

# FRANJO KSAVER KUHAČ U MREŽI SVOJIH KONTAKATA NA PROJEKTU *DIE ÖSTERREICHISCH- UNGARISCHE MONARCHIE IN WORT UND BILD (1886–1902)*

Stanislav Tuksar

**Abstrakt:** Hrvatski muzikolog Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911) bio je angažiran za suradnju na velikom austrijskom državnom projektu *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (1886–1902)*, gdje je u knjizi *Dalmatien* (1892) objavio tekst *Die Musik*, a u knjizi *Croatien und Slavonien* (1902) tekst *Volksmusik*. Sačuvana korespondencija i ostala dokumentacija u vezi s ovom problematikom svjedoči o mreži kontakata između sudjelujućih osoba (J. v. Weilen, E. Hanslick, I. Kršnjavi, V. Bukovac i dr.) i njihovim interaktivnim odnosima.

**Ključne riječi:** Franjo Ksaver Kuhač; Eduard Hanslick; *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*.

Kako je ovo priopćenje sastojni dio jednog projekta u kojem sudjelujem s dionicom naslovljenom s *Umrežavanost glazbom – Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911)*, ovo će se izlaganje ograničiti na temu naznačenu u njegovu naslovu, premda je cijela problematika znatno šira i iznimno zanimljiva kao vrlo kompleksna tema kako u pogledu njezina razvidnog sadržaja tako i njezine neizbjegne kontekstualizacije.

O čemu se tu zapravo radi? Riječ je o jednom kulturološkom pothvatu, šire poznatom kao *Kronprinzenwerk*, koji je bio realiziran u posljednjim desetljećima postojanja Austro-Ugar-

ske Monarhije kao političko-propagandni manevar krunskog princa i nadvojvode Rudolfa Habsburškog (1858–1889) te nakon njegove rane smrti 1889. čitavog vrha dinastije i monarhijskog društveno-političkog establishmenta, u razdoblju od 1886. do 1902. godine. Naime, ukratko rečeno, radi se o projektu sa službenim nazivom *Die österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* [Austro-Ugarska Monarhija u riječi i slici]. U navedenom razdoblju od gotovo 17 godina objavljena su ukupno 24 sveska<sup>1</sup> enciklopedijskog formata na njemačkom jeziku u carsko-kraljevskoj i državnoj dvorskoj tiskari i nakladnom zavodu u Beču. Oni sadrže ukupno 587 tekstova iz pera 432 autora, a izvorno objavljenih 397 sveštičića morali su preplatnici ovoga djela sami dati uvezati. Valja napomenuti da je paralelno s izdanjem na njemačkom i uredničkim povjerenstvom (austrijski *Redaktionskomitee*) pod vodstvom pisca i bivšeg vojnog časnika Josepha von Weilena (1828–1889)<sup>2</sup> izlazila u Budimpešti

---

1

Ovdje su navedeni nazivi svih svezaka Enciklopedije u izdanju Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei (ur. von Weilen).  
Band 1: *Wien und Niederösterreich*, 1. Abtheilung: *Wien*, 1886.  
Band 2: *Übersichtsband*, 1. Abtheilung: *Naturgeschichtlicher Theil*, 1887.  
Band 3: *Übersichtsband*, 2. Abtheilung: *Geschichtlicher Theil*, 1887.  
Band 4: *Wien und Niederösterreich*, 2. Abtheilung: *Niederösterreich*, 1888.  
Band 5: *Ungarn*, Band 1, 1888.  
Band 6: *Oberösterreich und Salzburg*, 1889.  
Band 7: *Steiermark*, 1890.  
Band 8: *Kärnten und Krain*, 1891.  
Band 9: *Ungarn*, Band 2, 1891.  
Band 10: *Das Küstenland (Görz, Gradiska, Triest und Istrien)*, 1891.  
Band 11: *Dalmatien*, 1892.  
Band 12: *Ungarn*, Band 3, 1893.  
Band 13: *Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 1893.  
Band 14: *Böhmen*, Band 1, 1896.  
Band 15: *Böhmen*, Band 2, 1896.  
Band 16: *Ungarn*, Band 4, 1896.  
Band 17: *Mähren und Schlesien*, 1897.  
Band 18: *Ungarn*, Band 5, 1. Abtheilung, 1898.  
Band 19: *Galicien*, 1898.  
Band 20: *Bukowina*, 1899.  
Band 21: *Ungarn*, Band 5, 2. Abtheilung, 1900.  
Band 22: *Bosnien und Hercegovina*, 1901.  
Band 23: *Ungarn*, Band 6, 1902.  
Band 24: *Croatien und Slavonien*, 1902.

2

Weilena su kasnije zamijenili povjesničar i sveučilišni profesor Heinrich von Zeißberg te činovnik, publicist i istraživač Beethovena Joseph Böck-Gnadenau (Stachel, 2010, 220).

mađarska varijanta s mađarskim uredništvom pod vodstvom pisca Maurusa (Móra) Jokájja (1825–1904). S tim u vezi, no ne želeći ulaziti detaljno u ovaj dio problematike, želim upozoriti na činjenicu da je mađarska redakcija koncipirala svoje izdanje s “mađarsko-nacionalističkih”, striktno centralističkih pozicija, tj. da je građa obrađena isključivo regionalno-geografski, bez područnih (dakle, ni glazbenih) voditelja, u rubrikama Narodni život obrađeni su samo Mađari, a *narodne glazbe* nemađarskih narodnih skupina porazbacane su po pojedinim svescima kao regionalni fenomeni bez zasebnih vlastitih članaka. O tome suvremeniji austrijski sociolog Peter Stachel (1965) piše:

“Jednu iznimku predstavljaju Hrvati: s obzirom da je krunská zemlja *Hrvatska i Slavonija* unutar zemalja krune sv. Stjepana raspolagala političkom autonomijom, odgovarajuće je tome odvojeno obrađena u vlastitom svesku, pri čemu je i glazba bila odgovarajuće smatrana cijenjenom. Upravo taj primjer uvjernljivo pokazuje koliko se striktno stvaralački rad na Kronprinzenwerku orijentirao prema političkim strukturama države.”

(Stachel, 2010, 224-225)

Time što je ovaj *opus magnum* zapravo bio, namjeravao i značio, koji su motivi i ideje bili djelatni u njegovoj pozadini, bavili su se istraživači raznih disciplina i profila, ponajprije u Austriji a onda i šire, uključujući i stručnjake s više područja iz Hrvatske. Jednu od najboljih novijih procjena i kvalifikacija te hiperstrukturne pozadinske nadgradnje za austrijsko izdanje sažeо je spomenuti Peter Stachel ovako:

“U jednoj višenarodnoj zemlji poput Habsburške monarhije uz povijest kulture i etnografije, znanstvenom i publicističkom opisivanju takozvanog *narodnog života* pojedinih *narodnih plemena* – takva je bila službena oznaka, a pojmovi kao što su nacionalnost ili čak nacija bili su s tim u vezi strogo zabranjeni – prirodno se pridavalio posebno političko značenje. Dručice nego u Njemačkoj (...) službeno zahtijevano ‘etnološko’ istraživanje u Austriji puno se više orijentiralo na etnografsko-humanogeografski pristup, pri čemu se zamišljalo ‘narodna plemena’ kao neku vrstu ljudske ‘sirovine’, koja je u neku ruku ‘opremljena’ različitim predjelima i njima, tj. klimatskim uvjetovanim i time određenim ekonomskim oblicima

bila kulturno oblikovana. Prema toj koncepciji kulturne su granice među pojediniim narodnim plemenima shvaćene kao propusne (...). Politička funkcija koja je bila namijenjena tim etnografskim prikazivanjima sastojala se u tome da se narodi ‘bolje međusobno upoznaju’ i tako pridonese prevladavanju nacionalnih razlika.” (Stachel, 2010, 218)

Bila je to, dakle, jedna “izrazita politička programiranost”, a spekulacija o tome da se nadvojvoda Rudolf (1858–1889) kao nasljedni princ i destinirani sljedeći habsburški vladar nakon Franje Josipa I (1830–1916), tom iniciativom i takvim megalomanskim pothvatom htio legitimirati kao budući prosvijećeni i moderni vladar Monarhije najvjerojatnije nije daleko od istine. To što su događaji i njegova sudska, tj. samoubojstvo, samo četiri godine nakon početka realizacije ovog projekta poprimili sasvim drukčiji tijek, stvar je drugih odrednica izvan ciljanog dosegaa ovoga priopćenja.

Što se dijela ovog izdavačkog pothvata u 24 sveska vezanog uz južnoslavenske narode u Monarhiji tiče, on se izrijekom odnosi na sveske br. 8 (*Kärnten und Krain*, 1891), 10 (*Das Küstenland: Görz, Gradiska, Triest und Istrien*, 1891), 11 (*Dalmatien*, 1892), 22 (*Bosnien und Hercegovina*, 1901) i 24 (*Croatien und Slavonien*, 1902). Međutim, vjerojatno je da se još neki elementi relevantni za ovu temu nalaze i u sedam drugih svezaka posvećenih Ugarskoj (sv. 5, 9, 12, 16, 18, 21 i 23), ali za ovu ih prigodu nismo konzultirali.<sup>3</sup> Koncentrirajući se na hrvatske teme unutar južnoslavenskog kompleksa sva-kako su najvažniji svesci koji tretiraju Istru, Dalmaciju te Hrvatsku u užem smislu i Slavoniju. Tom se problematikom dosad u cjelini i nekim zasebnim područjima pozabavilo nekoliko istraživača, među kojima se ističu Ivan Pederin (2003, 758–788; 2004, 395–424), Vitomir Belaj (2008, 255–264) i Jasna Čapo-Žmegač (1999, 158–177). Na ovome mjestu valja također upozoriti da je svezak *Dalmatien* objavljen i u verziji na hrvatskom jeziku u Beču i Splitu gotovo istodobno kada su izlazili i odgovarajući svesci na njemačkom, tj. tijekom 1892. i 1893. godine.<sup>4</sup> Jasna Čapo-Žmegač upozorila je da postoje znatne

---

3

Tako Jasna Čapo-Žmegač (1961) spominje da se podaci o Bunjevcima, Rijeci i Medjimurju nalaze u 2, 3. i 4. svesku o Ugarskoj (Čapo-Žmegač, 1999, 159).

4

O tome više u: Čapo-Žmegač, 1999, 159–160.

razlike između odgovarajućih tekstova na njemačkom i hrvatskom, ali ovom prilikom ne ulazim ni u tu složenu problematiku.

Prirodno, na muzikološkom skupu kao što je ovaj u Sarajevu od primarnog je interesa glazbena problematika koja nije mogla izostati iz takvoga sveobuhvatnog prikaza krunskih i ostalih zemalja i “etnografskih skupina” (Rudolfov termin) Monarhije. Nju ćemo pronaći u svesku o Dalmaciji pod naslovom *Musik* autora Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1892), u svesku o (užoj) Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji pod naslovom *Volksmusik* autora Franje Žaverića Kuhača (1902) i *Musik* Ferde Millera (1902), te u svesku o Obalnoj zemlji (uz ostale o Istri) pod naslovom *Volksleben der Slaven in Istrien* autora Aloisa Spinčića (1891). Ovu su situaciju, i to kako na općem tako i glazbenom planu, uočili i ocijenili neki prethodni istraživači, pa već spomenuti Peter Stachel (2010, 223) o tome ovako piše:

“U slučaju onih krunskih zemalja u kojima je živjelo više narodnih skupina obrađene su *narodne glazbe* pojedinih nacionalnosti u katkada vlastitim člancima odvojeno od *narodnog života*. To je dovelo od sveska do sveska različitog broja priloga koji se odnose na glazbu: dok se u slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine izvještava isključivo o *pjevu i narodnoj glazbi*, a ne o ‘umjetničkoj glazbi’, u onim svescima u kojima se obrađuju više mješovito nastanjenih krunskih zemalja, na temelju istodobno teritorijalne kao i ‘nacionalne’ podijeljenosti, nalazi se više takvih članaka; u nekim slučajevima *narodnom životu* posvećeno je i više tekstova o jednom ‘narodnom plemenu’.”

