, does not state the names of the authors contributing to its creation. The same goes for the official *Law on the coat of arms, flag and anthem of the Republic of Croatia and the flag and ribbon*

of the President of the Republic of Croatia (1993), which defines these national symbols without naming the authors. On the other hand, in the examples of questions and answers for taking the state professional exam (mandatory for all public and civil servants in Croatia) provided by the Ministry of Justice and Administration, one can find this statement as the expected answer on the exam: "The national anthem of the Republic of Croatia is "Lijepa naša domovino", and the original text and tune are kept in the Croatian Parliament. The text of the anthem was written by Antun Mihanović, and set to music by Josip Runjanin" (Ministarstvo pravosuđa i uprave/Ministry of Justice and Administration, accessed on 17/9/2022).

### **Conclusion**

Our research has established that the public image of Josip Runjanin, created by Franjo Kuhač in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, persists to this day, regardless of the various controversies connected to this narrative, including the question of whether he actually wrote the music for Croatian national anthem. Although he most likely *did* set this song to music, this cannot be proven as a fact. The issue of claiming that it is a fact in elementary school music textbooks and even in the suggested answers for taking the professional state exam raises questions of academic integrity and also the social responsibility of both Croatian academic circles and the government.

### **References**

1. Abril, C. R. (2012) A National Anthem. Patriotic Symbol or Democratic Action? In: Herbert, D. G., Kertz-Welzel, A., (eds.) *Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education*, London: Routledge, p. 77-94.
2. Abril, C. R. (2007) Functions of a national anthem in society and education: A sociocultural perspective. *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, no. 172, p. 69-87.
3. Andreis, J. (1980) *Music in Croatia*. Zagreb: Academy of Music, Institute of Musicology.
4. Andreis, J. (1962) Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji. In: Cvetko, D., Đurić-Klajn, S., Andreis, J. *Historijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Jugoslaviji*. Zagreb: ŠK, p. 11-280.



5. Baras, F. (2015) Tragom jednog pisma: Je li Josip Runjanin zaista uglazbio Lijepu našu? *Portal hrvatskoga kulturnog vijeća*, 24.11.2015. URL: <https://www.hkv.hr/izdvojeno/vai-prilozi/ostalo/prilozi-graana/21841-je-li-josip-runjanin-zaista-uglazbio-lijepu-nasu.html> (Accessed on 2022-07-27)
6. Bedina, K. (1977) Runjanin, Josip. In: Kovačević, K. (ed.) *Muzička enciklopedija*, Zagreb: JLZ, p. 246.
7. Blažeković, Z. (2009) Franjo Ksaver Kuhač: utemeljitelj hrvatske glazbene historiografije. In: Katalinić, V. (ed.) *Hrvatska glazbena historiografija 19. stoljeća*, Zagreb: HMD, p. 34-101.
8. Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. (2022-05-09) National anthem. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/national-anthem> (Accessed on 2022-07-24)
9. Gortan-Carlin, I. P., Bačić I. (2014) Udžbenik glazbene kulture u razrednoj nastavi i glazbena kreativnost. In: Hozjan, D. (ed.) *Izobraževanje za 21. stoljeće: Ustvarjalnost v vzgoji in izobraževanju*, Koper: Univerzitetna Založba Annales, p. 345-353.
10. Haramija, P. (2017) Percepcija simbola totalitarnih režima — vizualni identitet fašizma, nacizma i komunizma u svjetlu procesa brendiranja. *Obnovljeni Život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti*, vol. 72, no. 3, p. 387-400.
11. Hrvatska enciklopedija (2021) Himna. In: Kragić, B. et al. (eds.) *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža. URL: <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=25564> (Accessed on 2022-07-24)
12. Hrvatska enciklopedija (2021) Rouget de Lisle, Claude Joseph. In: Kragić, B. et al. (eds.) *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje*, Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža. URL: <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=53495> (Accessed on 2022-07-27)
13. Hrvatski povijesni muzej (2020) Iz fundusa. URL: <https://www.facebook.com/HISMUS.zagreb/photos/a.609487722438340/3142125275841226/?type=3> (Accessed on 2022-08-26)
14. Krnic, G. (1929) Tko je uglazbio hrvatsku narodnu himnu: "Lijepa naša domovino"?!. *Jubilarni almanah Kluba hrvatskih književnika i umjetnika u Osijeku*, Osijek: Klub hrvatskih književnika i umjetnika, p. 105-115.

