

BAROQUE MUSIC AND POPULAR CULTURE IN THE CROATIAN LANDS SOME INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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Izyleček: Razprava je prvi poskus vseobsegajočega uvida v »popularno glasbeno kulturo« obdobja baroka na Hrvaškem. Uvodnemu razmišljanju sledi opisni pregled obstoječe bibliografije zbira ohranjenih muzikalij. Ureditev sledi vodilom sv. Bonaventure (14. stoletje), ki razlikuje med štirimi vrstami piscev besedil: scriptor, compiler, commentator in auctor. Zadnji del razprave nudi nekaj preliminarnih zaključkov, ki puščajo odprto pot za nadaljnje raziskave in razprave.

Ključne besede: baročna glasba, hrvaške dežele, popularna kultura, »visoka« in »nizka« umetnost

Abstract: This paper offers starting points for a comprehensive insight into "popular musical culture" in the Croatian territory during the Baroque period. After some introductory observations, the first part of the discussion gives a select descriptive bibliography of the musical corpus. The classification follows Saint Bonaventure (thirteenth century), who distinguishes four ways of writing: as scriptor, compiler, commentator and auctor. The closing part of the article provides some preliminary conclusions and suggestions for further research and discussion.

Keywords: Baroque music, Croatian lands, popular culture, "high" and "low" art

Introduction

Were one to leaf through any of the better-known books surveying Baroque music in Europe published during the last fifty years or so, one would easily see that this music has been largely discussed as an art that was created and practised in an age of economic prosperity, wealth and luxury: a music that was there to serve authority and through which the nobility and upper classes expressed their financial and political power. Musicology has devoted much less attention to the musical life of the lower classes of society than has been the case in the cognate human sciences and humanities, such as sociology and the history of literature or the fine arts.

In this discussion the "heroes of history"¹ – famous artists whose works made their mark on the period of the musical Baroque in the Croatian lands, and indeed in the wider European area – are mentioned only in passing. At the centre of attention are those actors

¹ Carlyle, *On Heroes*.

“of lesser importance,” who have been pushed from the margins of short-lived collective recognition into total oblivion.² The discussion is divided into three parts. In the introduction certain methodological and terminological premises are set forth. The second part presents a select descriptive bibliography of the corpus of the most important music prints and manuscripts, and several incidental and random observations devoted to the written word about music. The third section provides a few preliminary thoughts aimed more at opening up fresh perspectives than coming to any conclusions about new topics.

It is worth noting at the outset that it is easier to determine when the stylistic formation known as the Baroque in Croatian territory began than when it ended. The beginning of the Baroque *stile nuovo* can be identified in musical collections published in the early seventeenth century – printed sources that document the relatively well-developed musical life in Istria and Dalmatia and several of the more prominent composers (Cecchini, Lukačić, Nembri etc.) – whereas the ending of the period is most often placed in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the third edition of the important collection of church hymns *Cithara octochorda* (1757) was printed in Zagreb. This music, which came into being in the area of modern Croatia during the second half of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, is short on composers with recognizable oeuvres: it was a music that originated and circulated in copies, arrangements, compilations and collections with multiple authorship. Moreover, whereas in the mid-eighteenth century a generation of local composers adopting the new classical style appeared in Istria, Dalmatia and the Republic of Dubrovnik, in the modern territories of Northern Croatia and Slavonia we can still find traces of the musical Baroque up till late in the eighteenth century.³

Among the first to use and explain the term “popular culture” were the Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin⁴ and the British sociologist Peter Burke.⁵ The distinction between “low” and “high” art used in cultural studies⁶ is also useful in this discussion. In his writings Burke investigated the interactions between popular and elite culture: he was interested in the totality of social and cultural relations. The present discussion confirms that the term “popular culture” also has a history of its own, in the senses of both creation and reception.⁷

In the present study the term “popular culture” has been used to draw attention to the “lower” level of Baroque music, one of relatively modest aesthetic achievements, yet nevertheless an everyday feature of life in Croatia. This lower level of art music was most often addressed to the lower levels of society, being similar, therefore, to folk or traditional music. However, it would be a mistake to think that only rural, backward and closed milieus

² Blažeković, “Anonymus vs. Onymus”.

³ The most important studies of Baroque music in Croatia are: Plamenac, “Toma Cecchini”; Županović, “Formes de la musique croate”; Stipčević, *Hrvatska glazbena kultura*; Stipčević, *Glazbeni barok u Hrvatskoj*; Stipčević, “Music in Croatia”. See also the recent work: Katalinić et al., “Music”.

⁴ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*.

⁵ Burke, *Popular Culture*.

⁶ Biti, *Literatur- und Kulturtheorie*.

⁷ For the historical dynamics of the terms “folk culture” and “popular culture”, see Tóth, “Lower Nobility and the Oral Tradition”, in *Literacy and Written Culture*, 147–191.

are considered in this discussion. Indeed, it shows that the links between the front-runners of popular culture in the Croatian territory were quite often more resilient and extended more widely than those of composers who worked in developed artistic centres.

From *scriptor* to *auctor*

The concept of the author as a creator – the individual who creates the text – derives from Ancient Greece and at first related primarily to historians. Historians were expected to provide a trustworthy, truthful testimony, but also to display within their texts their own personal, authorial voice. In the course of time, particularly during the Middle Ages, when special *scriptoria* were formed for the functioning of secular and church government, the concept of “author” became more complex. In these *scriptoria* scribes copied out the old texts, made excerpts of certain passages or combined them into new wholes. Finally, there were some persons who wrote their own commentaries or composed new works. In her classic book about early European printing Elizabeth Eisenstein recalled the learned Franciscan theologian St Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1217/1221–1274) and his classifications of the four basic ways of writing. A *scriptor* would simply copy out a book (of known or unknown authorship); a *compilator* would collect and copy out passages from several different books, arranging them into a new unit; a *commentator* would write out someone else’s text and accompany it with his own remarks. Finally, an *auctor* would write his own work, along with which he might add his remarks about other books. This classification by St Bonaventure is well known among historians of the book.⁸

This definition according to the presence of the author in the text, even though it comes from the thirteenth century, is in principle still applicable. It should be noted that St Bonaventure did not have in mind the reading public and did not classify the text creators according to value-driven criteria. To him, an *auctor* was not one bit more important than a *scriptor*. We owe the placing of the author on the pedestal of “the creative” to Humanism and the Renaissance.