Prelazeći na meritum stvari ovoga priopćenja, uvodno napominjem da su glazbene teme u svojim prikazima tek dotakli i vrlo općenito opisali već ranije i Ivan Pederin i Jasna Čapo-Žmageč, pa ih onda ovdje po prvi put obrađujemo unutar muzikološke struke. Ta će se obrada, međutim, u ovoj prilici ograničiti na lapidaran pregled i prikaz dvaju Kuhačevih napisu (izostavljajući one F. Millera i A. Spinčića) i primarno koncentrirati na mrežu kontakata tog najvažnijeg suradnika projekta za hrvatske glazbene teme.

---

5

Drugo ime Franje Kuhača u različitim se izvorima navodi u različitim verzijama. U ovom će se članku navoditi verzije kako se javljaju u pojedinom izvorniku.

*Musik* (sv. *Dalmatien*, Kuhač, 1892, 204). Ovaj Kuhačev tekst u jednom narativu donosi podatke o umjetničkoj i narodnoj tradičijskoj glazbi, često ih miješajući unutar iste manje cjeline. Nakon što je naveo patrističkog starokršćanskog oca sv. Jeronima iz Stridona iz 4. stoljeća kao autora napjeva za kanonske časove (što je netočan navod!), Kuhač ističe doseljenje u Dalmaciju “glazbeno nadarenog naroda Hrvata koji voli pjevati”<sup>6</sup> i njegove izvorne narodne pjesme čija produkcija i glazbeno pamćenje “graniče s bajoslovnim”<sup>7</sup> (Kuhač, 1892, 204), navodeći imena dvoje njemu suvremenih pjevača koji znaju napamet 40, odnosno čak 86 ti-suća stihova. Te se pjesme izvode ili bez pratnje ili dvoglasno ili uz pratnju gusala, gega ili tamburica (Kuhač, 1892, 204). Potom navodi i ukratko opisuje narodna glazbala gusle, tamburicu, dubrovačko vijalo ili liru, te puhaće instrumente *Pfeife* [svirala], *Schnabelflöte* [uzdužna flauta], *Querflöte* [poprečna flauta], *Doppelstegwegel* [dvojnice], *Oboe* [oboa] i *Dudelsack* [dude, gajde]. Znatno veći prostor zauzima Kuhačev izvještaj o umjetničkoj glazbi. Ističe da dalmatinski samostani i katedrale imaju svi vlastite glazbene škole s isprva isključivo domaćim učiteljima glazbe gdje mladež uči pjevanje, orguljanje i sviranje na drugim instrumentima, pa i kompoziciju. Potom navodi da u novije vrijeme mladi ljudi iz gradova većinom glazbenu naobrazbu stječu u Italiji. Što se dvorske glazbe u Dalmaciji tiče, Kuhač navodi da nije bilo dvorskih pjesnika, a da su svirači tamburice kao *joculatores* zabavljali plemstvo pjevom i glazbom pritom se usputno baveći i špijunažom (Kuhač, 1892, 206-207).

Zanimljive podatke iznosi Kuhač o glazbi hrvatskog naroda u Dalmaciji, navodeći svečane pjesme izvođene za vrijeme krunjenja kralja Tomislava<sup>8</sup> 924. godine, ushit zadarskog naroda obilježen hrvatskim pjesmama u čast posjeta pape Aleksandra III Zadru 1177. godine, pjevanje uz pratnju crkvenih orkestara u dalmatinskim latinskim katedralama oko 1070–1080., djelovanje franačkog glazbenika i klerika Adama Parisiensisa u

6

[“gesangslustige und musikbegabte Volk der Kroaten”]

7

[“grenzt mit Fabelhafte”]

8

U Kuhačevu se izvornom tekstu ne navode godine rođenja ni smrti pojedinih ličnosti koje se spominju, pa ih se neće navoditi ni u tekstu ovoga članka.

Splitu u otprilike isto vrijeme, dok su hrvatske crkve (mislio je najvjerojatnije one s glagoljaškom liturgijom i glazbom) njegovale bizantski stil bez glazbala u pratinji, osim eventualno orgulja (Kuhač, 1892, 207).

Među dalmatinskim glazbenicima koji su komponirali u talijanskom stilu Kuhač poimence navodi Dubrovčanina Franju Gučetića-Gozzea, zvanog još Paprica (16–17. stoljeće), te graditelja orgulja i reformatora Pietra Nacchinija (Petra Nakića, 18. stoljeće) i njegove orgulje u Padovi, Veneciji, Zadru, Splitu i drugdje. Vrlo je zanimljiva Kuhačeva natuknica o starim dubrovačkim družinama *Isprazni*, *Orlovi*, *Razborni* i *Smeteni*, gdje su ovi posljednji 1652. (i opet 1692.) izveli operu (!) čije je stihove i glazbu stvorio Gjono Palmotić. Od ostalih domaćih skladatelja u drugim dalmatinskim gradovima Kuhač spominje Petra Hektorovića, Petra Kneževića, Pijerka markiza Bunića, Vladislava Menčetića, Ivana Jarnovića, Franzu von Suppéa, Nikolu Strmića, te pjesnike Jurja Šižgorića i Petra Gozsenića, ali izrijekom tvrdi da su to bili “(...) samo slabi pokušaji bez ikakva dometa za jednu *hrvatsku umjetničku glazbu*” (Kuhač, 1892, 208).<sup>9</sup>

Što se opere tiče, Kuhač navodi da se u Istri i Dalmaciji dnevno čuje u priobalju kako momci pjevaju talijanske operne arije, a kazališta u Puli, Zadru, Splitu, Šibeniku, Hvaru i Dubrovniku svake godine daju talijanske operne predstave (Kuhač, 1892, 211).

U sadašnjici – prema Kuhaču – u Dalmaciji postoje brojne glazbene institucije, pa redom nabralja filharmonijsko društvo s tri glazbene škole u Zadru, dva filharmonijska društva (talijansko i hrvatsko) sa svojim glazbenim školama u Splitu, mjesnu kapelu s glazbenom školom u Sinju, kazališnu kapelu u Šibeniku, društvo *Gusle* u Makarskoj, gradsku kapelu u Omišu, oboje s glazbenim školama, filharmonijsko društvo i mjesnu kapelu u Trogiru, filharmonijsko društvo u Hvaru, dvije gradske kapele u Starome Gradu na Hvaru, gradske kapele u Dubrovniku i Kotoru, a sve te ustanove imale su i prateće glazbene škole. Osim toga postoje i brojni crkveni orkestri i hrvatski muški zborovi (Kuhač, 1892, 211-212). Članak završava napomena-

9

[“(...) dies waren nur schwache Versuche ohne jede Tragweite für eine kroatische Kunstmusik”]

ma o postojanju dviju značajnih glazbenih biblioteka – Ivana Marcocchie u Splitu i Ivana E. Kuzmića u Dubrovniku (ove se danas nalaze pohranjene u zbirkama splitske katedrale i franjevačkog samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku). Kuhač zaključno bilježi činjenicu da je mnogo vrijednih starih rukopisa završilo u Vatikanu te venecijanskim i pariškim bibliotekama (Kuhač, 1892, 212).

Tekst je ilustriran s dva crteža narodnog muziciranja Vlade Bukovca (1855–1922), završnom vinjetom Rudolfa Bernta (1844–1914), a opremljen je i s trima notnim primjerima (jedna hrvatska gradska pjesma, jedna napuljska pjesma u izvornoj i na hrvatski tekst prilagođenoj verziji). Bilježaka s navođenjem izvora nema.

Valja istaknuti da je niz Kuhačevih podataka navedenih u ovom tekstu ušao u preglede hrvatske glazbene povijesti, objavljene u 20. stoljeću, npr. one Josipa Andreisa (1909–1982) i Lovre Županovića (1925–2004), da je dio iz zasad nepoznatih razloga ostao neuključen u te preglede, dok je najmanji dio izostavljen zbog činjenice da su ti podatci bili netočni (npr. Zrinj kao Stridon, kompozicije sv. Jeronima, te Palmotićevo opera *Captislava*).

Na ovaj Kuhačev tekst vrlo se brzo reagiralo u Časopisu za svjetovnu i crkvenu glasbu *Gusle* od 1. srpnja 1892. (Gusle, 1892, 56). Kuhaču se – uz priznanje za ono što je učinjeno dobro – predbacuje da je donio neke krive podatke i predlaže da se u izdanju na hrvatskome “štošta dopuni i ispravi” (Čapo-Žmagač, 1999, 164). Ivan Pederin (1934) je pak u svojem prikazu sveska *Dalmatien* donio kratak pregled Kuhačeva članka u kojem je i sâm, kao nestručnjak za glazbu, napravio nekoliko previda i donio nekoliko krivih podataka, npr. da je graditelj orgulja Pietro Nacchini bio i skladatelj (Pederin, 2004, 409).

*Volksmusik* (sv. *Croatien und Slavonien*, Kuhač, 1902). Ovaj Kuhačev tekst, objavljen deset godina nakon onoga o Dalmaciji, sastoji se također – što je začuđujuće i zasad enigma po sebi – od odlomaka koji se, unatoč jasnome naslovu, bave i tradicijskom i umjetničkom svjetovnom i crkvenom glazbom. Veći početni dio teksta uistinu tretira područje koje sam Kuhač definira kao

“Musik des croatischen Volkes”<sup>10</sup> (Kuhač, 1902). Počinje s dvama predmigracijskim podatcima o slavenskim glazbenicima na dvoru Atile i avarskom dvoru te konstatira da je pjev Hrvata pri dolasku u novu postojbinu imao karakteristike poganskoga kulta. Ta se pretkršćanska ukorijenjenost zadržala i nakon kristijanizacije u nekim melodijama ritualnih napjeva uz tekstovne prilagodbe, npr. zamjena imena poganskih božanstava imenima kršćanskih svetaca (Kuhač, 1902, 109). Taj postupak Kuhač pokazuje na četiri primjera novijih pjesama (za jednu navodi da je iz 16. stoljeća), od kojih jedan čak zadržava ime poganske božice Lado (Kuhač, 1902, 110), dok je drugu s malo izmijenjenom melodijom i novim tekstom zagrebački biskup Maksimirjan Vrhovac predstavio u izvedbi zbora plemičkih djevojaka i mladića 1818. u Zagrebu austrijskom caru Franji II (Kuhač, 1902, 111). Daljnji primjeri koje navodi za ovaj tip predkršćanske melodike u Hrvata su pjesme krijesa, one za Badnjak i koleda za Novu godinu, no one nisu bile pismeno zabilježene zbog prijenosa usmenim predanjem. U vezi s ovom problematikom zanimljivu opservaciju Kuhač donosi u pogledu glazbene terminologije, sačuvane u pisanim izvorima od 10. do 13. stoljeća, koja bilježi riječi što označavaju pojedine pojave na području vokalne i instrumentalne glazbe (Kuhač, 1902, 112). Još je zanimljivija Kuhačeva konstatacija estetičkog reda, kada tvrdi da stari Hrvati i Srbi nisu glazbu smatrali darom bogova (poput npr. starih Grka) nego su “glazbu i pjev (...) promatrali kao čovjekovo djelo” (Kuhač, 1902, 112).<sup>11</sup>

Poveći odlomak Kuhač posvećuje slavenskim guslarima, aedima i svjetovnim pjevačima, koji sami sebe prate na guslama kao učitelji i savjetnici naroda. Pritom spominje njihovo oslijepljivanje kao podstrekača ustanaka, tzv. *sljepačke akademije* koje su postojale sve do kraja 18. stoljeća i novije privatne poduke s uvjetima koji se postavljaju pred njihove polaznike (Kuhač, 1902, 112-113). Tu spada još i tvrdnja da su se dvorski glazbenici starih hrvatskih kraljeva nazivali “panduri”, što dolazi od riječi “pandura”, tj. tanbura.