15. Kuhač, F. (1885) *Glasbeno nastojanje Gajevih Ilira*. Zagreb: Naklada knjižare Mučnjak-Senftlebenove.
16. Kuhač, F. (1893) *Ilirski glazbenici*. Zagreb: MH.
17. Kunczik, M., Zipfel, A. (1998) *Uvod u publicističku znanost i komunikologiju*. Zagreb: Zaklada Friedrich Ebert.
18. Marsen, S. (2006) *Communication studies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
19. Marijan, D. (2019) Suvremena hrvatska povijest i nevolje s revizionizmom. *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, vol. 51, no. 2, p. 385-420.
20. Mesbah, H. (2019) Collective identity in national anthems: Investigating commonalities and differences among African and non-African Arab countries. In: Onyebadi, U.T. (ed.) *Music and Messaging in the African Political Arena*, Hershey: IGI Global, p. 45-64.
21. Ministarstvo pravosuđa i uprave (n.d.). *Državni stručni ispit. Primjeri pitanja i odgovora za provjeru znanja*, URL: <https://mpu.gov.hr/istaknute-teme/drzavni-strucni-ispit-22550/primjeri-pitanja-i-odgovora-za-provjeru-znanja/22552> (2022-09-17)
22. Mrkalj, I. (2020). Josif Runjanin i "Lijepa naša": činjenice i interpretacije. *Tragovi: časopis za srpske i hrvatske teme*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 7-117.
23. Nikolić, L. (2022) Zastupljenost tradicijske glazbe u nastavi Glazbene kulture u prva tri razreda osnovne škole u posljednja dva desetljeća. In: Šulentić Begić, J., Gigić Karl, B., Šebo, D. (eds.) *Zbornik radova s Međunarodnog interdisciplinarnog umjetničko-znanstvenog skupa „Pajo Kolarić i njegovo doba“*. Osijek: Akademija za umjetnost i kulturu Sveučilišta J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku, p. 322-341.
24. Nuhanović, S. (2017) Uloga udžbenika glazbene kulture u razvoju interkulturalnih kompetencija učenika. In: Vidulin, S. (ed.) *Peti međunarodni simpozij glazbenih pedagoga*. Pula: Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, p. 123-137.
25. Odbor za Ustav, Poslovnik i politički sustav Hrvatskoga sabora (1998) *Ustav Republike Hrvatske, NN*, no. 8. URL: [https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1998\\_01\\_8\\_121.html](https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1998_01_8_121.html) (2022-09-17)