In turning to the specific corpus at hand in this first systematic delving into the central issue, I shall restrict myself to a selection of some manuscript and printed music that I believe is characteristic. This will be accompanied by bibliographical notes for the most important cases and associated annotations. Writings about music, which also undoubtedly deserve serious consideration, are mentioned only occasionally and incidentally.

Notated music is not the only source available to musical historiography, but it is certainly one of the most important. A realization that the sheet music today in the custody of different churches and secular musical collections does not reflect earlier musical practice in these settings either faithfully or reliably is slowly gaining ground. It is well known that right up to the mid-eighteenth century there were no printers equipped with metal moulds for musical notes in the Croatian lands, which meant that Croatian Baroque composers perforce had their works printed abroad. Hence their printed music – most

⁸ Eisenstein, *Printing Revolution*, 86. See the comment on St Bonaventure’s statement of the “quadruplex modus faciendi librum” in Velagić, *Pisac i autoritet*, 47.

often published in Venice, Rome or Vienna – circulated all around Europe, from Portugal to Poland: even today these prints are held mostly by archives and music collections outside Croatia.

Moreover, no small number of crucial mementos of musical life are discoverable only from secondary sources and especially ecclesiastical institutions' internal lists of printers' and booksellers' catalogues. For example, a catalogue of the printed editions of Hvar Cathedral that originates from the mid-seventeenth century is of great value, for it demonstrates that the owner of this fairly modest music collection (perhaps Cecchini) attentively kept abreast of the contemporary early Baroque trends in Italy.⁹

Further, various European printers' catalogues reveal the existence of collections that would otherwise be unknown to us.¹⁰ Namely: of all the original collections of compositions by Croatian Renaissance and Baroque authors, only one printed example is preserved in Croatia today (Jurjević's *Pisni* [Songs], discussed below). The corpus of sheet music of the Croatian musical Baroque is characterized later in its dynamic historical context, making use of St Bonaventure's classification.

The annotated bibliography of sources below is divided into four sections dedicated respectively to *scriptores*, *compilatores*, *commentatores* and *auctores*.

***Scriptores*: Scribes and Copyists of Church Choir Books, Collectors of Folk Music, Military Music**

- Bone Razmilović (1626–1678), Psalterium I (1670) and Psalterium II (1675), Split, Franciscan Monastery at Poljud¹¹

Razmilović was clearly more interested in the artistic appearance of the ecclesiastical liturgical manuals that he copied than their musical contents. This modest and retiring friar incurred large expenses for paint on behalf of his monastery and illustrated these weighty tomes with so much passion that he fell ill and died blind.

- Gabriel Pervaneo (?–?), violin tablatures of dances from various countries (about 1625 or earlier), Zagreb, Archives of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts¹²

The otherwise unknown native of Hvar Gabriel Pervaneo (Pervanić) left several rapidly written out dances for playing on the violin: the four lines present the strings of the violin, and the numbers are in fact the fingering: the rhythm is assumed to be that of the given dance. These sketchy jottings offer rare testimony of popular dances performed in the Croatian coastal area.

⁹ Milošević, "Inventory of Musical Material".

¹⁰ Since many of the older Croatian composers printed their works in Italy, an indispensable book for a bibliographical insight into older printed sheet music is Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi et avvisi*.

¹¹ In fact, the art historian Kruno Prijatelj, in his book *Barok u Splitu*, and, before him, Ljubo Karaman demonstrated through several studies the value of the "folk" pictorial Baroque in Croatia. See Prijatelj, "Za fra Bonu Razmilovića"; Stipčević, "Fra Bone Razmilović".

¹² Plamenac, "Unknown Violin Tablature"; Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*.

- Military pamphlet with the song for the Mass *Ja vjerujem, ja se ufam* [I Believe, I Trust], Zagreb, Franciscan Monastery in Kaptol (Cathedral Close)¹³
- Military pamphlet with a song for the Mass (*Song Sung at Mass, after Transubstantiation, to the Tune of the Song Chare, chare Jesu*), Zagreb, Archives of the Croatian Music Institute¹⁴
- Antun Ivanošić (1748–1800), *Pisam koju piva Slavonac uz tamburu a Ličanin odpiva od uzetja turske Gradiške iliti Berbira grada* [Song Sung by the Slavonian to the Tambouritza and That The Man from Lika Has Sung Following the Taking of Turkish Gradiška or Berbir City], Zagreb, Josip Kotche, 1789¹⁵
- Military song by an anonymous author without musical notation, *Die Heimkunft der Kroaten* [The Croats' Homecoming], Vienna, Bernardi, 1779; Vienna, Austrian National Library¹⁶

These four records of military music – three with notation, one without – are in a way the Croatian “House of the Dead”. Experts of today might be interested in the rudimentary hymnody of these ancient monophonic songs, their archaic chorale notation and the diversity of their linguistic idioms, but those for whom the music was intended – Croatian soldiers – could not have enjoyed being an *antemurale christianitatis* for the political interests of the Habsburg crown and leaving their lives on the plains of Slavonia behind.¹⁷

Compilatores: Compilers, Translators, Editors

- Bartol Kašić (1575–1650), *Ritual rimski istomačen slovinski* [Roman Rite Translated into Slavonic, i.e. Croatian], Roma, de Propag. fide, 1641¹⁸

Printed in a relatively large print order of two thousand and distributed in parishes around the Croatian coastline, Dalmatinska Zagora and deep into Bosnian territory, Kašić's *Rite* was intended to contribute to the acceptance of the Shtokavian dialect in divine service. But the plans of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide* went awry, and Shtokavian did not spread throughout Dalmatia or in Turkish Bosnia. It was, rather, the Gregorian melodies that stuck in the collective memory of inhabitants of southern Croatia. These melodies in time took on the hues of the local folk idiom and live on in Dalmatia even today (although not, it is true, in the Shtokavian dialect, as Kašić had intended, but in Chakavian), primarily as “Glagolitic singing”. Kašić's *Rite* was in official use until 1929.