---

10

[“Glazbu hrvatskog naroda”]

11

[“Musik und Gesang (...) als ein Werk des Menschen betrachten”]

Sljedeći veći odlomak posvećuje Kuhač djelatnosti slavenskih kršćanskih apostola Ćirila i Metoda, navodeći redom da se u tom bogoslužju pri molitvama, propovijedima i pjevu upotrebljavao *Volkssprache* [narodni govor], da je za potrebe toga liturgijskog pjeva na slavenskom jeziku Metod konstruirao vlastito notno pismo te donosi primjer tako neumiziranog teksta iz 11. stoljeća što se čuva u moskovskoj biblioteci grofa Theodora Andrejevića Tolstoja (Kuhač, 1902, 113-114).

Prelazeći na povijesnu fazu u kojoj su Hrvati postupno prihvatali liturgiju na latinskom jeziku, Kuhač spominje širenje notacije rimskim neumama i donosi prikaz dviju folija s takvim neumama iz zagrebačke biskupske biblioteke što su oko 1330. godine pripadale gradskom elizabetinskom hospiciju. Potom navodi zasluge benediktinskoga reda u tom području glazbene pismenosti, kao i primjere iz novije prošlosti, odnosno iz zbirke *Sveti Evangelioni*, tiskane 1651. u Zagrebu, u koju je biskup Petar Petretić (1604–1667) uvrstio tri melodije s vlastitim novim tekstrom. Sve te izvore Kuhač smatra primjerima prastarih hrvatskih melodija s novim kršćanskim tekstovnim "kontrafakturama" (Kuhač, 1902, 114).

Nakon ovih razmatranja Kuhač iznenađujuće prelazi u tekstu naslovljenom s *Volksmusik* na glazbene sadržaje u kojima obrađuje pojave umjetničke glazbe. Navodi postojanje orgulja u Zagrebu od 1363, kao i njihovih domaćih graditelja, te u taj problematski krug uključuje zvonoljevarstvo i njegove proizvode iz 14. i 15. stoljeća sačuvane u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj među kojima su zvona u Prišlinu, Grobniku, Lipniku, itd. (Kuhač, 1902, 115). Terminološki konfuzno nastavlja sa spominjenjem *Streichterzett* [gudačkog trija] od dvije violine i basa 1367. u gradu Zagrebu, te narodnih instrumentalnih kapela u Zagorju i Primorju (oboe ili sopile, violine, basovi) i tamburaških zborova s gajdama u Slavoniji (Kuhač, 1902, 115-116).

Daljnje iznenađenje Kuhač u istom kontekstu priređuje brojnim nabrajanjem i kratkim opisivanjem djelatnosti raznih skladatelja i glazbenih teoretičara djelatnih u gradovima i na feudalnim dvorovima; tako navodi poimence Pavla Skalića, Vinka Jelića, Jurja (Đuru) Križanića, bana Petra Zrinskog (kao pjesnika i skladatelja), grofa Jurja Frankapana, baruna Trenka

s njegovom vojnom “turskom glazbom”, odnosno “turskom kapelom”, Adama Patačića, Mihaela Šiloboda, Jurja Mulicha (Mulića), kantual *Citharu octochordu*, Grgura Čevapovića, no ne propušta priliku da u okvirima hrvatske dijaspore u Italiji, Mađarskoj i Donjoj Austriji među talentiranim glazbenicima ne “prokrijumčari” svoju omiljenu tezu o hrvatskom podrjetlu Josefa Haydna (Kuhač, 1902, 116-119).

Slijedi povratak na tradicijsku glazbu u obliku kraće rasprave o narodnim plesovima kao što je *kolo*, te zbirnim imenicama *ples* i *tanac*. Zanimljive su Kuhačeve napomene o tome da je kolo zapravo simbol zvjezdanog kruženja na nebu (sa Suncem kolovođom i Mjesecom pritucalom), da je tip plesa *oro* bez sumnje starogrčkog podrijetla<sup>12</sup> i da plešuće djevojke imaju u gledalištu “garde des dames” kao eventualnu zaštitu od nepristojnog ponašanja. Pri navođenju raznih tipova narodnih plesova (*oro*, *žensko kolo*, *šaljivo kolo*, *povraljanac*, *ketuš*, *pljescavica*, *staro sito*, itd.) Kuhač ih obilato kontekstualizira u pravoj etnografskoj maniri, ne prežući ni od spominjanja tipičnih narodskih šaljivih dvosmislenosti u doskočicama tipa “Stare babe kad igraju, silnog praha uzvitlaju” (Kuhač, 1902, 121).

Zanimljiv dvostruki retroaktivni proces Kuhač zamjećuje u fenomenu *Städlieder* [gradskih, varoških pjesama]. Prema njegovom tumačenju, među njima ima pjesama sa seoskom melodikom i ritmikom koju su preuzeли i “profinili” strani došljaci u gradove [“sie ... lassen ein gewisses Raffinement erkennen”], a onda ih je povratno opet prihvatio narod. Kuhač donosi notne i tekstovne primjere sedam takvih pjesama. U nekoj vrsti sive zone, između prihvaćanja i odbijanja, nalaze se pjesme koje su hrvatski radnici i vojnici naučili u inozemstvu i opremili vlastitim novim tekstovima, dok narod odbija ono što je očito strano u glazbenim aspektima, jer se ne želi povinovati nečemu što donosi gradski element, tj. *kaputaši* (Kuhač, 1902, 123-124).

Čitav tekst *Volksmusik* završava kraćom reminiscencijom na fenomen tambure. Kuhač tvrdi da je izvođenje tamburaške

12

Pritom citira Homerovu *Ilijadu*, 18. pjevanje, stihove 560-579, 593, 594 i 599-605 (prema Kuhač, 1902, 120).

glazbe u gostonicama hrvatski pandan mađarskoj ciganskoj glazbi, da u zemlji postoji već pedesetak tamburaških društava i više tvornica za gradnju tambura, te spominje trojicu istaknutijih skladatelja glazbe za tamburu – Milutina von Farkaša, Vilima Gustava Broza i Alfonsa von Gutschyja (Kuhač, 1902, 124).

I ovaj je tekst ilustriran s dva crteža: likom seoskog svirača gajdi (nepotpisani autor; možda V. Bukovac?) i završnom vijjetom G. F. Morellija s prikazom preslice, izrezbarenonog štapa i dvojnica s naslovom *Hausindustrielle Gegenstände* [predmeti kućne radinosti]. Opremljen je, kako je već rečeno, s ukupno 12 notnih primjera. Novost su dva faksimila povijesnih izvora, ali bilježaka s navođenjem izvora nema ni ovdje.

I opet valja istaknuti da je niz Kuhačevih podataka navedenih u ovom tekstu ušao u ranije spomenute preglede povijesti hrvatske umjetničke glazbe, objavljene u 20. stoljeću (npr. podaci o kodeksima sa zapadnom notacijom, orguljama, te nizu pojedinih skladatelja i glazbenih teoretičara), a da je dio iz zasad nepoznatih razloga ostao neuključen u te preglede (npr. podaci o glazbenicima 16. stoljeća Gjuri Knezu i Arnoldu Tuškanu).<sup>13</sup>

\*\*\*\*\*

Nakon svega što je dosad rečeno pokušat ćemo sada rekonstruirati mrežu Kuhačevih kontakata u vezi s navedenim tekstom o Dalmaciji – on je kronološki prvi i za njega je kompletne sačuvana epistolarna dokumentacija – upozoravajući na neke odrednice koje su odigrale značajnu ulogu u konačnoj artikulaciji tih tekstova. Tu rekonstrukciju poduzet ćemo na temelju dostupne korespondencije u trokutnoj višesmijernoj konstelaciji na liniji F. Ks. Kuhač – Eduard Hanslick – Joseph

---

13

Vjera Katalinić nema registriran nijedan od oba Kuhačeva teksta iz ove serije u Kronološkom popisu Kuhačevih objavljenih radova prema popisu JLZ-a, u svojem tekstu *Kuhačevi objavljeni radovi (pretežno u periodici) od 1865. do 1945. prema popisu Jugoslavenskog leksikografskog zavoda* (Katalinić, 1984, 473–522). Zdravko Blažeković u poglavljju *Franjo Ksaver Kuhač: utemeljitelj hrvatske glazbene historiografije* spominje samo jedan Kuhačev tekst (*Volksmusik*) i to u potpoglavlju *Kuhač o povijesti glazbenog pisma* (Blažeković, 2009, 64). Sanja Majer-Bobetko je uvrstila u rukopis svoje najnovije knjige *Hrvatska glazbena historiografija od početka 20. stoljeća do 1945. godine* (Majer-Bobetko, 2019, 249).

von Weilen. Ta je korespondencija sačuvana u Kuhačevoj ostavštini u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu, dok u odgovarajućim bečkim depozitorijima<sup>14</sup> Hanslickove ostavštine takva korespondencija prema sadašnjim autorovim uvidima i spoznajama nije poznato da je sačuvana.

Spomenuta korespondencija o tekstu za svezak o Dalmaciji sastoji se od ukupno 11 pisama datiranih u razdoblju od 18. 10. 1888. do 8. 7. 1890. Među njima su po tri pisma Eduarda Hanslicka (1825–1904) Kuhaču, Kuhača Hanslicku i Josepha von Weilena Kuhaču, te po jedno pismo Hanslicka Weilenu i uredništva edicije Kuhaču. Neka su od njih samo tehničke ili čak samo privatne naravi pa su za našu temu sporedna – takvi su npr. kontakti s Izidorom (Isom) Kršnjavim (1845–1927) i Vlahom Bukovcem. Stoga ćemo se koncentrirati na ona pisma koja sadržavaju bitne idejne odrednice čitavog ovog kompleksnog kontakta. Valja odmah naglasiti da su sva pisma pisana u formi tada uobičajene epistolarne akademske manire učtivosti – s današnjeg stajališta i prakse s nekim elementima anakroničnosti.