26. Popović, A. (2021) Vatroslav Lisinski u urbanoj toponimiji gradova Republike Hrvatske. In: Tuksar, S., Katalinić, V., Babić, P., Ries, S. (eds.) *Glazba, umjetnosti i politika: revolucije i restauracije u Europi i Hrvatskoj 1815.-1860.*, Zagreb: Croatian academy of sciences and arts - Department for History of Croatian music; Croatian musicological society, p. 297-309.
27. Popović, A., Gigić Karl, B. (2020) Udžbenici predmetne nastave glazbene kulture - pomoć ili zapreka?. In: Svalina, V. (ed.) *Glazbena pedagogija u svjetlu sadašnjih i budućih promjena 6 : Glazba u školi - stanje i perspektive : zbornik radova = Music pedagogy in the context of present and future changes 6: Music in Schools - State and Perspectives : proceedings*, Osijek: Fakultet za odgojne i obrazovne znanosti, p. 165-189.
28. Popović, A., Perić, M. (2019) Bioethics in the future: ecological upbringing from a preschool age. A drama music workshop as an example. *Pannoniana*, vol. 3, no. 1-2, p. 279-301.
29. Popović, A., Gigić Karl, B. (2022) Josip (Josif) Runjanin u urbanoj toponimiji gradova u Hrvatskoj i Novom Sadu. In: Šulentić Begić, J., Gigić Karl, B., Šebo, D. (eds.) *Pajo Kolarić i njegovo doba - Zbornik radova s Međunarodnog interdisciplinarnog umjetničko- znanstvenog skupa*. Osijek: Akademija za umjetnost i kulturu Sveučilišta J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku, p. 342-360.
30. Popović, A., Gigić Karl, B. (2020) Udžbenici predmetne nastave glazbene kulture - pomoć ili zapreka?. In: Svalina, V. (ed.) *Glazbena pedagogija u svjetlu sadašnjih i budućih promjena 6 : Glazba u školi - stanje i perspektive : zbornik radova = Music pedagogy in the context of present and future changes 6 : Music in Schools - State and Perspectives : proceedings*, Osijek: Fakultet za odgojne i obrazovne znanosti, p. 165-189.
31. Proleksis (2013) Rouget de Lisle, Claude-Joseph . In: Vujić, A. et. al. (eds.) *Proleksis Enciklopedija online*, Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža. URL: <https://proleksis.lzmk.hr/44355/> (Accessed on 2022-07-27)
32. Proleksis (2014) Runjanin, Josip (Josif). In: Vujić, A. et. al. (eds.) *Proleksis Enciklopedija online*, Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža. URL: <https://proleksis.lzmk.hr/44485/> (2022-07-27)
33. Ries, S. (2021) Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834.-1911.) o Vatroslavu Lisinskom. In: Tuksar, S., Katalinić, V., Babić, P., Ries, S. (eds.) *Glazba, umjetnosti i politika: revolucije i restauracije u Europi i Hrvatskoj 1815.-1860.*, Zagreb: Croatian academy of sciences and arts-Department for History of Croatian music; Croatian musicological society, p. 181-193.

34. Sabor Republike Hrvatske (1993) Zakon o grbu, zastavi i himni Republike Hrvatske te zastavi i lenti predsjednika Republike Hrvatske. *Narodne novine*, no. 55. URL: [https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1990\\_12\\_55\\_1067.html](https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/1990_12_55_1067.html) (Accessed on 2022-09-17)
35. Šalić, T. (1998) Josip Runjanin. In: Markasović, V. (ed.) *Osnovna glazbena škola Josipa Runjanina Vinkovci: 1948.-1998.*, Vinkovci: Osnovna glazbena škola Josipa Runjanina, p. 25-34.
36. Širola, B. (1922) *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike*, Zagreb: Edition Rirrop.
37. Škiljan, M. (2002) Što prikuplja Hrvatski povijesni muzej? (razmišljanje jedne kustosice). *Informatica museologica*, vol. 33, no. 3-4, p. 88-95.
38. Taan, S. (2022) The national anthem/ Origin, symbolism, and function/”Models of Arab national anthems. *International Journal of Humanities and Educational Research*, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 20-26.
39. Tomašek, A. (1990) *“Lijepa naša.” Pripovijest o hrvatskoj himni*. Zagreb: MIC.
40. Tuksar, S. (2000) *Kratka povijest hrvatske glazbe*. Zagreb: MH.
41. Vidulin-Orbanić, S., Terzić, V. (2011) Polazište i pristup pjevanju u općeobrazovnoj školi. *Metodički ogledi*, vol. 18, no. 2, p. 137-156.
42. Vrbanić, V. (2021) *Instrumenti umjetničke glazbe u hrvatskim muzejima*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.
43. Winstone, N., Witherspoon, K. (2015) ‘It is all about our great Queen’: The British National Anthem and national identity in 8-10-year-old children. *Psychology of Music*, vol. 44, no. 2, p. 263–277.
44. Županović, L. (1980). *Stoljeća hrvatske glazbe*. Zagreb: ŠK.