- *Pavlinka pjesmarica* [Pauline Songbook] (from the *Pavlinka zbornik* [Pauline Miscellany]), Zagreb, National and University Library, Ms. 1644¹⁹

¹³ Šaban, “Misna popijevka”; Lokner et al., “Iz starije glazbene”.

¹⁴ Blažeković, “Music Repertoire”.

¹⁵ Hadžihusejnović-Valašek, “Slavonska folklorna glazba”.

¹⁶ Budiša and Stipčević, “Die Heimkunft der Kroaten”.

¹⁷ Katalinić, “Emocionalno slavljenje pobjede”.

¹⁸ Stipčević, *Hrvatska glazbena kultura*, 97–98.

¹⁹ Šaban, “Pavlinka i glazba”; Kos, “Napjevi Pavlinkinog zbornika”; Zvonar, “Kajkavske rukopisne pjesmarice”. In his very precise descriptions of the songbooks the author unfortunately seldom mentions whether they come with musical notation.

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Pete svoje Turci izmicashe
 Pak Berbira grada ostavishe.
 Tad Katri u grad ulizoshe,
 VIVAT LAUDON! složno podviknushe.
 Za zdravjemu vincem napisashe,
 I zdravicu piuch zapjevashe.

Ko mu Do mo vi na dra ga je,

Za LAUDONA zdravje nek pi je!

Nek [nash Otac xivi, gdigod je,
 LAU-

15

LAUDONO VO Ime slavno je.

Strah Turcina LAUDON zdrav bio!

Zdravo, srichao, dugo xivio.

Figure 1

Antun Ivanošić, from the *Pisan koju piva Slavonac* [Songs Sung by the Slavonian] (Zagreb: Josip Kotche 1789), Zagreb, National and University Library, RIIE-8-106 a, c (reproduced with permission)

Compared with most other Croatian hymnbooks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the *Pavlinka pjesmarica* is put together carefully and with some polish, as if it were prepared for the press. In studies to date there has generally been discussion of the extent to which this hymnbook was preserved and recorded in the *Cithara octochorda* collection. But a different way of looking at it would be interesting: to explore which tunes came from the *Pavlinka pjesmarica*, and how many of them have been forgotten in the meantime. It would seem that this is a far from negligible number. This fact draws attention in turn to at least two circumstances. First, some original medieval chants, like the *Dies irae*, have in the meantime sunk down into the lower rung of popular culture, and, second, quite a lot of manuscript songbooks have been lost in the passage of time.

- Petar Knežević (1701–1768), chorale books A (1787) and B (1768), Sinj, Franciscan Monastery; chorale book, Visovac, Franciscan Monastery²⁰

Knežević is a typical compiler: he copies out older originals and adds his own original

²⁰ Marić, Breko Kustura and Mihanović Salopek, *Fra Petar Knežević*. See also Soldo, “Glazbena ostavština”; Demović, “Solo skladbe”; Beban, “Fra Petar Knežević”.

interventions, from the organ continuo to the Croatian Mass (*Misa u hrvatski jezik*). In addition to Knežević's chorale book A (137–143) and his Visovac chorale book (58–62), a similar Mass has been recorded in the "Makarska" chorale book (208), *scriptor* unknown. The most recent research has shown that tunes similar to the *Kyrie* can be found in certain Franciscan manuscripts from Trent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Locally interspersed in both of Knežević's Sinj chorale books are short (lasting only a few bars) organ interludes, which brings them close to the Organ Mass type of composition.

- Vesperiale & Graduale, Mass-Ordinary, Cres, Franciscan monastery
- Chorale book III (44 a–f), two-part songs (B, T), Cres, Benedictine monastery, written by Domenico Filinich (1786/1787)
- Chorale book III (45 a–i), Cres, Benedictine monastery, second half of the eighteenth century
- Frane Divnić (1612–1693), at least thirteen chorale books, mostly held by Franciscan monasteries in Zadar (1645): one in Imotski and one in Koper
- Šime Vitasović (1643–1719), Codex, Zadar, library of the Chapter, 1677; Codex, Dubrovnik, Franciscan monastery, 4-I-34²¹
- Nicolò da Lisignano, Kyriale, two-part Masses, Trogir, Benedictine monastery
- Chorale book (eighteenth century), Osor, Cathedral Museum
- Chorale book with two-part Kyriale (eighteenth century), Makarska, Franciscan monastery
- Giuseppe d'Andri, Codex (1707), Split, Franciscan monastery²²
- Konrad Potočnik (1687–1737), chorale books containing Masses and other liturgical repertoire, preserved in Franciscan monasteries in Varaždin (1731), Zagreb (1732), Krapina (1733?), Ormož (1734), Čakovec (1735) and Virovitica (1736)²³

A list of manuscripts from Dalmatia that to a greater or lesser extent feature *cantus-fractus*. This is a quasi-measured plainsong, quite often forming a simple piece with two vocal parts, which served church singers as a reminder that certain songs, or sections of them, can be performed in *polifonia semplice* style.²⁴

- Passionale Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis MR 108 (1698), copied from older sources by Kristofer Vodopija

This elegantly and neatly copied liturgical handbook, along with three other manuscript chorale books created later, served as the one of the most important sources for the chorale book *Processionum ex veteri Zagrabiensis basilica divi Stephani* (Vienna: Kaliwoda, 1751).²⁵

- Remetinečki kantual [Remetinec Chorale Book] (1707), written by Hilarije (Ignaz) Mayr (1670–1723) and Franjo (Andrija) Vogtsberger (d. 1725) contains Masses,

²¹ Blažeković, "Izvjestaj o sređivanju". For more on Divnić and Vitasović, see Blažeković, "Glazbeni život". I would like to thank my colleague Blažeković for sharing with me his yet unpublished study.