Nakon što je Kuhač prihvatio ponudu Hanslicka kao urednika za glazbu da napiše tekst o narodnoj i umjetničkoj glazbi u Dalmaciji, glavni se urednik čitavoga izdanja von Weilen posebno zahvalio na Kuhačevu pristanku: “Izvanredno me raduje što ste se na tako ljubazan način izrazili spremnim opisati narodnu i umjetničku glazbu u svesku *Trst, Istra i Dalmacija*.” (von Weilen, 1888) No, nakon takvog upravo idiličnog početka ove suradnje slijedi zanimljiv zaplet. Naime, Kuhač je u svojoj težnji da o naručenom predmetu napiše što više i navede koliko je moguće više imena i pojava u prvoj verziji svojega članka ne samo prevršio mjeru u duljini teksta nego i koncepcijski skrenuo s linije preciznih uredničkih naputaka. Hanslick i von Weilen našli su se u vjerojatno neočekivanoj

---

14

Hanslickova se korespondencija čuva u Beču razasuta po raznim ustanovama, a to su koliko je danas poznato: Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Handschriften-sammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Archiv der Wiener Philharmoniker, Archiv des Wiener Männergesangvereins i Österreichischen Staatsarchiv (prema Höslinger, 2010, 125). Istražio autor tijekom 2018. i 2019.

situaciji gdje su dragocjenog suradnika trebali istodobno diplomatski i energično upozoriti na njegova skretanja i zablude. O tome svjedoči sačuvana kopija Hanslickova pisma von Weilenu (Hanslick, 1889). U njemu ga Hanslick u primjedbi br. 1 obavještava da je rukopis skratio s 10 na 8 stranica, izbacivši dijelove Kuhačeva teksta o Metodovim propisima o liturgijskom pjevanju te o “slavnim venecijanskim i napuljskim skladateljima” (Leo, Draghi, Morlacchi, Zingarelli, Corcia), navodno “djeci hrvatskih roditelja”. Osobito se okomio na Kuhačevu tvrdnju o Giuseppeu Tartiniju (1692–1770):

“Sasvim nedopušteno čini mi se što je znameniti talijanski violinist Giuseppe Tartini naveden kao ‘Tartica’ Trtić (u zagradi ‘Tartini’). U svim pouzdanim povijestima glazbe i biografijama čita se da je Tartini, rođen u Piranu, sin Firentinca Giovannija Tartinija, kojega su građani Pirana iz zahvalnosti zbog darivanja katedrali izabrali za mjesnoga plemića. Tartini je dobio poduku samo u talijanskim školama, poučavao je sám u Padovi, napisao svoje teorijske radove na talijanskome jeziku i nije nikada i nigdje drukčije nazivan nego Tartini i smatralo ga se Talijanom.” (Hanslick, 1889)

U nastavku Hanslick decidirano iznosi svoj urednički credo: “Djelo, za koje je članak namijenjen, ne može biti mjesto za prihvaćanje takvih istraživanja; ono se mora kretati na čvrstome tlu onoga što je opća znanost priznala kao važeće.” (Hanslick, 1889)

Druga se Hanslickova primjedba odnosi na Kuhačev kriterij navođenja dalmatinskih skladatelja, među koje je – po vlastitoj karakterizaciji – uključio i neke “glazbene diletante”. Hanslick odlučno zahtijeva da se takva imena “u povijesti glazbe potpuno nepoznata” uklone jer, pomalo ironično, kaže da “Razmjernost djela zahtijeva da pojedine krumske zemlje ne nabrajaju takvo mnoštvo ‘znamenitih’ imena, [i to] svakako ne [ona] koja su svijetu isporučila vrlo slabo poznata glazbena postignuća.” (Hanslick, 1889)

Treća Hanslickova zamjerka Kuhaču je objeda Kuhača za svojevrsni šovinizam: “Općenito će svaki čitatelj uočiti da je u članku riječ gotovo samo o hrvatskoj glazbi, [a] da se talijanska [glazba] spominje ne samo sasvim kratko, nego uvijek u oma-

lovažavajućem, gotovo mržnjom prožetim tonom.” (Hanslick, 1889) Kopiju ovog pisma Hanslick je očito uputio i Kuhaču, jer ovaj već tjedan dana kasnije replicira u dugom pismu od 30. 1. 1889. U njemu žali što njegov članak u prvotnom obliku “nije naišao na odobravanje” i izražava svoju spremnost da preradi članak prema Hanslickovim uputama. Uzrok nesporazumu Kuhač ovako formulira: “Krvnja će, kako mi se čini, ležati u tome što ja nisam znao da se u djelu, za koje je bio namijenjen moj članak, ništa ne može donijeti što općoj muzikologiji nije poznato, i što Vi niste priznali.” (Kuhač 1889) No u istoj rečenici iznosi i blagu kritiku uredničkog stava: “Ako je to program djela, mora se naravno toga držati, ali je šteta što se ta znanost o glazbenom životu stanovnika Dalmacije, Istre, Hrvatske i Slavonije podučava tako manjkavo, i što se npr. o postojanju jednog Lisinskog ne zna baš ništa (...).” (Kuhač, 1889). Međutim, u nastavku pisma Kuhač se spremno odriče dijela svojega teksta o Metodovu notnom pismu i nazivanju Tartinija Tarticom odnosno Trtićem, no naširoko eksplicira u upravo docirajućem tonu svoje stavove o hrvatskom podrijetlu nekih prošlih i sadašnjih umjetnika (Mazzurana-Mažuranić, Giar-novichi-Jarnović, Hreljanović, književnik Tomaseo-Tomić, više slikara imenom Schiavoni), te, u prošlosti, o desetcima hrvatskih profesora na padovanskom, bolonjskom i bečkom sveučilištu. Nevoljko pristaje na ispuštanje nekih imena:

“Ako najslavnije uredništvo izvolijeva ispuštiti imena veneci-janskih i napuljskih Hrvata, onda je najbolje da se to i dogodi, ali prešutjeti to da je Dalmacija dala Italiji više učenjaka, pje-snika, slikara, glazbenika, arhitekata, kipara, itd. nego Italija Dalmaciji, pada mi krajnje teško, jer mi je kao Hrvatu obaveza da mojem narodu otvorim put istini.” (Kuhač, 1889)

Kuhača mora da je “ubola” Hanslickova primjedba o ispuštanju talijanskih glazbenika i omalovažavajućem tonu govora o njima jer u post festumu pismu kaže sljedeće: “Ispričavam se Vašem Visokorodu što ovom pismu prilažem još jedan mali podlistak ‘Stogodišnji valcer’. Članak nema nikakvu stilističku važnost, nego samo treba posvjedočiti da sam doista hrvatski domoljub, ali nipošto hrvatski šovinist.” (Kuhač, 1889)

Zanimljivo je s koliko je obazrivosti Hanslick odgovorio Kuhaču na to pismo. Zahvaljuje mu za “mnoga vrijedna razrješenja

(...) o hrvatskim glazbenim prilikama” i upravo se ispričava jer nije nikako htio “povrijediti ili (...) posumnjati” u njegov autoritet i poručuje: “Ja već odavna znam da Vi u stvarima hrvatske glazbe imate odlučujući glas, kojeg utoliko više poštujem što je moje znanje u tom području rada vrlo maleno.” (Hanslick, 1889) Potom objašnjava da je Kuhačev članak prilog “jednom djelu koje je narodu razumljivo i prije svega namijenjeno nje-mačkom čitatelju”, pa da su stoga promjene u njegovu članku poželjne, no da nikakva formalna “preradba” cijelog članka nije potrebna. Upozorava Kuhača da bi njegova prvotna verzija mogla postati “zamamljiv primjer” suradnicima sljedećih svezaka, jer “kad Česi vide da samo Dalmacija paradira s dvadeset slavnih glazbenih ličnosti hrvatske nacije, tada bi oni sa svoje strane nabrojali najmanje stotinu” (Hanslick, 1889). I na kraju upućuje još jednu molbu koju ovako formulira:

“Vaš članak čini mi se da previše ignorira glazbenu sadašnjost. Suglasno s preostalim zemljama, molim Vas da barem ukratko navedete koji gradovi:

- a. Imaju li operne kuće, i pjevaju li se тамо opere на talijanskом или hrvatskom;
- b. Gdje postoje značajne redovite koncertne institucije, talijanske ili hrvatske;
- c. Gdje postoje javni glazbeni konzervatoriji ili veće potpune glazbene škole, с talijanskim ili hrvatskim jezikom poduke?”

(Hanslick, 1889)

Nije potrebno posebno isticati da je Kuhač ovoj molbi/zahtjevu u potpunosti udovoljio, jer je u svoj prerađeni tekst uvrstio podatke o samostanskim i katedralnim glazbenim školama, te impozantan popis glazbenih institucija u Zadru, Splitu, Sinju, Šibeniku, Makarskoj, Omišu, Trogiru, Hvaru, Starome Gradu na Hvaru, Dubrovniku i Kotoru. Što se opere tiče, Kuhač navodi kako mnogi momci pjevaju talijanske operne arije, a kazališta u Puli, Zadru, Splitu, Šibeniku, Hvaru i Dubrovniku svake godine daju talijanske operne predstave.

U zaključku ističem samo sumarno da je ova mreža Kuhačevih kontakata na projektu *Kronprinzenwerka* imala, metaforički rečeno, veća i manja okna: kroz veća su se bez sadržajnog očitovanja provukli Kršnjavi i Bukovac (Bukovca su, čini se,

izravno u Parizu gdje je tada boravio kontaktirali članovi uredništva), dok su u dijelu mreže s gušćim oknima ostali zadržani von Weilen i posebno Hanslick.

S jedne strane, Kuhač je u kontaktu s Hanslickom dobio sve komplimente (koliko god oni djelomice bili kurtoazni) za svoj rad i profesionalne kompetencije, dok je s druge strane dobio vrlo jasne naputke (i putem njih i stanovite kritike) o tome što jest i kako funkcionira ondašnja međunarodna muzikologija.

Što se Hanslicka tiče, on je kontaktom i razmjenom mišljenja i stavova s Kuhaćem dobio uvid u glazbene prilike u dijelu Monarhije o kojima nije (prema vlastitom priznanju) znao gotovo ništa. A živio je s Kuhaćem u istoj državi! Očito, još i danas prisutna tradicija začudne ignorancije o glazbi u područjima južno od Alpa i na istočnoj strani Jadrana u etabliranoj muzikologiji seže unatrag u nedogled. No Hanslick se barem iskazao kao otvoreni duh voljan primiti nove informacije i spoznaje...<sup>15</sup>

---

15

U tekstu su prikazani rezultati istraživanja u okviru projekta IP-06-2016-4476 pri Hrvatskoj zakladi za znanost „Umrežavanje glazbom: promjene u paradigmi u “dugom 19. stoljeću” – od Luke Šorkočevića do Franje Ksavera Kuhača (2017–2021).