## Sources

1. Banov, N., Brđanović, D., Frančišković, S., Ivančić, S., Kirchmayer Bilić, E., Martinović, A., Novosel, D., Pehar, T. (2021) *Allegro 4 / udžbenik glazbene kulture u četvrtom razredu osnovne škole*. Zagreb: ŠK.
2. Banov, N., Dvořák, V., Frančišković, S., Ivančić, S., Jeličić Špoljar, M., Kirchmayer Bilić, E., Martinović, A., Novosel, D., Pehar, T. (2021a) *Allegro 5 / udžbenik za glazbenu kulturu u petom razredu osnovne škole*. Zagreb: ŠK.

3. Dvořák, V., Jeličić Špoljar, M., Kirchmayer Bilić, E. (2013). *Allegro 4*. Zagreb: ŠK.
4. Dvořák, V., Jeličić Špoljar, M., Kirchmayer Bilić, E. (2013a). *Allegro 5*. Zagreb: ŠK.
5. Đonlić, N., Ostojić, A., Brlečić, D. (2020) *Svijet glazbe 4 / Udžbenik iz glazbene kulture za četvrti razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb: Alfa.
6. Gašparđi, A., Lazarić, T., Raguž, N., Ostojić, A., Štefanac, Z. (2019) *Svijet glazbe 5 / Udžbenik iz glazbene kulture za peti razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb: Alfa.
7. Gašparđi, A.; Lazarić, T., Raguž, N.; Štefanac, Z. (2014) *Svijet glazbe 4 – udžbenik*. Zagreb: Alfa.
8. Gašparđi, A., Lazarić, T., Raguž, N., Štefanac, Z. (2014a) *Svijet glazbe 7 – udžbenik*. Zagreb: Alfa.
9. Janković, A., Stojaković, S., Ambruš-Kiš, R. (2021) *Glazbeni krug 4 / udžbenik glazbene kulture za 4. razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb: Profil Klett.
10. Korečić, N., et. al. (2011) *Planet glazba 5 / udžbenik glazbene kulture za 5. razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb: ŠK.
11. Novačić, S., Marković, A. (1995) *Živimo s glazbom / udžbenik glazbene kulture u šestom razredu osnovne škole*. Zagreb: ŠK.
12. Novačić, S., Ećimović, R. (1994) *Glazba za nas / udžbenik glazbene kulture u petom razredu osnovne škole*. Zagreb: ŠK.
13. Sikirica, J., Miljak, A. (2008) *Glazbena četvrtica*. Zagreb: Profil Klett
14. Stanišić, Ana; Jandrašek, Vladimir (2008) *Razigrani zvuci 3 / udžbenik iz glazbene kulture za 3. razred osnovne škole s 2 CD-a*. Zagreb: ŠK.
15. Šćedrov, Ljiljana; Marić, Saša (2003) *Glazbena osmica*. Zagreb: Profil Klett.

Izvorni znanstveni članak  
UDK: 17:78.071.1 Runjanin, J.  
<https://doi.org/10.32903/p.6.1.4>

**Ana Popović (Hrvatska)**

Fakultet za odgojne i obrazovne znanosti,  
Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku  
[apopovic@foozos.hr](mailto:apopovic@foozos.hr)

## NEKA ETIČKA PITANJA VEZANA UZ DOPRINOS JOSIPA RUNJANINA HRVATSKOM NACIONALNOM IDENTITETU

### Sažetak

Danas se u školskim udžbenicima navodi da je Josip Runjanin jedan od značajnih ilirskih skladatelja koji je uglazbio hrvatsku himnu. Međutim, taj podatak, kao i podaci o njegovom skladateljskom doprinosu, puni su različitih kontroverzi koje se rijetko spominju u široj javnosti. Ovaj rad istražuje te kontroverze s posebnim osvrtom na pitanja akademske čestitosti i politike koji su doveli do konstrukcije lika i djela Josipa Runjanina koja je danas prisutna u javnosti i njihove reperkusije u budućnosti.

**Ključne riječi:** Josip Runjanin, himna, Franjo Kuhač, hrvatski narodni preporod, akademska čestitost