²² Breko Kustura, "Svjedočanstvo ritmiziranog korala".

²³ Blažeković recently devoted fundamental studies to the Franciscan music of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Slavonia, such as "Glazbeni repertoar"; Blažeković, "Music Repertoire".

²⁴ Breko Kustura, "Sources of 'cantus-fractus'".

²⁵ Kniewald, "Iluminacija i notacija", 84–85.

among them a Mass by Ivan Leopold Šebelić, Varaždin, Franciscan Monastery; the Virovitica Chorale Book (1736) also contains the same Mass by Šebelić

- Cantuale Crisiensis (1712–1713), written by F. Vogtsberger, Križevci, Franciscan monastery

It was while studying the *Remetinec Chorale Book* that Šaban arrived at the idea that this and similar liturgical manuscripts bring together the *Franciscan Baroque Music* under a common denominator: “The extant Franciscan musical heritage of the first half of the eighteenth century (is) not only the oldest but the most valuable to have been preserved in northern Croatia from the Baroque period.”²⁶

- Filip Vlahović Kapušvarac (c. 1700–1755), author of music and poetry, compiler, copied four chorale books plus one further Božićna misa [Christmas Mass]

The most markedly original personality of Franciscan music in Slavonia during the first half of the eighteenth century.²⁷

- Kristofor Peršić, *Passionale Croaticum Almae Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis*, 1683, Zagreb, National and University Library, R 3006
- *Passionale latino-croaticum*, Zagreb, National and University Library, R 4098
- *Passionale Croaticum*, written by Stanislav Pepelko, Zagreb, Metropolitan Library, MR 3
- Toma Zakarija Pervizović, *Muka i smert Kristuševa* [The Passion and Death of Christ], Zagreb, 1764

The singing of the *Passion* in Zagreb Cathedral had been performed for centuries using melodic patterns recorded in medieval Zagreb sources that on the whole drew on the tradition of Hungarian medieval manuscripts. The Baroque Zagreb *Passions* received their definitive form in Pervizović’s printed book.

- *Cithara octochorda seu cantus sacri latino-sclavonici*, Vienna, Leopoldi Voigt, 1701; L. Voigt, 1723, 2nd ed.; Zagreb, Antonii Reiner, 1757, 3rd ed.²⁸

A voluminous collection of pious and secular songs in Croatian and Latin, one of the most important monuments of the northern Croatian musical (and literary) Baroque. The history of the songs in the three editions of *Cithara* give vivid proof of the changes from “folk” to “popular culture”.

- *Popevke pod. Sv. Mašum* [Mass Songs], Zagreb, Josef Kamil Kotche, 1789; Zagreb, National and University Library²⁹

Printed hymn books like this one were meant for the people to sing to in church. Only two years earlier, in 1787, the newly appointed Bishop Maximilian Vrhovec had the old Zagreb liturgy abolished. His wish was to replace the old church songs that had been nurtured for centuries and handed down from generation to generation with hymn books in Kaikavian, as well as with songs from the German, and, more generally, the Central European, repertoire. Vrhovec’s reform was not completely realized, and the

²⁶ Šaban, “Glazba u franjevačkom”.

²⁷ Švigelj, “Filip Kapušvarac”; Stipčević, *Glazba, tekst, kontekst*, 41–66.

²⁸ Špralja, *Cithara octochorda*.

²⁹ Bezić and Bezić, “Crkvene pučke popijevke”; Lokner et al., “Iz starije glazbene”, 120–121.

popular church songs, cultivated for centuries in the diocese of Zagreb, remain alive in the collective memory even today.³⁰

Commentatores: Editors, Transcribers

- Varaždinska Pjesmarica I [Varaždin Songbook I], Varaždin Municipal Museum, Rara Collection³¹

This contains sacred and secular songs in Latin and Kaikavian. Similar texts can be found in somewhat older and later Kaikavian songbooks. Everything here written in calligraphy and chorale notation on almost 250 pages belongs to the body of folk singing, whether this was meant for popular singing inside the church or outdoors. Distant echoes of the Baroque can be gleaned from the linguistic, and to a lesser extent the musical, idiom.

- Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834–1911), *Južno-slovienske narodne popievke: ljubavne popievke iz stare dobe* [Folk Chants], Zagreb, 1880, vol. 3/1:184 ff.

In his large collection of a total of 1,600 folksongs of the South Slavs Kuhač included, among other things, four songs – *Paulinac i sestra mu* [The Pauline and His Sister], *Inačica* [Variant], *Vazda će vieran biti* [Always Shall Faithful Be], and finally *Sve mi ide na ruku* [Everything Goes Well for Me], that he says stem from the fifteenth century, recorded in the songbook of historian Ivan Kukuljević (1816–1889). This songbook is unfortunately lost. More than the chorale notation that Kuhač faithfully copied out, the linguistic characteristics point to an eighteenth-century origin.

- Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, *Litanie dobrovoljne* [Voluntary Litanies]³²

In the large collection of *South Slav Folk Songs*, Zagreb, 1881, vol. 4, no. 1384, Kuhač published several folksongs with the comment “Zagreb, about 1840”. These are songs of the Pinta Wine Club, founded at the end of the seventeenth century in Krkanec Castle, not far from Varaždin.

- Ladislav Forko (1754–1826), notation of folksongs (1823)³³

The humble rural parish priest Ladislav Forko noted down the words of around a hundred folksongs in Kaikavian and provided several of the songs with very archaic notation without any rhythm, similar to neumes.

Auctores: Composers

During the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century Croatian composers – those who by birth, activity or both, were active participants in musical life on the

³⁰ For songbooks after the reforms of Vrhovec, see Zečević, *Hrvatske pučke pjesmarice*.

³¹ Lokner et al., “Iz starije glazbene”, 117–119.

³² Tomašek, “Litanije dobrovoljne”; Lozica, “*Gesunkenes Getrunkenes Kulturgut*”.