## Reference

- Belaj, V., 2008. Die Darstellung der Kroaten in österreichisch-ungarischen Überblickswerken. U: J. Fikfak i R. Johler, ur. *Ethnographie in Serie. Zu Produktion und Rezeption der “Österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild”*. Beč: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie. 255-264.
- Blažeković, Z., 2009. Franjo Ksaver Kuhač: utemeljitelj hrvatske glazbene historiografije. U: S. Majer-Bobetko, Z. Blažeković i G. Doliner, ur. *Hrvatska glazbena historiografija u 19. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo. 34-101.
- Čapo-Žmegač, J., 1999. Od euforije do zaborava. O knjizi “Dalmacija” (Beč-Split 1892.) iz djela “Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild”. S posebnim osvrtom na etnografski prikaz. *Mogućnosti*, 7/9, 158-177.
- Gusle, 1892. [Listak bez naslova] *Časopis za svjetovnu i crkvenu glasbu*, 1. srpnja. 56.
- Hanslick, E., 1889. *Pismo br. 137*. [rukopis] Kuhačeva ostavština – korespondencija. Knjiga IX. 22. siječnja 1889. Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv.
- Höslinger, C., 2010. Eduard Hanslick in seinen Briefen. U: T. Antonicek, G. Gruber i C. Landerer, ur. *Eduard Hanslick zum Gedenken. Bericht des Symposions zum Anlass seines 100. Todesstages*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag. 123-137.
- Katalinić, V., 1984. Kuhačevi objavljeni radovi (pretežno u periodici) od 1865. do 1945. prema popisu Jugoslavenskog lekosikografskog zavoda. U: J. Bezić, ur. *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1834-1911)*. Zagreb: JAZU. 473-522.
- Kuhač, F. Ks., 1889. *Pismo br. 138*. [rukopis] Kuhačeva ostavština – korespondencija. Knjiga IX. 30. siječnja 1889. Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv.
- Kuhač, F. X., 1892. Musik. U: J. von Weilen, ur. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (Dalmatien)*. Vol. 11. Beč: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. 204-212.

- Kuhač, F. Ž., 1902. Volksmusik. U: J. von Weilen, ur. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (Croatien und Slavonien)*. Siebenter Band der Länder der St. Stephans Krone. Vol. 24. Beč: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. 109-124.
- Majer-Bobetko, S., 2019. *Hrvatska glazbena historiografija od početka 20. stoljeća do 1945. godine*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo.
- Miller, F., 1902. Musik. U: J. von Weilen, ur. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (Croatien und Slavonien)*. Siebenter Band der Länder der St. Stephans Krone. Vol. 24. Beč: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. 174-176.
- Pederin, I., 2003. Hrvatska u djelu "Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild". *Forum*, 4-6, 758-788.
- Pederin, I., 2004. Dalmacija u djelu "Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild". *Rad Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 46, 395-424.
- Spinčić, A., 1891. Volksleben der Slaven in Istrien. U: J. von Weilen, ur. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Das Küstenland (Görts, Gradiska, Triest und Istrien)*. Vol. 10. Beč: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. 208-219.
- Stachel, P., 2010. "Mit Wärme und lebhafter Anschaulichkeit". Eduard Hanslicks Anteil am "Kronprinzenwerk". U: T. Antonicek, G. Gruber i Ch. Landerer, ur. *Eduard Hanslick zum Gedenken. Bericht des Symposiums zum Anlass seines 100. Todestages*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag. 215-232.
- Weilen, J. von, 1888. *Pismo br. 249. [rukopis]* Kuhačeva ostavština – korespondencija. Knjiga IX. 24. listopada 1888. Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv.



**FRANJO KSAVER KUHAČ  
AND THE NETWORK OF HIS  
CONTACTS IN THE PROJECT *DIE  
ÖSTERREICHISCH-UNGARISCHE  
MONARCHIE IN WORT UND BILD*  
(1886–1902)**

Stanislav Tuksar

**Abstract:** The Croatian musicologist Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911) was engaged to collaborate in the large Austrian state project entitled *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (1886–1902), where in the volume *Dalmatien* (1892) he published his text *Die Musik*, and in the volume *Croatien und Slavonien* (1902) the text *Volksmusik*. The preserved correspondence and other documentation dealing with this issue testify to the network of contacts among acting personalities (J. v. Weilen, E. Hanslick, I. Kršnjavi, V. Bukovac etc.) and their mutual interactive relations.

**Keywords:** Franjo Ksaver Kuhač; Eduard Hanslick; *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*.

As this paper forms part of a research project in which I participate under the title *Umrežavanost Glazbom – Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911)* [Networking with Music – Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911)], it will be limited to the topic indicated by its title, although the whole problem is much broader and very interesting as a complex theme both concerning its contents and its unavoidable contextualisation.

What is it all about? It was a culturological endeavour, broadly known as the *Kronprinzenwerk*, which was realized during the last decades (in the period from 1886 till 1902) of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a political and propagandistic enterprise of the Kronprinz and Archduke Rudolf of Habsburg (1858–1889), and after his premature death in 1889 continued by the whole dynasty and the socio-political establishment of the Monarchy. Namely, to put it shortly, it was a project with the official title *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* [The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Words and Pictures]. In the almost 17-year period 24 volumes<sup>1</sup> in all in encyclopaedic format were published in German in the Emperor-King's and State Court Printing Office and Publisher in Vienna. They consist of 587 texts by 432 authors and were originally published in 397 smaller volumes, which the subscribers were supposed to bind by themselves. It should be mentioned too that in parallel to the German edition and the Editorial Board (in original: *Redaktionskomitee*) led by the writer and former military officer Joseph von Weilen

---

1

Here are the titles of all volumes of this Encyclopaedia published by the Druck und Verlag der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei (ed. by Joseph von Weilen):  
Band 1: *Wien und Niederösterreich*, 1. Abtheilung: *Wien*, 1886.  
Band 2: *Übersichtsband*, 1. Abtheilung: *Naturgeschichtlicher Theil*, 1887.  
Band 3: *Übersichtsband*, 2. Abtheilung: *Geschichtlicher Theil*, 1887.  
Band 4: *Wien und Niederösterreich*, 2. Abtheilung: *Niederösterreich*, 1888.  
Band 5: *Ungarn*, Band 1, 1888.  
Band 6: *Oberösterreich und Salzburg*, 1889.  
Band 7: *Steiermark*, 1890.  
Band 8: *Kärnten und Krain*, 1891.  
Band 9: *Ungarn*, Band 2, 1891.  
Band 10: *Das Küstenland (Görz, Gradiska, Triest und Istrien)*, 1891.  
Band 11: *Dalmatien*, 1892.  
Band 12: *Ungarn*, Band 3, 1893.  
Band 13: *Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 1893.  
Band 14: *Böhmen*, Band 1, 1896.  
Band 15: *Böhmen*, Band 2, 1896.  
Band 16: *Ungarn*, Band 4, 1896.  
Band 17: *Mähren und Schlesien*, 1897.  
Band 18: *Ungarn*, Band 5, 1. Abtheilung, 1898.  
Band 19: *Galicien*, 1898.  
Band 20: *Bukowina*, 1899.  
Band 21: *Ungarn*, Band 5, 2. Abtheilung, 1900.  
Band 22: *Bosnien und Hercegovina*, 1901.  
Band 23: *Ungarn*, Band 6, 1902.  
Band 24: *Croatien und Slavonien*, 1902.

(1828–1889)<sup>2</sup>, a Hungarian variant was published in Budapest with Hungarian editors led by the writer Maurus (Mór) Jokái (1825–1904). Not entering this issue in detail, it has been stated by other researchers that the Hungarian editors conceived their edition from “Hungarian nationalistic”, strictly centralistic standpoints, i.e. that the material was elaborated exclusively according to regional-geographic criteria, without specific editors for single areas (not even that of music); in categories *Folk Life* only Hungarians were treated, while *folk musics* by non-Hungarian ethnic groups were scattered around in single volumes as regional phenomena without their own entries. About this the contemporary Austrian sociologist Peter Stachel (1965) writes:

“The only exception are the Croats: as the crownland *Croatia and Slavonia* had at disposal a political autonomy within the lands of St Stephen’s crown, it is respectively separately treated in its own volume; in it music was adequately appreciated. It is this example which serves as an irrefutable proof how the creation of the *Kronprinzenwerk* was oriented according to the political structures of the State.” (Stachel, 2010, 224-225)<sup>3</sup>

What this *opus magnum* really was, what were its intentions and what it meant, which were the motives and ideas active in its background – all this has been investigated thus far by researchers of various disciplines and profiles, first of all in Austria but also elsewhere, including experts from Croatia. One of the best recent assessments and qualifications of this background hyper-structure for the Austrian edition has been again offered by Peter Stachel:

---

2

Weilen was later followed by the historian and university Professor Heinrich von Zeißberg and the clerk, journalist and Beethoven researcher Joseph Böck-Gnadenau (Stachel, 2010, 220).

3

[“Die einzige Ausnahme stellen die Kroaten dar: Da das Kronland *Kroatien und Slavonien* innerhalb der Länder der Stephanskrone über politische Autonomie verfügte, wurde es dementsprechend in einem eigenen Band gesondert abgehandelt, wobei auch die Musik entsprechend gewürdigt wurde. Gerade dieses Beispiel bestätigt schlagnend, wie strikt sich der Aufbau des *Kronprinzenwerks* an den politischen Strukturen des Staates orientierte.”]

“In a multi-ethnic state such as the Habsburg Monarchy, cultural history and ethnography, the scientific and journalistic description of the so-called *folk life* of single *tribes* – this was the official term, while notions such as nationality or even nation were in this context strictly forbidden – was of special significance. Unlike in Germany (...), officially promoted ‘ethnological’ research in Austria was much more oriented towards an ethnographical and human-geographical approach, in which the ‘tribes’ were imagined as a sort of human ‘raw material’, which was in a certain way ‘disseminated’ throughout various regions, and culturally formed according to distinctive climatic conditions and the economic practices arising therefrom. According to this concept, the cultural borders between single tribes were in principle understood as permeable (...). The political function which was assigned to these ethnographical representations was intended to promote a ‘better mutual knowledge’ among people and thus to contribute to the overcoming of national differences.” (Stachel, 2010, 218)<sup>4</sup>

It was thus an “explicit political programming” and the speculation that the Archduke Rudolf (1858–1889), as a Kronprinz and predestined future Habsburg ruler after Francis Joseph I (1830–1916), wanted by this initiative and by such a megalomaniac endeavour to legitimize himself as a future enlightened and modern ruler of the Monarchy – is probably not far from the truth. However, the fact that the course of events and his personal destiny, i.e. his suicide, only four years after the beginning of the realization of this project took another direction, will remain beyond the scope of this paper.

---

4

[“In einem Vielvölkerstaat wie der Habsburgermonarchie kam der Kulturgeschichte und Ethnographie, der wissenschaftlichen und publizistischen Beschreibung des sogenannten *Volkslebens* der einzelnen *Volksstämme* – so die offizielle Bezeichnung, Begriffe wie Nationalität oder gar Nation waren in diesem Zusammenhang verpönt – naturgemäß besondere politische Bedeutung zu. Anders als in Deutschland, (...) die offiziell geförderte ‘volkskundliche’ Forschung in Österreich orientierte sich vielmehr an einem ethnographisch-humangeographischen Zugang, bei dem die ‘Volksstämme’ als eine Art humanes ‘Rohmaterial’ imaginiert wurden, das über unterschiedlich beschaffene Landstriche gleichsam ‘ausgestreut’ und von diesen, das heißt von den klimatischen Bedingungen und den dadurch geprägten Wirtschaftsformen, kulturell geformt wurde. Gemäß dieser Konzeption wurden die kulturellen Grenzen zwischen den einzelnen Volksstämmen als im Prinzip durchlässig aufgefaßt (...). Die politische Funktion, die diesen ethnographischen Darstellungen zugedacht war, bestand darin, die Völker ‘besser miteinander bekannt zu machen’ und so zur Überwindung nationaler Differenzen beizutragen.”]

The part of this editorial endeavour in 24 volumes which deals with the South-Slavic peoples of the Monarchy can be found in volumes No. 8 (*Kärnten und Krain*, 1891), 10 (*Das Küstenland: Görz, Gradiska, Triest und Istrien*, 1891), 11 (*Dalmatien*, 1892), 22 (*Bosnien und Herzegowina*, 1901) and 24 (*Croatien und Slavonien*, 1902). However, it might be expected that some further elements relevant for this topic could be found in seven further volumes consecrated to Hungary (vols. 5, 9, 12, 16, 18, 21 and 23), but they were not examined on this occasion.<sup>5</sup> Now, concentrating on Croatian topics within the South-Slavic complex, it can be stated that the most important volumes are those on Istria, Dalmatia, stricter Croatia and Slavonia. This circle of problems was treated in its totality and in some particularities by several researchers, among which, as outstanding, are Ivan Pederin (2003, 758-788; 2004, 395-424), Vitomir Belaj (2008, 255-264) and Jasna Čapo-Žmegač (1999, 158-177). At this point it should be pointed out that the volumes *Dalmatien* on Dalmatia were published in German and Croatian in Vienna and Split almost simultaneously, i.e. during 1892 and 1893.<sup>6</sup> Jasna Čapo-Žmegač draw attention to the fact that there exist considerable differences between corresponding texts in German and Croatian, but this aspect will also remain beyond the scope of this paper.

Naturally, at a musicological conference like this one in Sarajevo the area of music is of primary interest and it could not have been omitted from such an overall presentation of the crown lands and other issues, as well as from “ethnographic groups” (sic; Rudolf’s term) living within the Monarchy. Texts on music can be found in the volume on Dalmatia entitled *Musik*, written by Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1892), in the volume on (stricter) Croatia and Slavonia entitled *Volksmusik*, by Franjo Žaver Kuhač (1902) and *Musik* by Ferdo Miller (1902), as well as in the volume on Coastal Territory (among others on Istria) entitled *Volksleben der Slaven in Istrien* by Alois Spinčić (1891). Such a situation – both in general and regarding music – was

---

5

Thus Jasna Čapo-Žmegač (1961) mentions that data on Bunjevci, Rijeka and Medimurje can be found in vols. 2, 3 and 4 on Hungary (Čapo-Žmegač, 1999, 159).

6

More about it in: Čapo-Žmegač, 1999, 159-160.

detected and assessed by some previous researchers, so that the above mentioned Peter Stachel (2010, 223) writes:

“In the case of those crown lands in which several ethnic groups lived, the *folk musics* of single nationalities were sometimes treated separately in their own articles on *folk life*. This led to a number of contributions dealing with music in single volumes: while in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina such contributions referred exclusively to *Singing and folk music*, and not to ‘art music’; in those volumes in which several crown lands with a mixed population were discussed, several articles can be found based on both territorial and ‘national’ divisions; in some cases several texts are dedicated to the *folk life* of one ‘tribe’.”<sup>7</sup>

In focusing now on the essence of my paper, it can be stated that musical topics have been treated earlier in a very general way by Ivan Pederin and Jasna Čapo-Žmegač, so that they will be elaborated here for the first time from a musicological standpoint. However, this elaboration will on this occasion be limited to a lapidary overview and presentation of Kuhač’s writings (omitting texts by F. Miller and A. Spinčić), being primarily focussed on the network of contacts developed by Kuhač, the most important contributor for Croatian topics in this project.

*Musik* (Vol. *Dalmatien*, Kuhač, 1892). This text by Kuhač contains, in one single narrative, data on art and traditional folk music, often mixing them up within one unit. After mentioning the 4<sup>th</sup> century Patristic early Christian Father St Jerome from Stridon as the author of tunes for Canonic Hours (which is not true!), Kuhač points at the migration in Dalmatia of the “musically talented folk of Croats who like singing”<sup>8</sup> and its original folk songs, the production of which and their musical

---

7

[“Im Fall jener Kronländer, in denen mehrere Volksgruppen lebten, wurden die *Volksmusiken* der einzelnen Nationalitäten in jeweils eigenen Artikeln zum *Volksleben* getrennt behandelt. Dies führte zu einer von Band zu Band unterschiedlichen Anzahl von musikbezogenen Beiträgen: Während etwa im falle Bosnien-Hercegovinas ausschließlich über *Gesang und Volksmusik*, nicht aber über ‘Kunstmusik’ referiert wurde, finden sich in jenen Bänden, in denen mehrere gemischt besiedelte Kronländer behandelt werden, aufgrund der zugleich territorialen wie ‘nationalen’ Aufteilung gleich mehrere derartige Artikel; in einigen Fällen sind auch dem *Volksleben* eines ‘Volksstamms’ mehrere Texte gewidmet.”]

8

[“gesangslustige und musikbegabte Volk der Kroaten”]

memory “is close to fabulous”<sup>9</sup> (Kuhač, 1892, 204). In addition he mentions two among his contemporary singers who knew by heart forty, even eighty thousand verses. These songs are performed without or with accompaniment of the instruments *gusle*, *gega* or *tamburica* (Kuhač, 1892, 204). What follows in the text is a short description of *gusle*, *tamburica*, the Dubrovnik version *vijalo* or *lira*, as well as wind instruments such as *Pfeife*, *Schnabelflöte*, *Querflöte*, *Doppelschwegel*, *Oboe* and *Dudelsack*. Much more space was given by Kuhač to a report on art music. He points out that Dalmatian monasteries and cathedrals have their own music schools with at first exclusively local music teachers where young people learn singing, organ and other instruments and even composition. Then he mentions that in more recent times young people from towns mostly get their music education in Italy. Concerning court music in Dalmatia, Kuhač asserts that no court poets existed there, but that the *tamburica* players as *joculatores* used to entertain nobility with their singing and music, dealing also casually with espionage (Kuhač, 1892, 206-207).

Kuhač brings some interesting data about music of the Croats in Dalmatia, mentioning festive songs performed at the crowning of King Tomislav in 924; the delight and thrill of the Zadar population marked with Croatian songs in honour of the visit of the Pope Alexandre III to Zadar in 1177; singing with accompaniment of church ensembles in Dalmatian Latin cathedrals in the 1070–1080 period; the activities of the Frankish musician and cleric Adam Parisiensis in Split at approximately the same time; while Croatian churches (Kuhač probably had in mind those practising Glagolitic liturgy and music) cherished Byzantine style without accompaniment, except possibly organs (Kuhač, 1892, 207).

Among Dalmatian musicians who composed in Italian style Kuhač mentions by name Franjo Gučetić-Gozze, also nicknamed Paprica, from Dubrovnik (16th to 17<sup>th</sup> century) and the organ builder and reformist Pietro Nacchini (18<sup>th</sup> century) and the organs he and his workshop built in Padua, Venice, Zadar,

---

9

[“grenzt mit Fabelhafte”]

Split and elsewhere. Most interesting is Kuhač's remark on ancient Dubrovnik companies called *Isprazni* [Discharged], *Orlovi* [Eagles], *Razborni* [Wise] and *Smeteni* [Confused], among which the latter company performed in 1652 (and again in 1692) an opera (!) with both verses and with music created by Gjono Palmotić. Among further local composers from other Dalmatian towns Kuhač mentions Petar Hektorović, Petar Knežević, Pijerko Marquis Bunić, Vladislav Mančetić, Ivan Jarnović, Franz von Suppé, Nikola Strmić, and the poets Juraj Šižgorić and Petar Gozseni; however, he explicitly asserts that those were “(...) only poor endeavours out of interest for a Croatian art music” (Kuhač, 1892, 208).<sup>10</sup>

Regarding opera, Kuhač mentions that along the Istrian and Dalmatian coast one can often hear how lads sing Italian operatic melodies, while theatres in Pula, Zadar, Split, Šibenik, Hvar and Dubrovnik each year give Italian opera performances (Kuhač, 1892, 211).

At the time of writing, according to Kuhač, there existed in Dalmatia numerous music institutions, citing in particular the Philharmonic Society with three music schools in Zadar; two philharmonic societies (Italian and Croatian) with their respective music schools in Split; the local theatre chapel with its music school in Sinj; a theatre chapel in Šibenik; the *Gusle* Society in Makarska and the town chapel in Omiš, both with their music schools; the Philharmonic Society and the local chapel in Trogir; the Philharmonic Society in Hvar; two town chapels in Stari Grad on the island of Hvar; town chapels in Dubrovnik and Kotor – all of these institutions having their own music schools. In addition, there existed also numerous church orchestras and Croatian male choirs (Kuhač, 1892, 211–212). The article ends with remarks on two important music libraries – that of Ivan Marcocchia in Split and that of Ivan E. Kuzmić in Dubrovnik (today they are kept in the collections of the Split Cathedral and the Dubrovnik Franciscan monastery), as well as with the complaint that

---

10

[“(...) dies waren nur schwache Versuche ohne jede Tragweite für eine kroatische Kunstmusik”]

many worthy old manuscripts ended up in the Vatican and in Venetian and Parisian libraries (Kuhač, 1892, 212).

The text is illustrated with two drawings of folk music making by the painter Vlaho Bukovac (1855–1922) and a vignette by Rudolf Bernt (1844–1914). It is also supplied with three music examples (a Croatian urban song; a Neapolitan song in its original version and with Croatian text). There are no footnotes indicating sources.

It should be mentioned that a number of Kuhač's data from this text entered the later overviews of Croatian music history, published in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as those by Josip Andreis (1909–1982) and Lovro Županović (1925–2004). For unknown reasons other parts of his data did not enter these overviews, while only a few of his data were omitted because the facts were simply not correct (for example, citing the location Zrinj as Stridon; compositions by St Jerome; Palmotić's opera *Captislava*).

This text by Kuhač's provoked immediate reactions: in The Journal for Secular and Church Music *Gusle*, from 1 July 1892 (*Gusle*, 1892, 56). Kuhač was reproached – along with the acknowledgement for what he had done well – for offering some incorrect data and that in the Croatian edition “all sorts of things should be replenished and corrected” (Čapo-Žmegač, 1999, 164). Ivan Pederin (1934) in his review of the volume on *Dalmatien* has included a short overview of Kuhač's article, but being himself no expert in music he overlooked several items and made several incorrect assertions, for example, that the organ builder Pietro Nacchini was himself a composer (Pederin, 2004, 409).