³³ Fancev, “Hrvatska dobrovolja”, 166–168 (Dragan Plamenac’s “Uz napjeve Forkove zbirke”); Zvonar, “Kajkavske rukopisne pjesmarice”, 305–306.

territory of present-day Croatia published about eighty printed collections.³⁴ Between the mid-seventeenth century and the end of the eighteenth there were hardly a dozen. Of all this printed sheet music, published from the early sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, almost nothing is preserved in Croatian archives and music collections. This body of original printed sheet music certainly deserves to be listed more precisely and made available for public inspection.

- Tomaso Cecchini “Veronese” (c. 1582–1644), musical director of the cathedrals in Split and Hvar, **twenty-seven** printed collections
- Gabriello Puliti (1583–1644), Tuscan by birth, spent most of his working life in Istria, **thirty-seven** printed collections, at least **four** of them dedicated to the Croatian part of Istria, i.e. Labin and Krk
- Marcantonio Romano (?–?), organist of Split Cathedral, **one** monodic madrigal
- Ivan Lukačić (c. 1575–1648) of Šibenik, worked as musical director in Split, **one** printed collection
- Atanazije Jurjević (Georgiceo) (1590–1640) of Split, lived and worked mainly in the north of Croatia, **one** printed collection
- Francesco Sponga Usper (1561–1641) of Poreč or Rovinj, **five** printed collections, **one** dedicated to his native Istrian region, and his nephew Gabriel Sponga Usper (*fl.* at the beginning of the seventeenth century), **one** printed collection; both worked in Venice
- Damjan Nembri (1580–1648/1649), a native of Hvar, worked in Zadar and Venice, **two** printed collections
- Vinko Komnen (1590–1667), a native of Ston (near Dubrovnik), **three** madrigals
- Gaetano de Stefanis (*fl.* at the beginning of the eighteenth century), **three** collections, **one** (the first) published during his stay in Split, 1700
- *Remete Choral Book*, **one** Mass signed by Ivan Leopold Šebelić (1706) (see above)³⁵
- Carlo Antonio Nagli, **two** Masses (c. 1720–1730), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France³⁶

³⁴ This list gives a selection of the most important composers and their works. The figures in bold show the number of printed (extant or not) composers’ collections. Here, the compositions of individual authors are not included if it is unknown whether or not in their later lives they had any connections with their homeland (as with Vinko Jelić born in Rijeka / Fiume and Giovanni Sebenico / Ivan of Šibenik), nor are the names given of those composers whose works are no longer in existence, such as Bonaventura Holjar and Vladislav Menčetić (Stipčević, “Music in Croatia”; Katalinić et al., “Music”).

³⁵ Šaban, “Ivan Leopold Šebelić”.

³⁶ Stipčević, “Carlo Antonio Nagli”.

- Juraj Mulih (1694–1754), from the songbook *Laudes Dei*, **two** church songs (1749), MS formerly preserved in the Archives of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb³⁷

A Few Provisional Remarks in Conclusion

RELIGIOUS ORDERS, THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL AND FOLK MUSIC

Three religious orders were of particular importance for the development of Croatian musical culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth century: those of the Paulines, Jesuits and Franciscans. One should also include the Benedictines and Dominicans, as well as the female orders: the Benedictine and Ursuline nuns and the Poor Clares. It is generally considered that in the Croatian territories the Reformation took a relatively weak hold, and that it is more appropriate to talk not of a Counter-Reformation but rather of a Catholic Revival. This idea, which is not restricted to Croatian ecclesiastical historians, ignores the fact that in this revival there were plenty of conservative currents that resulted in a number of restrictions on personal freedoms.

Folk religious chants did not admit to the divisions that kept the individual orders apart, as shown by a note that Mulih placed in his prayer book *Nebeska hrana* [Heavenly Food] (Zagreb, 1748). In accordance with the practice common at the time, the Jesuit Juraj Mulih suggested that his verses might be sung, and for the song *Zdihavanje Ksaverijansko* [Xavier's Sighing] expressly suggested that it could be sung to the melody of *Poslan bi Gabriel* [Gabriel Was Sent], which is actually present in several songbooks and chorale books, mainly Franciscan in origin.³⁸ In any case, the practice of borrowing the texts of a different, sometimes completely opposed, religious message or world-view had been well known ever since the days of the Italian polyphonic *laude*.

There would have been little use for the religious orders' pastoral endeavours if they had not fallen upon the fertile ground of domestic oral musical, poetic and general popular culture. It is enough to recall the travelogue combined a historical account by Prospero Petronio (1608–1688) of Koper,³⁹ where he writes quite precisely and with unconcealed approval about the various occasions for which the people of Istrian coastal towns put on dances as well as comedies and operas. Also interesting is the vehement answer of Franciscan Ivan Lovrić (1754–1777) to the mistaken and tendentious interpretations of everyday rural life in the Dalmatian hinterland (Zagora) made by the learned Abbot Alberto Fortis (1741–1803). Lovrić openly defends his observations vis-à-vis the leisurely distance of the salon readers of Fortis's travel-writer's prose and asserts with a good deal of engagement:

Loving to sing of the famous deeds of the old folk heroes, the Morlaks were almost all musicians [...]. When a singer was accompanied by some instrument or other, it was

³⁷ Barlè, "Juraj Mulih"; Barlè, "Još o Jurju Mulihu".

³⁸ Šojat, "Juraj Mulih", 77; Stipčević, *Glazba, tekst, kontekst*, 41–66.

³⁹ Petronio, *Memorie sacre e profane*.

poignantly sad. The main instrument to which they sing is the gusle, strung with just one string, composed of many joined horse's hairs [...]. [T]hat this is true can be seen from Italian music being excessively boring to them, just as Morlakian music is tedious to the Italian.⁴⁰

THE PAULINES AND THE DISSEMINATION OF CULTURE

The Order of St Paul the Hermit founded its first monastery in Croatia in the thirteenth century. Originally founded on the principles of renunciation and eremitism, in the course of time the Pauline order turned into an elite, feudal and economically independent order. The Paulines engaged with music to a modest extent, cultivating almost exclusively monophonic church singing: that is, chorales and pious folksong. In fact, we owe the most extensive Croatian manuscript collection of religious songs from the seventeenth century to the Paulines. What is called the Pauline Songbook of 1644 is a component part of the still more extensive Pauline Miscellany. It contains fifty-three devotional songs, partly in Latin but mostly in Kaikavian, the Croatian dialect. The anonymous compiler and transcriber of these songs supplied musical notation for almost all the songs. The songs in the Kaikavian dialect had been sung over the centuries in churches throughout northern Croatia; they were written mostly in the sixteenth century, or even earlier, and many were included in the capacious printed miscellany *Cithara octochorda* (Vienna, 1701, 1723; Zagreb, 1757). The songs in the Pauline Songbook are mainly taken from the folk and church repertoire of central Europe (partly from Latin liturgical song, partly from German and Czech pre-Reformation Hussite collections). It would be interesting to trace the echoes of the Pauline Songbook in the later works of Croatian literature. We know very little about such echoes. Let me mention just one example. The Kaikavian writer Gabriel Jurjević (1620–1704), in the foreword to a collection of poetry entitled *Listi heroov* [Songs of Heroes] (Vienna, 1657), remarks that his poems can be sung, among other things, to “some melodies from the Pauline Songbook”. Jurjević’s poetic epistles, whose listeners were “gentlemen, heroes and others of both sexes of the quality [i.e., nobility]”, were clearly inspired by folk music.⁴¹

JESUITS: HIGH AND LOW CULTURE

When the Jesuits came to Croatia (Dubrovnik, 1604; Zagreb, 1606; Rijeka, 1627; Varaždin, 1632), they brought with them music of a previously unknown opulence and monumentality. Processions and public events were often so spectacular that the documents particularly point out how “immense multitudes” took part in them. The Jesuits’ triumphs, their theatrical and allegorical presentations and their musical *intermedia* were exhibited before the eyes of many. In his work *Zrcalo Marijansko* [Marian Mirror] (Graz, 1667) Juraj Habelić suggestively describes the festivity of “the Tree of the Virgin Mary” in

⁴⁰ Lovrić, *Osservazioni*, 104. For a more detailed discussion of Fortis, Lovrić and their contemporaries, see Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs*.

⁴¹ Šojat, *Hrvatski kajkavski pisci*, 1:305.

the Jesuit church of St Catherine in Zagreb; particularly noteworthy is a chapter in which Habledić defends the Jesuit practice of preserving folksong.⁴²

Naturally, as you learned, so you speak. And who would drive songs away from entertainments, stalls and fields and so on? Not I. On the contrary I recommend that craftsman and peasant sing merrily, that they sing songs at parties, of the kind that among honest and God-fearing folk of ancient times were devotional, honest and made to the glory of God. With these you have to make merry contentedly and make your troubles lighter. This is what the Early Christians did at their suppers and rites [...].⁴³

In their pastoral activity the Jesuits drew for support on folksong. Endeavours to write down and convey from the folk and the oral to the lettered and to have as rule-abiding a musical tradition as possible (one purged of pagan and lewd texts) were abundantly explained by the Jesuits Nikola Krajačević Sartorius, Juraj Habledić and Juraj Mulih in their works. In his book *Sveti evangeliomi* [Holy Gospels] (Graz, 1651 and several later editions) Krajačević described how he imagined the procedure of fitting the melody of an already existing song to some new religious lyrics. Some of these folksongs are recorded in later songbooks, while others have been handed down through the generations to this day. It is thus possible to reconstruct fairly accurately how Krajačević imagined that his “litanies, hymns and spiritual songs” should be sung.⁴⁴

Here, one has to mention another Jurjević: one who has no connection with Gabriel, however. The native of Split Atanazije Jurjević (c. 1590–c. 1640) was the author of some texts and monodic chants sung to an unfigured thorough bass for the organ included in a slender volume entitled *Pisni za najpoglavitije, najsvetije i najveselije dni svega godišća složene* [Songs Composed for the Highest, Holiest and Most Joyful Days of the Year] (Vienna, 1635).⁴⁵ This is the earliest known printed songbook in Croatian to contain musical notation. This apparently modest and unpretentious songbook arose from the Jesuit pastoral programme. Two years earlier in Vienna, in 1633, Jurjević had published a booklet – not previously recorded by scholars – called *Naslidovanja duhovna* [Spiritual Imitation], a collection of spiritual poetry accompanied by diverse liturgical commentaries. This booklet was a kind of trailer for the later *Pisni* songbook, which Jurjević obviously hoped would have a good reception. The devotional songs of the *Pisni*, twelve in all, were written in the Chakavian-Ikavian dialect, and the simple melodies of these monophonic compositions were in the style of folksongs, adapted for a general audience. Jurjević’s goal was that the musical and verbal idiom should come close to the ideal of a folksong in its simplicity. In fact, he – as a pupil of the Jesuits, an expert in Slavonic languages and a *consiliarius* at the Habsburg court of Ferdinand II responsible for Balkan matters – had a marked awareness of pastoral goals following the Council of Trent, and probably arrived at the idea of writing the collection *Pisni* after prompting by several Jesuit high

⁴² Habledić, *Pervi otca našega*, 262–266; Šojat, *Hrvatski kajkavski pisci*, vol. 2.

⁴³ Habledić, *Pervi otca našega*, 262–266.

⁴⁴ Ivančević, “Kajkavske crkvene pjesmarice”; Kos, *Volkstümliche Züge*.

⁴⁵ Jurjević, *Pisni za najpoglavitije*. In the same year, 2011, Miho Demović likewise published a reprint of Jurjević’s *Pisni*, with an accompanying commentary.

dignitaries. Here, it is worth bearing in mind that the *Pisni* belong to a much wider central European body of similar printed works with simple monodic chants employing thorough bass. One such songbook with words in German, entitled *Sirenes Partheniae* (Cologne, 1662), is still in existence in the Franciscan Monastery in Klanjec.

NEW MUSICAL MAPS: THE PROMOTION OF FRANCISCAN MUSIC

In the first half of the eighteenth century the Croatian musical map changed entirely. Many regions that were previously not very active started to take part, if only with tiny parts of the mosaic, in the creation of a new picture of the whole of musical life. This was the time when certain regions came to the fore, such as Dalmatinska Zagora, Srijem and Baranja. Their music activity was initially modest, subordinated to the needs of pastoral care and doctrine. In time, music making became an increasingly common feature and in some parish churches was professionalized. Finally, in the middle, and towards the end, of that century, the circles around the families of the nobility and some of the richer commoners provided patronage to support the foundation of musical ensembles and enable the development of musical life.

In the first decades of the eighteenth century there were a few composers who, thanks to their talent and creative energy, were able to maintain the earlier level of musical activity and thereby become involved on an equal footing in contemporary musical trends. Standing out in the first decades was the composer Carlo Antonio Nagli (about 1680–1756), of Riminese descent, twice musical director at Split Cathedral (1707–1726 and 1738–1743), who wrote several works for the church, including an *Inno di S. Doimo* (MS, 1740). It is not clear whether compositions such as his two four-part Masses marked as *con Instrumenti* belonged to his Šibenik and Split period or to his later period of residence at the Venetian church of the Frari. At first sight, it would seem that the complex performance requirements would have exceeded the capability of the Split Cathedral choir and orchestra at the start of the eighteenth century. Alternatively, this Mass by Nagli could be taken as a testimony of the previously unsuspected musical capability of Split Cathedral.

The popularity enjoyed in their day by the devotional works of Petar Knežević (1701–1768), a prominent member of the central Dalmatian Franciscan Province of the Most Holy Redeemer, was based on a literary expression close to the oral tradition and folk writing. Along with Knežević's *Weeping of the Virgin* (Venice: Simeone Occhi, 1735), folk chants are still sung in Dalmatinska Zagora today. Three choirbooks that Knežević wrote during the last two years of his life contain collections of short monophonic and two-voice liturgical compositions for voices without organ accompaniment. Knežević's monophonic *Mass in Croatian* from the Franciscan monastery in Sinj owes its existence to a Latin model, and possibly to some foreign composer as well. Like most of the Franciscan composers and copyists of the time, Knežević did not find it necessary to identify the source of his *Croatian Mass*. He did not strictly distinguish the role of author from that of copyist.

The manuscripts of Filip Vlahović Kapušvarec (c. 1700–1755), a Slavonian Franciscan, evidence a similar stance and equally modest musical achievements. Kapušvarec collected religious poetry in Croatian, primarily Marian and penitential, and copied it out

and illuminated it in all four chorale books (named after the cities they belonged to: the *Velika*, 1719; the *Požega*, 1720; the *Vukovar*, 1730; and the *Našice*, 1737). To these chorale books one must add the *Liber missarum* [...] *exceptit Mathias Jacobovich* (Požega, 1725), which is a kind of selection from the chorale books of Kapušvarec made by Jakobović. This choirbook by Jakobović contains a *Christmas Mass*, the authorship of which is ascribed to Kapušvarec, but in fact it constitutes a kind of parody, for several times in each movement motifs are cited and varied that come from the Christmas carol *U sve vrime godišča* [At All Times of the Year], which is still sung today.⁴⁶

Two stylistic periods of Franciscan music can be distinguished in eighteenth-century Slavonia. In the first period, up to 1757, the monasteries belonged to the province of Silver Bosnia, while after that, up to 1900, they belonged to the Capistran Province, with its headquarters in Buda. Manuscripts featuring music and liturgy circulated most of all within the circle of the same province. Thus, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, any musical activity of the Franciscans in Slavonia was oriented towards the Dalmatian and west Bosnian hinterland, although their later activity came increasingly under the influence of their Hungarian and Austrian sister houses. At the beginning of the century the Franciscans were at the forefront of the cultivation of religious folksong, and their printed songbooks, particularly *Cvit mirisa duhovnog* [The Flower of the Scent of the Spiritual] (Venice, 1726, followed by numerous later editions) by Tomo Babić – among the populace known as “Babuša” – had a direct effect on the creation of religious songs in Slavonia. Kapušvarec, too, was inspired by the Babić songbook.⁴⁷ If the dedications from Babić’s *Cvit* (1726) and Kapušvarec’s *Našice* chorale book (1737) are placed side by side, one easily recognizes a similar aesthetic.⁴⁸

In line with this organized copying work in Croatian monasteries, starting back in the second half of the seventeenth century, various writings about music theory, theory and harmony textbooks, and basic composition textbooks by writers such as Mihajlo Šilobod Bolšić (1724–1787), Josip Pavišević (1734–1803) and Ivan Velikanović (1723–1803) began to be acquired, copied out and translated. In addition, some lecture notes made by pupils are still in existence. In this article I will limit my references to two previously unnoticed sources. The *Drnjanska pjesmarica* [Drnje Songbook], was produced in three phases between 1687 and 1802 (the greater part was written by the teacher and organist Juran Ščrbačić in 1687, and in the literature this collection is referred to as Ščrbačić’s songbook). On pages 76–81 it contains several short and incomplete musical examples, accompanied by explanations of the basics of music theory. In general, the examples demonstrate how cadences are performed on the organ and give instructions about thorough bass.⁴⁹ The second manuscript is more intriguing. Toma Kovačević (1664–1724), a historian of Zagreb

⁴⁶ Matasović, “Našički kantual”.

⁴⁷ On Franciscan music in Slavonia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Šaban and Blažeković, “Izvještaj o dvogodišnjem”; Šaban, “Glazba u franjevačkom”; Šaban, “Glazba u slavonskim samostanima”.

⁴⁸ For more about Babić’s and Kapušvarec’s dedications, see Stipčević, *Glazba, tekst, kontekst*, 45–49.

⁴⁹ Šojat, *Hrvatski kajkavski pisci*, 1:335–372; Petrić, “Drnjanska pjesmarica”.



Figure 2
Filip Vlahović Kapušvec, from the Našice chorale book (1737), Našice, Franciscan monastery, R-5 (reproduced with permission)

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Prosa post Epistol:

The image shows two staves of handwritten musical notation. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written in a cursive hand below the notes. The bottom staff continues the melody and includes a double bar line at the end.

Den szerditi hoche priti, vese svet z-og nyem poppa „
tici, nesze mochi pred nyim zkriti.

Davidova rech je bila, to pravička szvedochila; y Sibilla
narvertila.

Kulick trepet onda bude, gdasse mertvi vszi prebude; da
poszluhnu Bozje szude.

Onde hoche szmert prextati, vsza natura trepetati; kada
vachun bude dati.

Szudeck ada gda bu szedel, vsza otajna bude videl; y szer-
dito na me gledel.

Kaj nevolynik onda rechem, pod obrambu kamsze vechem;
gda zrah bude y pravichnem.

Figure 3

Juraj Lephamer, the hymn *Dies irae* from the *Philomela sacra* (1706), Zagreb, National and University Library, R 6838 (reproduced with permission)

Cathedral and assiduous student of archival records, left in manuscript, among other things, a *Directorium pro usu chori ecclesiae Zagrabiensis* (Zagreb, HAZU Archives, Ms., c. 1720); further, it is known that in Vienna he published in 1701 a lost treatise called *Brevis cantus gregoriani notitia*. To judge from all this, Kovačević was well qualified to have been the curator of the first, and perhaps also the second, edition of *Cithara Octochorda*.

Generally speaking, the musical activity of the religious orders in the first half of the eighteenth century remained within the limits set by local purposes and pastoral needs. Although domestic priests had no chance to follow contemporary Baroque tendencies, they succeeded in maintaining continuity in musical life, attempting to expand it over the whole of the Croatian-inhabited space.

From the descriptive bibliography at the beginning of this discussion, it can be inferred that some of the notation at the lower end of the register of artistic expression is very archaic. Perhaps the most extreme example of this is the notation of Ladislav Forko from the early nineteenth century, which resembles medieval neumes. Archaic in a different way are the examples of notation from Juraj Lehpamer, born in Samobor. An amateur organist, he left a collection of old Kaikavian secular and church songs written in fine handwriting, calling it *Philomela sacra* (1796), lovingly decorating it with naïve floral figuration, and adding three notated songs at the end. Lehpamer's writing of the medieval hymn *Dies irae*, set down in Kaikavian in the Pauline Songbook, contains an added, extremely simplified thorough bass.⁵⁰ This Baroque-inflected medieval song offers a good example of how what had once been high art had over the course of time become *gesunkenes Kulturgut*.

At this moment it is impossible to provide any firmer conclusions. It does, however, seem possible to set the framework for more extensive research in the future. In its expression the simple folk layer of church music is more important for *how* it acts than for *what* it is: it is more important for its fulfilment of pastoral and educational tasks than for any compositional originality. Church music was more important in its external effect than in its inner workings. That is why it is necessary to undertake patient research in order to identify this stratum of older Croatian music and understand more clearly its dimensions. The popular stratum in the history of Croatian musical culture merits a more thoroughgoing study.

⁵⁰ Zvonar, "Kajkavske rukopisne pjesmarice", 300; Lokner et al., "Iz starije glazbene", 112–114.

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BAROČNA GLASBA IN POPULARNA KULTURA V HRVAŠKIH DEŽELAH: UVODNA OPAŽANJA

Povzetek

Zgodovinski pregledi evropske baročne glasbe navadno v središče pozornosti postavljajo vodilne umetnike in njihova dela; glasba, o kateri se razpravlja, je umetnost, nastala v času gospodarskega razcveta, blaginje in razkošja. V pričujoči razpravi niso v ospredju »zgodovinski junaki« (Carlyle), temveč nasprotno, popularna kultura – dela nižje estetske ravni, nastala na zgodovinskih ozemljih Hrvatov. Besedilo je razdeljeno na tri dele. V uvodnem so predstavljene številne terminološke in metodološke predpostavke. Drugi del prinaša opisni pregled izbrane obstoječe bibliografije zbira najpomembnejših primerov notnih zapisov in številnih naključnih oz. nesistematičnih omemb. Tretji del podaja nekaj (preliminarnih) izhodišč, ki jih je treba razumeti bolj kot vabilo k nadaljnjim raziskavam in razpravam kot pa dokončne zaključke.

Fenomen popularne kulture razlikuje med t. i. »visoko« in »nizko« funkcionalnostjo glasbe. V analizi je uporabljena klasifikacija Bonaventure da Bagnoregia, za katerega so pisci lahko *scriptor*, *compiler*, *commentator* ali *auctor*. Pričujoči zbir glasbenih zapisov je obravnavan po kronološkem redu in je opremljen z opisno bibliografijo. Tako ustvarjena mreža raznovrstnih metodoloških stališč omogoča vpogled v vire, ki predtem niso bili deležni sistematičnih raziskav.

Razvoj baročne umetnosti na Hrvaškem ima nenavaden lok. Po prvih desetletjih 17. stoletja, ko so tam – predvsem v obalnih predelih – delovali pomembni umetniki, ki so svoje zbirke skladb tiskali po vsej Evropi (čeprav pretežno v Italiji), so se v naslednji generaciji obrnili k rokopisni tradiciji in ustvarjanju »nižjih« glasbenih zvrsti; tako je razvoj, do neke mere, doslej definirala stroka.

Pričujoče besedilo prinaša nov pogled na manj raziskano »nižjo plast« baročne glasbe na Hrvaškem. Avtor je poiskal sledi popularne kulture, glasbe, ki se je izoblikovala v okviru pastoralnega življenja cerkvenih redov, predvsem jezuitov, frančiškanov in pavlincev. Preprosta plast ljudske glasbe je bila za cerkveno glasbo pomembna bolj zaradi svojega učinka – bolje je izpolnjevala pastoralne in vzgojne naloge – kot zaradi svoje glasbene izvirnosti. To hkrati potrjuje staro reklo, da je včasih bolje pogledati v središče z obrobja. In to ne velja zgolj za baročno glasbo na Hrvaškem.