*Volksmusik* (Vol. *Croatien und Slavonien*, Kuhač, 1902). This text by Kuhač, published ten years after his text on Dalmatia, also consists – which is astonishing and an enigma in itself – of segments which in spite of a precise title deal with both traditional and secular art and church music. However, the initial part of the text treats indeed the area which Kuhač himself

defines as “Musik des croatischen Volkes”<sup>11</sup> (Kuhač 1902). It starts with two data from pre-migration times on Slavic musicians at the court of Atila and at the Avarian court, asserting that the singing of Croats in the times of their settlement in the new homeland had characteristics of a pagan cult. These pre-Christian roots persisted also after Christianization in some melodies of ritual tunes with textual adaptations, for example, the substitution of Pagan deities with names of Christian saints (Kuhač, 1902, 109). Kuhač shows this procedure in four pieces of newer songs (one of which he dates to the 16<sup>th</sup> century), and one of which even kept the Pagan name of the deity Lado (Kuhač, 1902, 110), while another song, with a slightly modified melody and a new text the Zagreb Bishop Maximilan Vrhovac presented in 1818 in Zagreb to the Austrian Emperor Francis II performed by a choir of noble girls and youngsters (Kuhač, 1901, 111). Further examples mentioned by Kuhač of this type of pre-Christian melodics among Croats are bonfire songs, songs for Christmas Eve and New Year’s koleda songs, but they were not written down because of their oral transmission. Regarding this type of problem Kuhač made an interesting observation on music terminology preserved in written sources from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries which contain words denoting specific phenomena in the areas of vocal and instrumental music (Kuhač, 1902, 112). Even more interesting is Kuhač’s aesthetical remark when he asserts that ancient Croats and Serbs did not consider music as a gift of the gods (as, for example, did ancient Greeks), but “looked at music and singing (...) as the work of men” (Kuhač, 1902, 112).<sup>12</sup>

Kuhač consecrated a rather large portion of his text to Slavic *gusle* players, aeds, and secular singers who accompany themselves on *gusle* as teachers and councillors of people. In this he mentions their forced blindness after being accused of being inciters of rebellions the so-called *academies of the blind* which existed up to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the then contemporary private teaching with conditions estab-

---

11  
["Music of the Croatian People"]

12  
["Musik und Gesang (...) als ein Werk des Menschen betrachten"]

lished for their students (Kuhač, 1902, 112-113). This passage also includes the assertion that court musicians of ancient Croatian kings were named “panduri”, a word coming from “pandura”, i.e. “tanbura”.

The second main portion of Kuhač’s text consecrated to the activities of the Slavic Christian apostles Cyril and Methodius, mentioning that in this type of service *the Volkssprache* [folk idiom] is used at prayers, sermons and in singing, that for the needs of this liturgical singing in Slavic language Methodius constructed his own notation; Kuhač also offers an example – the 11<sup>th</sup> century text with neums kept in the Moscow Library of Count Theodor Andreievich Tolstoy (Kuhač, 1902, 113-114).

Passing to the historical phase in which Croats gradually accepted the liturgy in Latin, Kuhač mentions the dissemination of notation in Roman neums and presents two folios with such neums from the Zagreb Bishopric Library, which belonged in c. 1330 to the local Elizabethan hospice. It is followed by naming the merits of the Benedictine order in musical literacy, mentioning examples from the recent past, notably from the collection *Sveti Evangeliomi*, printed in Zagreb in 1651, in which Bishop Petar Petretić (1604–1667) included three melodies with his own texts. All these examples were considered by Kuhač to be examples of age-old Croatian melodies with new Christian “contrafacturae” (Kuhač, 1902, 114).

Quite surprisingly, after these considerations Kuhač passes directly to a new section in the text entitled *Volksmusik*, dealing with phenomena in the area of art music. Along with domestic organ builders, he mentions organs in Zagreb since 1363, including bell-founders and their products from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries preserved in northern Croatia among which are the bells in the villages of Prišlin, Grobnik, Lipnik etc. (Kuhač, 1902, 115). Terminologically somewhat confused, he continues by mentioning *a Streicherzett* [string trio] consisting of two violins and a bass in 1367 in the town of Zagreb, as well as instrumental chapels in the regions of Zagorje and Primorje (oboe or sopile; violins; basses) and *tamburica* ensembles with bag-pipes in Slavonia (Kuhač, 1902, 115-116).

Another unexpected surprise is offered by Kuhač in numbering and in short descriptions of the activities of various Croatian composers and music theoreticians in towns and feudal courts such as Pavao Skalić, Vinko Jelić, Juraj (Đuro) Križanić, *Banus Petar Zrinski* (as poet and composer), Count Juraj Frankapan, Baron Trenk with his military “Turkish music” or “Turkish chapel”, Adam Patačić, Mihael Šilobod, Juraj Mulić (Mulich) and Grgur Čevapović, including here also the cantual *Cithara octochorda*. Kuhač did not miss the opportunity to mention that among the Croatian diaspora in Italy, Hungary and Lower Austria there had been talented musicians, and “smuggled” into this group his favourite thesis that Joseph Haydn was of Croatian origin (Kuhač, 1902, 116–119).

Coming back to traditional music, Kuhač briefly discusses folk dances such as *kolo*, dealing with generic notions of *ples* and *tanac* (both in the meaning of dance). Kuhač quite interestingly notices that *kolo* (reel, round) is in fact a symbol of the circling of stars in heavens (with the Sun as the *kolo* leader and the Moon as a commentator), that the *oro* type of dance is doubtlessly of ancient Greek origins,<sup>13</sup> and that dancing girls have their “garde des dames” among the spectators as possible protection against undecent behaviour. In discussing various types of folk dances (*oro*, *female kolo*, *jocular kolo*, *povraljanac*, *ketuš*, *pljeskavica*, *old sieve*, etc.), Kuhač abundantly contextualized them in a real ethnographic manner, not hesitating to include typical folk comical double meanings such as “when old women dance, they kick up a lot of dust” (Kuhač, 1902, 121).

An interesting double retroactive process is mentioned by Kuhač when he discusses the phenomenon of the *Städtlieder* [town songs]. His interpretation reads that among them there are those with rural (village) melodies and rhythmics which were taken over and “refined” by foreign settlers in towns [“sie ... lassen ein gewisses Raffinement erkennen”], and then they returned to folk population in villages. Kuhač brings notes and texts of seven of such examples. Further on, in a kind of *grey zone* between accepting and refusing them, are songs which

---

13

In this he cites Homer's Illyad, 18<sup>th</sup> canto, verses 560–579, 593, 594 and 599–605 (cited in Kuhač, 1902, 120).

Croatian workers and soldiers learned abroad and supplied with their own texts; in this, the folk refuses to accept what is foreign in musical aspects, because they do not want to be subordinated to something which brings the urban element, i.e. the well-off people the so-called *kaputaši* (Kuhač, 1902, 123-124).

The whole *Volksmusik* text ends with a short reminiscence of the *tamburica* [tambura] phenomenon. Kuhač asserts that performing *tamburica* music in local inns is a Croatian pendant of Hungarian Gipsy music, that there are at the moment already fifty or so *tamburica* societies and several manufacturers who build *tamburica* instruments; in this he mentions three outstanding composers of *tamburica* music – Milutin von Farkaš, Vilim Gustav Broz and Alfons von Gutschy (Kuhač, 1902, 124).

This text is illustrated with two drawings: a figure of a *gajde* [bag-pipe] player (unsigned author, probably Vlaho Bukovac?) and a final vignette by G. F. Morelli presenting a distaff, carved stick and *dvojnice* [double flute], entitled *Hausindustrielle Gegenstände* [home-made objects]. The text includes 12 music examples in all and includes the novelty of two facsimiles of historical sources. There are no footnotes citing sources in this text either.

Again, we can state that numerous aspects of Kuhač's data entered the above mentioned overviews of the history of Croatian art music published in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (they are: data on codices with Western notation; organs; names of numerous composers and music theoreticians), but part of these data are not included in these overviews (such as those on the 16<sup>th</sup> century musicians Gjuro Knez and Arnold Tuškan).<sup>14</sup>

---

14

Vjera Katalinić did not register the two texts by Kuhač from this series in the Chronological list of Kuhač's published works according to the list established by the Yugoslav Lexicographical Institute in her text *Kuhačevi Objavljeni Radovi (Pretežno u Periodici) od 1885. do 1945. Prema Popisu Jugoslavenskog Leksikografskog Zavoda* (Katalinić, 1984, 473-522). Zdravko Blažeković in the chapter *Franjo Ksaver Kuhač: Utemeljitelj Hrvatske Glazbene Historiografije* mentions only one of Kuhač's texts (*Volksmusik*) in the sub-chapter *Kuhač o povijesti glazbenog pisma* (Blažeković, 2009, 64). Sanja Majer-Bobetko included the text from the Croatian version published in the volume *Dalmacija* in her newest book *Hrvatska Glazbena Historiografija od Početka 20. Stoljeća do 1945. Godine* (Majer-Bobetko, 2019, 249).

\*\*\*\*\*

Following the overview presented above, let us now try to reconstruct the network of Kuhač's contacts concerning his text on Dalmatia. It is chronologically the first one and the epistolary documentation about these contacts has been well preserved, pointing towards some determinants which played an important role in the articulation of Kuhač's texts in this project. This reconstruction will be undertaken owing to the available correspondence within the triangle Franjo Ksaver Kuhač – Eduard Hanslick – Joseph von Weilen. It is preserved in Kuhač's legacy deposited in the Croatian State Archives, while various collections of Hanslick's correspondence kept in Viennese collections<sup>15</sup> – as far as this author can ascertain – do not contain documents relevant for this topic.

The correspondence in Zagreb about Kuhač's text on Dalmatia consists of eleven letters dated from 18 October 1888 till 8 July 1890. Among them are three letters by Eduard Hanslick (1825–1904) to Kuhač, three by Kuhač to Hanslick and three by Joseph von Weilen to Kuhač, as well as one letter of Hanslick to von Weilen and one by the Editorial Board to Kuhač. Some among other letters are of a purely technical character, and as such are of no interest for our topic here: for example, Kuhač's contacts with Izidor (Iso) Kršnjava (1845–1927) and Vlaho Bukovac). It should be mentioned that all letters were written in the form of the then usual epistolary academic courtesy, today in some ways anachronic.

After Kuhač accepted the offer by Hanslick as editor for music to write a text on folk and art music in Dalmatia, the editor-in-chief J. von Weilen explicitly thanked Kuhač for his acceptance: "I am extremely pleased that you have expressed in such an amiable manner your readiness to describe folk and art music in the volume on *Trieste, Istria and Dalmatia*."

---

15

Hanslick's correspondence is kept scattered around in various institutions in Vienna: Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Archiv der Wiener Philharmoniker, Archiv des Wiener Männergesangvereins i Österreichischen Staatsarchiv (cited in Höslinger, 2010, 125). This author researched it during 2018 and 2019.

(von Weilen, 1888) After such an idyllic beginning this collaboration followed an interesting entanglement. Namely, in his intention to write as much as he can and cite as many as possible names and phenomena on the given topic, in the first version of the text Kuhač not only exaggerated its length but also went astray from the precise editorial instructions he was given. Hanslick and von Weilen found themselves in a probably unexpected situation in which the otherwise precious collaborator Kuhač had to be both diplomatically and energetically warned about his deviations and misconceptions. This is confirmed by the preserved copy of Hanslick's letter to von Weilen (Hanslick, 1889). In it Hanslick in his remark No. 1 reports that he has shortened the manuscript from ten to eight pages, expelling parts of Kuhač's text on Methodius' regulations on liturgical singing and on "famous Venetian and Neapolitan composers" (Leo, Draghi, Morlacchi, Zingarelli, Corcia), allegedly "children of Croatian parents". He especially attacked Kuhač's assertion on Giuseppe Tartini (1692 –1770):

"It seems to me completely inadmissible that the famous Italian violinist Giuseppe Tartini should be listed as 'Tartica' Trtić (in parentheses 'Tartini'!). In all reliable music histories and biographies one can read that Tartini was born in Pirano as the son of a Florentine, Giovanni Tartini, who was appointed a 'nobile' of the township by the citizens of Pirano in their gratitude for his supporting the Cathedral. Tartini was instructed only in Italian schools, taught himself in Padua, wrote his theoretical works in Italian and is always and everywhere named only as Tartini and considered as an Italian." (Hanslick, 1889)<sup>16</sup>

In continuation, Hanslick resolutely states his editorial credo: "The work for which the article is intended cannot be the place for undertaking such new research; it must move onto the firm

---

16

[ "Ganz unzulässig erscheint mir, dass der berühmte italienische Geiger Giuseppe Tartini aufgeführt werde als 'Tartica' Trtić (eingeklammert 'Tartini'!). In allen verlässlichen Musikgeschichten und Biographien ist zu lesen, dass Tartini in Pirano geboren der Sohn eines Florentiners des Giovanni Tartini war, welcher von den Bürgern Pirano's aus Dankbarkeit für die Dotirung der Kathedrale, zum Nobile des Ortes erwählt wurde. Tartini erhielt seinen Unterricht nur in italienischen Schulen, lehrte selbst in Padua, schrieb seine theoretischen Werke italienisch und ist nie und nirgends anders als Tartini genannt und als Italiener betrachtet worden." ]

ground of what has been up-to-now generally acknowledged by science as valid." (Hanslick, 1889)<sup>17</sup>

The second of Hanslick's remarks deals with Kuhač's criterion of mentioning Dalmatian composers, among whom, according to his own characterization, he included also some "music diletantes". Hanslick decidedly demanded that such names, "completely unknown in the history of music", be removed, because, somewhat ironically, he said that "The equilibrium of the work demands that single crown lands do not appear with such an enormous quantity of 'famous' names, which have delivered to the world only a few known musical achievements." (Hanslick, 1889)<sup>18</sup>

The third of Hanslick's objections to Kuhač was a kind of accusation of chauvinism: "Every reader will generally notice that the article speaks almost exclusively about Croatian music, [and] that Italian [music] is mentioned not only very briefly but always with a depreciating tone, almost permeated with hatred." (Hanslick, 1889) The copy of this letter Hanslick obviously addressed to Kuhač too, because only a week later Kuhač replied in a long letter of 30 January 1889. In it Kuhač regrets that his article in its initial form "did not meet approval" and expresses his readiness to rework the article according to Hanslick's instructions. The reason for this disagreement Kuhač formulated in this way: "The guilt will, as it seems to me, lie with me since I did not know that in the publication for which my article was intended nothing could be brought which is not already known in general musicology and which is not recognized by you." (Kuhač, 1889) However, in the same sentence he expresses a mild critique of such an editorial attitude: "If this is the programme of the publication, naturally I have to stick to it, but it is a pity that this science teaches so deficiently

---

17

[*"Das Werk, für welches der Aufsatz bestimmt ist, kann nicht der Ort sein, solche neue Untersuchungen vorzunehmen; es muss sich auf den festen Boden des bisher von der Wissenschaft allgemein als gültig Anerkannten bewegen."*]

18

[*"Die Gleichmässigkeit des Werkes erfordert, dass nicht einzelne Kronländer mit einer solchen Ummasse von 'berühmten' Namen aufmarschieren, doch sehr wenig bekannte musikalische Leistungen der Welt geliefert haben."*]

about the musical life of the population in Dalmatia, Istria, Croatia and Slavonia, and that, for example, absolutely nothing is known about the existence of a certain Lisinski (...)” (Kuhač, 1889). Nevertheless, in the continuation of the letter Kuhač readily renounced the part of the text dealing with Methodius’ note scripture and of naming Tartini as Tartica and Trtić, but at full length explices, in a pontifical tone, his attitudes on the Croatian origins of some earlier and then contemporary artists (Mazzurana-Mažuranić, Giarnovichi-Jarnović, Hreljanović, man of letters Tomaseo-Tomić, several painters named Schiavoni), and in past times of dozens of Croatian professors at the universities in Padua, Bologna and Vienna. He reluctantly agrees with omitting some names:

“If the most illustrious editorial board is willing to omit the names of Venetian and Neapolitan Croats, then it is best to do so, but to suppress that Dalmatia gave to Italy more scientists, poets, painters, musicians, architects, sculptors, etc., than Italy [gave] to Dalmatia, that grieves me, because it is my duty as a Croat to open for my people the way to truth.” (Kuhač, 1889)

Kuhač must have been somewhat “annoyed” by Hanslick’s remark on omitting Italian musicians and the depreciating tone when speaking about them, so that in a post festum to the letter he wrote the following: “I apologize to Your Highborn to enclose to this letter another small feuillton ‘The Hundred-years Waltz’. The article has no stylistic value, but has to testify that I am really a Croatian patriot and in no way a Croatian chauvinist.” (Kuhač, 1889)

It is interesting to see how cautiously Hanslick answered Kuhač’s letter. He thanks Kuhač for “many valuable clarifications (...) on Croatian musical circumstances” and directly apologizes, stating that he by no means wanted “to hurt him or (...) to doubt” his authority and sends a message: “I know already for a long time that in matters of Croatian music you have a decisive voice, which I appreciate all the more because my knowledge in this area is very slight.” (Hanslick, 1889) Hanslick goes to explain that Kuhač’s article is a contribution “to a publication which must be understandable to people and is

primarily intended for a German reader”; thus changes in his article are desirable, but that no formal “re-modelling” of the whole article is needed. He warns Kuhač that his original version would become a “tempting example” for collaborators in future volumes, because “when the Czechs would see that only Dalmatia shows off with twenty famous musical personalities of the Croatian nation, then they would number on their side at least one hundred of them” (Hanslick, 1889). And at the end Hanslick asks for another favour in this way:

“Your article seems to ignore too much the musical present.  
In accordance with other countries, please mention at least  
briefly which towns:

- a. Have an opera house and do they sing operas in Italian or Croatian;
- b. Where do important regular concert institutions, Italian or Croatian, exist;
- c. Where do public music conservatories or larger complete music schools exist, with Italian or Croatian as teaching languages?” (Hanslick, 1889)

There is no need to point out that Kuhač completely met this request, because he entered in his reworked text data on monastery and cathedral music schools, as well as an impressive list of music institutions existing in the towns of Zadar, Split, Sinj, Šibenik, Makarska, Omiš, Trogir, Hvar, Stari Grad on the island of Hvar, Dubrovnik and Kotor. Concerning opera, Kuhač mentions that many lads sing Italian operatic arias, and that theatres in Pula, Zadar, Split, Šibenik, Hvar and Dubrovnik organize each year Italian operatic performances.

In conclusion I am summarily pointing at the fact that this network of Kuhač’s contacts in the *Kronprinzenwerk* project had two sides: I. Kršnjavi and V. Bukovac (who was, as it seems, directly contacted in Paris by the members of the Editorial Board) were less important, while especially von Weilen and Hanslick played decisive roles.

On one hand, Kuhač got all the compliments for his work and professional competency from Hanslick in their contact (although they might have been partly expressed out of courtesy).

On the other hand, he got very clear instructions (sometimes in the form of critique) about contemporary international musicology and how it functions.

Regarding Hanslick, in his contact and in exchange of opinions and attitudes with Kuhač, he gained insight regarding the musical facts of a part of the Monarchy of which he knew (in his own words) almost nothing. And yet he was living with Kuhač in the same state! Obviously, even today the existing tradition of the surprising ignorance about music in the area to the south of the Alps and at the eastern shores of the Adriatic in established musicology stretches very far back. But one should admit that Hanslick has shown at least some good will and manifested an open spirit for new information and intellectual insights...<sup>19</sup>

---

19

The text presents research results within the project IP-06-2016-4476 financed by the Croatian Science Foundation *Umrežavanje Glazbom: Promjene Paradigmi u "Dugom 19. Stoljeću" – od Luke Sorkočevića do Franje Ksavera Kuhača* [Networking through Music: Changes of Paradigms in the "Long 19<sup>th</sup> Century" – from Luka Sorkočević to Franjo Ksaver Kuhač] (2017–2021).

## References

- Belaj, V., 2008. Die Darstellung der Kroaten in österreichisch-ungarischen Überblickswerken. In: J. Fikfak i R. Johler, eds. *Ethnographie in Serie. Zu Produktion und Rezeption der “Österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie in Wort und Bild”*. Vienna: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie. 255-264.
- Blažeković, Z., 2009. Franjo Ksaver Kuhač: utemeljitelj hrvatske glazbene historiografije. In: S. Majer-Bobetko, Z. Blažeković and G. Doliner, eds. *Hrvatska glazbena historiografija u 19. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo. 34-101.
- Čapo-Žmegač, J., 1999. Od euforije do zaborava. O knjizi “Dalmacija” (Beč-Split 1892.) iz djela “Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild”. S posebnim osvrtom na etnografski prikaz. *Mogućnosti*, 7/9, 158-177.
- Gusle, 1892. [Listak untitled] *Časopis za svjetovnu i crkvenu glasbu*, 1 July. 56.
- Hanslick, E., 1889. *Letter No. 137*. [manuscript] Kuhačeva ostavština – korespondencija. Book IX. 22 January 1889. Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv.
- Höslinger, C., 2010. Eduard Hanslick in seinen Briefen. In: T. Antonicek, G. Gruber and C. Landerer, eds. *Eduard Hanslick zum Gedenken. Bericht des Symposions zum Anlass seines 100. Todestages*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag. 123-137.
- Katalinić, V., 1984. Kuhačevi objavljeni radovi (pretežno u periodici) od 1865. do 1945. prema popisu Jugoslavenskog leksikografskog zavoda. In: J. von Bezić, ed. *Zbornik rada sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u povodu 150. obljetnice rođenja Franje Ksavera Kuhača (1834-1911)*. Zagreb: JAZU. 473-522.
- Kuhač, F. Ks., 1889. *Letter No. 138*. [manuscript] Kuhačeva ostavština – korespondencija. Book IX. 30 January 1889. Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv.
- Kuhač, F. X., 1892. Musik. In: J. von Weilen, ed. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (Dalmatien)*. Vol. 11. Vienna: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. 204-212.

- Kuhač, F. Ž., 1902. Volksmusik. In: J. von Weilen, ed. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (Croatien und Slavonien)*. Siebenter Band der Länder der St. Stephans Krone. Vol. 24. Vienna: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. 109-124.
- Majer-Bobetko, S., 2019. *Hrvatska glazbena historiografija od početka 20. stoljeća do 1945. godine*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo.
- Miller, F., 1902. Musik. In: J. von Weilen, ed. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (Croatien und Slavonien)*. Siebenter Band der Länder der St. Stephans Krone. Vol. 24. Vienna: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. 174-176.
- Pederin, I., 2003. Hrvatska u djelu “Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild”. *Forum*, 4-6, 758-788.
- Pederin, I., 2004. Dalmacija u djelu “Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild”. *Rad Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 46, 395-424.
- Spinčić, A., 1891. Volksleben der Slaven in Istrien. In: J. von Weilen, ed. *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, Das Küstenland (Görtsz, Gradiska, Triest und Istrien)*. Vol. 10. Vienna: Druck und Verlag der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. 208-219.
- Stachel, P., 2010. “Mit Wärme und lebhafter Anschaulichkeit”. Eduard Hanslicks Anteil am “Kronprinzenwerk”. In: T. Antonicek, G. Gruber and Ch. Landerer, eds. *Eduard Hanslick zum Gedenken. Bericht des Symposions zum Anlass seines 100. Todestages*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag. 215-232.
- Weilen, J. von, 1888. *Letter No. 249*. [manuscript] Kuhačeva ostavština – korespondencija. Book IX. 24 October 1888. Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv.