

Music Education in the Context of School Modernization in Croatia during the 19th century

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate to what extent the legislative efforts for the modernization of the school system in Croatia during the 19th century influenced the development of music education in elementary schools. The need for the state to regulate education became increasingly pronounced during the 18th and 19th centuries, leading to the enactment of key legislative documents during the period that had a considerable effect on the school system, and as such served as a foundation upon which the modern education as we know it today was built. The importance of the documents analysed is observed not only through the lens of shaping the school system but also in the context of music education. This opened the door for music educators of various profiles to strive for the improvement of music teaching. Initially, music education was limited to singing activities, but soon debates emerged about whether singing was sufficient and whether other elements of music education should be incorporated into the curriculum. These debates are followed through publications in professional journals, as well as through the analysis of textbooks and teaching materials that were created and used in music education during the 19th century.

Keywords: music pedagogy, modernization of education, music education, singing, school legislation.

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Introduction

Even during the 18th century, mainly under the influence of Enlightenment ideas and parallel to the development of modern state systems, activities of various state institutions related to the organization and control of education intensified throughout Europe. During this period, awareness of the importance of education increased, and schooling emerged as one of the more significant political issues. The previous dominance of the church and religious orders over education ceased, with individual states taking the lead in shaping the modern school system. The peak of this process occurred during the 18th and 19th centuries when the necessary prerequisites for educational reforms were established. The first among these prerequisites is the formation of an institutional network of school administration as a framework for public action: in the Habsburg Monarchy during the 18th century, a whole network of institutions was created at both central and local levels, enabling the implementation of reforms and ensuring a robust system of control (Horbec et al., 2017: 11-12). The state assumed the primary role in education, which is most clearly reflected through school legislation. In this paper, we follow the enactment of school decrees and laws that shaped education in Croatia and their impact on the development of music pedagogical ideas in the general education curriculum of the time.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the territory of Croatia, divided into Banovina of Croatia, Slavonia, the Military Frontier, and Dalmatia and Istria, was part of the Habsburg Monarchy. The Banovinas of Croatia and Slavonia were under the administration of Hungary as a special political area with limited autonomy, while Dalmatia and Istria (from 1797) and the Military Frontier were under Austrian administration until 1918. The Military Frontier was demilitarized in 1873, and the decision to unite it with the motherland was made in 1881. It is important to note that the Banovinas of Croatia and Slavonia were connected by numerous economic and cultural ties with nearby areas, which belonged to the territory of the Triune Kingdom, but the administrative separation of these areas was complete. In the context of the development of the school system in Croatia, this situation was certainly a hindrance, especially since Croatian estates often sought the annexation of Dalmatia to Croatia and Slavonia based on historical rights, while the ruling circles in Vienna rejected this. Unlike other smaller nations in the Monarchy, Croats did have a certain degree of autonomy, at least in the Banovina of Croatia, in the form of the so-called municipal rights (*iura municipalia*) (Markus, 2016).

In the context of the development and reform of the school system, it is important to clarify what was happening with the use of the Croatian language in public affairs. Amid constant Magyarization and Germanization, efforts to develop the national language and the

persistence to introduce it as the official language in its own territory became increasingly significant. The introduction of the Croatian language into administration, the judiciary, and education began during the governorship of Baron Josip Šokčević in 1860. However, Croatian politics during this period was still torn between the interests of Vienna and Budapest. Both policies were incompatible with the effort to expand Croatian autonomy, achieve the unity of Croatian lands, and transform the Triune Kingdom into an autonomous state within the Monarchy (Markus, 2016: 13). This situation in Croatia, with regular fluctuations in relations with Vienna and Budapest, persisted until the dissolution of the Monarchy in 1918. Nevertheless, the process of modernizing the school system continued despite all circumstances, and consequently, we observe the development of music pedagogical ideas related to music education in elementary schools.

The formation of the modern school system through legal regulations in the first half of the 19th century

The serious structuring of the education system in Croatia began during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (1740–1780). In the spirit of Enlightenment ideas, she encouraged the establishment of schools with the aim of opening the most elementary form of school at least in the center of each parish. Her school reform was announced in the General School Order of 1774 (Cuvaj, 1910, I). The so-called *General school rules for German normal, main and trivial schools* of December 6, 1774, is also the fundamental legislative document for the establishment of state education in the Monarchy. As for the Croatian territories, this document was applied only in the Military Frontier but is important because it set the basic principles of the role of education and schooling in society and established the fundamental tenets for the later development of state (public) education. According to this document, all children had the right to free primary education, schooling was placed under state supervision, and the mother tongue was prescribed as the language of instruction; although, when it comes to the Military Frontier, this was German. The document envisaged the following: (1) normal schools participating in each school commission, which, in addition to broader education, also took care of the education of future generations of teachers; (2) main schools in each school district; and in every place where there was a parish church, a (3) trivial school was to be established. The curriculum, which was adapted for different types of schools, included the following subjects: religious instruction, ethics, mathematics, accounting, writing, useful skills such as agriculture or technical skills, the mother tongue, Latin, sciences useful for further study, history, geography, art history, natural sciences, the basics of architecture, and surveying (Horbec et al., 2017). No form of music education was provided for in said document.

Despite good intentions, the document General School Order (*Opći školski red*) was not well received in Hungary. Thus, the idea of creating a new educational foundation for Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia was accepted in the form of a document named *Ratio educationis totiusque rei literariae per Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas* on August 2, 1777. This document prescribed the organization of schools up to the university level (unlike General School Order, which focused only on elementary schools). According to *Ratio educationis*, schools were divided into normal and national schools. The organization and purpose of normal schools were the same as in General School Order. National schools were divided into urban schools with three teachers, market town schools with two teachers, and rural schools with one teacher. The language of instruction was the mother tongue, and the learning of national languages was encouraged through teaching in the national language in lower grades, bilingual textbooks, and particularly through recommendations for teaching other national languages of the Monarchy that were deemed useful. The mandatory subjects in all schools were: reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious instruction (Horbec, et al., 2017; Munjiza, 2009). The actual situation, however, was somewhat less favorable. The stated decrees did not ensure education for the entire population of children, and many provisions remained on a rather declarative level. Schools were located only in larger places, with instruction in German. It was only after the 1830s that more widespread schooling was ensured through the introduction of national elementary schools, which were in Croatian and operated in almost every village (Munjiza, 2009).

During the 1830s and 1840s, there emerged a prominent conflict between Croatian and Hungarian estates due to efforts to introduce Hungarian as the official language in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy, including Croatia and Slavonia. Simultaneously, the Croatian think tank was working on the process of developing a standard Croatian literary language. In such circumstances, there was no discussion about important educational reforms (Horbec, et al., 2017). Since *Ratio educationis* (and its revised edition from 1806) did not improve the state of the education system, the creation of a new document was undertaken. The lack of trained teachers and the lack of funds for the establishment of new schools were to be addressed by a school ordinance called *Elementary School System* (*Systema scholarum elementarium*), issued in July 1845. According to the *Elementary School System*, which reorganized the elementary school system in the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom, the task of public schools was both educational and formative, adapted to suit the social class and to provide a foundation for further education. Elementary schools were divided into lower and higher levels; the first two grades were the so-called lower school, while the third and fourth grades were higher school. Following the completion of the third grade, students could move on to higher literary or industrial classes. The *Elementary School System* left public schools under the strong influence of the Church, emphasized the

Hungarian language, and placed importance on religious and moral education, as well as the acquisition of practical knowledge suitable for the gender and social class of the students (Horbec, et al., 2017). The *Elementary School System* in Croatia was not fully implemented before 1848. During the period of neo-absolutism, it was revoked, and it was reinstated by the decree of the Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Court Dicastery on November 7, 1861. Some provisions remained in effect in the civil part of Croatia and Slavonia until the adoption of the first Croatian School Law in 1874 (Horbec, et al., 2017). We highlight this document as the first to mention music education, specifically under Chapter III, which lists the subjects of instruction in elementary schools and states that in the second grade, among other things, the instruction and practice in modest, proper, pleasant, and pious singing of songs are conducted.

The revolutionary upheavals that engulfed much of Europe and the Habsburg Monarchy in 1848 created a favorable atmosphere for new reforms in education. At the state level, the introduction of a parliamentary system was requested, and in Croatia, the demand for territorial and administrative unification was reiterated. On an individual level, the primary goal was the introduction of civil and political freedoms and rights, as well as equality before the law, and the introduction of national, religious, and linguistic equality. For the first time, a Ministry of Public Education was established in the new Austrian government (1848). These efforts resulted in new legislative documents. The so-called Draft of the Basic Principles of Public Education in Austria (*Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtwesens in Österreich*) from 1848 initiated the reorganization of the entire public instruction system and provided the main guidelines for the further modernization of education in all the countries of the Habsburg Monarchy. Based on the principles outlined in this document, the decree Draft of the Organization of Gymnasiums and Secondary Schools (*Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen*) was enacted in 1849, which established the fundamental structures of secondary education. Modelled after the Prussian education system, the document represents the first comprehensive proposal for public education reform at all levels in the Habsburg Monarchy. The state, through the Ministry of Public Education, would assume responsibility and oversight of the school system, and now experts, namely teachers and university professors, would manage it at all levels. However, elementary and secondary education was now directly managed by regional school councils located in the main cities of the provinces. The funding for elementary education was also left to municipal resources. The goal of elementary schools was to prepare citizens for independent living and earning a livelihood, as well as for the fulfilment of public rights and obligations. For this reason, public education was now free and should have been accessible to all. The establishment of teacher training schools was also envisaged. The mother tongue played an important role in the school

system and had largely become the language of instruction. The draft concerning fundamental principles of public education in Austria became the foundation for the modernization of education in the Monarchy until its dissolution in 1918 (Horbec, et al., 2017).

Music in Elementary School Instruction before the Enactment of the First Croatian School Law in 1874

None of the previously mentioned documents that shaped 19th-century education, enacted before the *Elementary School System* in 1845, mention music instruction in elementary schools in any form. We conclude that music, as a compulsory subject, was introduced into the curriculum only after 1845, specifically through singing activities. We attempted to investigate which textbooks and teaching materials were used in the initial music (singing) instruction and found that there was a significant shortage of songbooks and textbooks. Since the subject was limited to singing activities, it is presumed that songbooks, often compiled by the teachers themselves, were used in teaching due to the lack of materials. Sometimes these compilers were musical amateurs, experts in other fields without the requisite music education. The first songbook published in the Croatian language was authored by Ivan Stohl and Josip Torbar, titled *Church Songs for School Youth and the People (Crkvene pjesme za školsku mladež i za puk)*, and was published in Zagreb in 1858. This was a collection of songs on seventy pages, without methodological or other instructions. Anton V. Truhelka prepared a songbook titled *100 Songs for School, Church, and Home Use (100 pjesama za porabu školsku, crkvenu i domaću)*, published in Zagreb in 1859, and *Initial Singing Exercise Book (Početna vježbenica u pjevanju)* in 1869. Furthermore, Pavao Štoos published *Bouquets of Church Songs with Melodies (Kitice crkvenih pjesama s napjevima)* in 1858, and Gjuro Eisenhuth published *Napjeve crkvenih pjesama* (Eng. Church Song Tunes) in 1872. Both songbooks contain only church songs, but it is assumed that they were also used in schools. Teachers often performed the role of organists in the local church in addition to their work in school, so it is understandable that, due to this dual role, church songs were also sung in school. In Zagreb, in 1872, the first edition of *Songbook for Children of Public Classrooms (Pjesmarica za djecu pučkih učionica)* by Cvjetko Rubetić was published. In addition to songs, it contains some prayers, and the songbook was published in five more editions (until 1892), indicating its success (Košta, 2016: 464-465). It is interesting to note that many of the authors mentioned here had no music education, clearly indicating a shortage of teaching and textbook materials, leading even musical amateurs to contribute to their creation. Since music instruction during this period was limited to singing songs, there were no discussions in the broader music-pedagogical community about teaching methods or the concept of music instruction itself.

The Situation after the Austro-Hungarian and the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise

The agreement reached between Austria and Hungary in 1867, better known as the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, was very important for the further course of political and social events in the Monarchy. This compromise established a dualistic system, dividing the Monarchy into a western part (under Austrian administration) and an eastern part (under Hungarian administration). Fundamental state affairs, including foreign, military, and financial matters, remained joint but were resolved through negotiations between Austrian and Hungarian delegations rather than in parliament. This agreement significantly disadvantaged the fate of the Croatian lands, as Istria and Dalmatia remained under Austrian administration, while Banovina Croatia and Slavonia were placed in the Hungarian part, a situation that persisted until the dissolution of the Monarchy in 1918. However, the negotiations between the Croatian and Hungarian delegations resulted in the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise in 1868, providing for limited provincial autonomy for Croatia and Slavonia with educational, school, religious, and administrative affairs as autonomous. The Compromise was important as it confirmed Croatian as the official language in public affairs and opened up possibilities for many reforms, especially those related to education. A more favourable political situation in Croatia was created only in 1873, when Ban Ivan Mažuranić, “a consistent liberal, a lawyer with extensive experience in holding the highest administrative positions...” (Markus, 2016, p. 18), came to power. His reign as Ban lasted until 1880, during which significant administrative, educational, economic, and cultural reforms were implemented. The separation of administration from the judiciary bodies was carried out, laws on the press and freedom of assembly were enacted, the limited division of cooperatives was regulated, the University of Zagreb was established, and a law on public schools and preparandiums (1874) that was particularly significant in the process of modernizing Croatian education was finally enacted. Further modernization reforms were halted by the Hungarian government, which sought and largely succeeded in maintaining Croatia's political subjugation until 1918 (Markus, 2016, pp. 17-18; also see Franković, 1958).

Regardless of the many disadvantages that arose following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867) and the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise (1868), the resulting political stability enabled further modernization of the education system in Croatia. Liberal laws were enacted in elementary education in Hungary (the Elementary School Law of 1868) and Austria (the Imperial Elementary School Law of 1869), as well as provincial laws for Istria (1870), Dalmatia, and the Military Frontier (1871). The said Hungarian law of 1868 did not define the main task of elementary schools but it did regulate the lowest level of education in detail. It prescribed the conditions for establishing schools, municipal obligations for school

maintenance, the duration of the school year, compulsory subjects, etc. Attendance at elementary school was mandatory for all children from six to twelve years of age. Unlike the Hungarian law, the Austrian law of 1869 defined the main principles of the elementary school system. The law enacted in 1883 amended some provisions of the 1869 law and, as far as Croatian regions were concerned, it was applied in Dalmatia and Istria. The same principles of elementary education reform were adapted to the specific conditions in the Military Frontier and introduced by the Regulation on Instruction in the Public Classrooms (*Propis o nastavi u pučkih učionah Vojne krajine*) of the Military Frontier in 1871. (see Horbec, et al., 2017). According to the Austrian law, the subjects listed for general public schools now included: religious instruction; reading and writing; the language of instruction; arithmetic connected with geometric forms; natural science, physics, geography, and history; drawing; singing; female needlework for girls; and gymnastics.

The Law of October 14, 1874, concerning the organization of public schools and preparandiums for public education in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia enacted within the reform activities of Ban Ivan Mažuranić's government, followed the aforementioned regulations including the Hungarian Elementary School Law of 1868. This Law adapted the provisions of the laws in Austria, the Military Frontier, and Hungary to the specific conditions in civil Croatia and Slavonia, introducing some higher-quality (and more liberal) solutions to the matter (Horbec, et al., 2017). The enactment of this law is a significant event for Croatian education, as it marks the first time Croatia independently regulated its own education system. During the 1860s, several legislative proposals for the regulation of elementary education in Croatia were submitted to the Croatian Parliament. The first of these was the School System for National Elementary Classrooms and Teacher Training Institutes in the Triune Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia from 1861, followed by the Legal Foundation for the Organization of National Schools from 1865. These legislative proposals entered parliamentary procedure but were never confirmed due to unresolved issues in relations with Hungary. These issues were only resolved with the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise, which placed education within the scope of Croatia's autonomous affairs. According to it, a compulsory lower four-year public school was introduced, along with continuation schooling options and, where possible, initial forms of life-intended practical training (Muniza, 2009). The elementary school's task was educational and formative, with aims to raise children morally, religiously, psychologically, and physically, while also providing them with the necessary knowledge for civic life. Free and compulsory primary education was introduced for all children from the age of seven. The obligation to attend school lasted for five years. Elementary schools were public and private, divided into four-year general public schools and three-year civic schools. The prescribed subjects now included: religious instruction, the mother tongue, arithmetic, geography, history, physics,

natural science, penmanship, geometric drawing, singing, practical instructions for the most important branches of the economy, and others. For the first time, physical education was introduced as a compulsory subject for both boys and girls. In civic schools, German and Italian were taught in the littoral parts of the territory. Moreover, detailed pedagogical standards, obligations, and salaries of teachers were regulated (e.g. female and male teachers received equal pay). The language of instruction was Croatian, and the schools were placed under state supervision. Teachers became public servants and were granted the right to a pension, while the government set curricula and approved textbooks. The law also prescribed the professional education of future teachers in three-year teacher training schools (preparandiums) and the obligation of professional development for teachers. This law, colloquially known as Mažuranić's Law, created the prerequisites for the professional autonomy of teachers and implemented the secularization and modernization of primary education (Švoger & Novosel, 2017). The enactment of the new school law sparked great interest in the advancement of the school system. New school buildings were erected with the aim of being equipped with teaching aids, as was emphasized in the new law (Franković, 1958).

The positive atmosphere in elementary education brought about by the School Law of 1874 had a favourable impact on the development of music pedagogy as well. Music instruction was established on a completely new concept, where folk songs were prioritized as the basis of all music education in elementary schools (Cuvaj, 1911: 42). The objectives of singing lessons were to awaken and develop musical hearing, promote the ennoblement of the heart, and revive patriotic feelings. Youth were to be trained for correct and melodious singing of the most common and simpler patriotic songs. Singing lessons were scheduled from the second grade, where voice and ear training would be conducted and simpler songs sung by ear. The song practice continued in the third and fourth grades, while music literacy began in the fifth grade, introducing the students to musical notation. All singing lessons were conducted within a schedule of one hour per week according to a decree issuing educational foundations for general and civic schools in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia (The order issuing the academic foundations for general public and civil schools in the kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, 1875, p. 5).

Aside from more and more teaching materials being published, discussions pertaining to teaching methods and subject conceptualization were starting to arise. Todor Machulka published Practical Songbook for Youth (*Praktičnu pjevanku za mladež*) in 1876. He emphasized the need for singing songs that children encountered in their readers, thus publishing in this songbook musical settings of texts by well-known Croatian poets. He also believed that songs introduced through mother-tongue lessons would be equally familiar to

children. As an aid for public school teachers, Machulka published the Songbook for School Youth (*Pjesmaricu za školsku mladež*) in 1885. Furthermore, in 1876, Ivan Zajc released a collection of songs titled Melody (*Milozvuk*) which contained 42 songs, and allowed the author, in the context of the national revival, to collect folk songs and emphasize the significance and value of such songs in the preface, especially when it comes to youth education. Another songbook from this period used for school purposes was Lyre (*Lira*) by Ljudevit Varjačić, first published in 1876. Perhaps the most significant music-pedagogical activity in the period following the enactment of the 1874 law was that of Franjo Kuhač, i.e., for the purpose of singing lessons, he published a songbook titled Songbook: One Hundred Children's Songs for One Voice with Melodies Texts, and Methodical Introduction (*Pjevanka: Sto dječjih popjevaka za jedno grlo s napjevi, tekstom i metodičkim uvodom*), which came out in 1885. The particular importance of this edition was to be found in its methodical instructions, through which it was obvious that Kuhač advocated for singing by ear, with songs to be learned by imitation. The teacher would perform and repeat the song until the students mastered it. Before learning the song, Kuhač suggested reading the text several times, after which the teacher would read the text in rhythm. Afterwards, the song should have been performed on the violin or another instrument, and sung and performed until the students began to hum. This was the first printed material containing methodical instructions for conducting music lessons in the 19th century.

Advancements in the development of music pedagogy after the enactment of the 1874 law can also be traced through several scholarly publications in the prominent pedagogical journal *Napredak* (Eng. Progress). In 1879, Fran Ž. Gabarić, a teacher in Podravina, wrote about singing in schools in said journal. Vjenceslav Novak also contributed to *Napredak* by publishing an article titled Song in Public Schools (*Pjesma u pučkoj školi*) in 1884, where he advocated for singing by ear (later works of his suggest that singing alone is not sufficient and that students need to be trained in elements of music theory and notation). In the same issue of the journal, Vjekoslav Košćević published his article Singing in Elementary Schools (*Pjevanje u narodnoj školi*), advocating for singing by notes. He also published in the 1885 issue of *Napredak*, where his article Folk Song in Public Schools (*Narodna pjesma u narodnoj školi*) emphasized the importance of folk songs in general.

The development of music education in elementary schools after the adoption of the school law of 1888

After the unification of the Military Frontier with Croatia and Slavonia, a new law on primary education was adopted in 1888, replacing the previously valid Mažuranić's law: The Law of 31st October 1888 About the Organisation of Elementary Schools and Teacher

Training in The Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia. It enabled the application of uniform school regulations throughout Croatia (Raguž, 2015: 485). This law was predominantly based on the 1874 law but also introduced certain changes. According to this law, elementary schools are divided into lower elementary schools, lasting four or five years, and higher elementary schools (formerly civic schools). Elementary schools could now be public or private, and private schools could also be confessional schools if established at the expense of church communities. The issue of school funding was regulated in more detail, and the name of the language of instruction was changed from Croatian to Croatian or Serbian. Public exams were to be held at the end of the year, and preparandiums were renamed teacher schools where the duration of the education lasted four years. Teachers were not satisfied with this law as their length of service was extended to 40 years, and their financial situation worsened due to certain legal provisions that also encroached on their personal freedoms (female teachers were effectively prohibited from marrying, as they would have to leave their position if they did) (see Franković 1958, Horbec, et al., 2017; Munjiza 2009).

Music education is conducted through a subject now called Profane and Church Singing (*Svjetovno i crkveno pjevanje*), with the stated goal of “enabling youth to sing profane and church songs correctly and harmoniously, thereby ennobling character and fostering patriotism” (Learning Fundamentals for Higher and Lower Elementary Schools, 1890 as cited in Košta, 2016, pp. 468). In the first and second grades, hearing and voice were trained with folk songs from around the world that were easily understandable for children, and in the third and fourth grades, some basic tone characteristics were introduced. Singing was introduced from the first grade (previously it was envisaged to be taught from the second grade onwards), and as was the case, musical literacy was taught from the fifth grade onwards under the name Learning Fundamentals for Higher and Lower Elementary Schools, 1890 (*Naučne osnove za više i niže pučke škole*).

Significant advancements in the field of music pedagogy during this period are related to the work of the previously mentioned Vjenceslav Novak, who authored the first manual intended for teachers, titled Singing Training in Elementary School (*Pjevačka obuka u pučkoj školi*) from 1892. In this manual, he presented well-known arguments about the need for singing in elementary school and emphasized that, until now, the sole goal of singing lessons was to learn a song by heart by repeating it after the teacher, using the method of imitation. Unlike earlier approaches, Novak advocated for the learning of musical notation and music theory starting from the second grade, clearly showing that by the end of the 19th century, efforts were being made to introduce elements of musical literacy into music education, which previously had been limited to singing.

After the enactment of the 1888 Law, publications in professional journals continued, in which music educators of various profiles debated current issues. In 1888, Ante Poturčić criticized the use of folk songs in schools in the journal *Napredak* dubbed Two or Three Things about Singing in Our Elementary Schools (*Dvije tri o pjevanju u našim osnovnim školama*). In 1895, Adam Grusling published an article titled How Church and Secular Singing Ought to be Organized in Elementary Schools (*Kako bi trebalo da se uredi crkveno i svjetovno pjevanje u pučkoj školi*). We also come across practical experiences, such as the text by Jure Turić in *Napredak* in 1899, titled Singing the Song “The Dog and the Rabbit” (*Pjevanje pjesme Pas i zec*). An exceptionally prolific author, Vjenceslav Novak published numerous articles in various journals, most notably in *Gusle*, where he was also an editor. Novak engaged in debates about contemporary music pedagogical challenges related to the conception of the subject and teaching methods. He discussed the teaching of music theory in elementary schools, music and education, the impact of singing on children's health, and voice mutation. His reflections on music education were quite broad. He believed that schools need to cultivate consumers of musical culture, with the purpose of teaching being: a) to awaken and strengthen noble feelings and stimulate a sense of musical beauty; b) to gradually train vocal abilities so that students can sing beautifully. He argued that if appropriate songs were chosen and practiced with children at the right time, singing could enhance concentration throughout the educational process (Košta, 2018: 119). Finally, he presented a synthesis of his music-pedagogical reflections in the Pedagogical Encyclopaedia, where he also answered the fundamental question of what the goal of music education is: “The aim of musical training is to bring the student to understand musical art, to refine their taste, and to be independent in their understanding and judgment of musical art” (Majer-Bobetko, 2020: 41). Vjenceslav Novak significantly influenced the development of music pedagogy in the second half of the 19th century and is rightly called the founder of Croatian music-theoretical literature and the concept of music-theoretical education (Petrović, 2003).

Conclusion

The enlightenment ideas about the necessity of modernizing education became prominent during the 18th and 19th centuries. The first condition for educational reform was the formation of an institutional network of school administration, which was established in the Habsburg Monarchy as early as the 18th century. Croatia, as part of the Habsburg Monarchy during this period, implemented the decrees and laws enacted by the authorities in Vienna or Pest. Education gradually modernized, thereby creating opportunities for the advancement of various (pedagogical) professions aiming to improve elementary school instruction. Music education first became a compulsory subject under the name “singing” in the document *Elementary School System* of 1845. As the name of the subject itself indicated,

the instruction was limited to singing songs learned through the method of imitation. With the introduction of the Croatian language into the education system, the first songbooks for school use were created. An important moment for Croatian education came in 1874 with the enactment of the first school law in Croatia, following the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise, which granted Croatia autonomy over its education system (along with some other areas). We find the implementation of this law to be a significant development in music-pedagogical thought. There seems to be an increasing number of scholarly texts discussing the current issues of music education in elementary schools: the importance of folk songs for the musical (and general) education of children is emphasized; debates begin on whether teaching should solely involve singing or also train children to read music notation. These discussions have continued even after the enactment of the Second School Law in 1888. Although this law may have set back certain aspects of the education system, music educators of that time became even more active in advancing the profession. The first textbook for singing instruction in elementary schools was published (Vjenceslav Novak, 1892) and reconceptualising the subject's curriculum gained momentum. By the end of the 19th century (specifically by the end of World War I and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), the concept of music education, which was limited to just singing songs, was gradually abandoned. Music notation and theory were progressively introduced into elementary schools. Singing was still taught through the method of imitation, but music notation and theory were intended for higher grades.

The current school system we have today has its foundations in the institutionalization and modernization that marked the 19th century. The legal regulations that shaped the school system led to the inclusion of music among the compulsory subjects, which opened up opportunities for the advancement of the music pedagogical profession. Despite the challenging conditions for education (unfavourable political and economic situations, lack of funds for school construction, and so on), we find that many music educators sought to develop ideas on how to improve music instruction.

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Primljeno: 14. 06. 2024.

Prihvaćeno za objavljivanje: 02. 09. 2024.

Muzičko obrazovanje u kontekstu modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj tokom 19. veka

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APSTRAKT

Cilj ovog rada je da pokaže u kojoj meri su zakonodavni napori za modernizaciju školskog sistema u Hrvatskoj tokom 19. veka uticali na razvoj muzičkog obrazovanja u osnovnim školama. Potreba države da reguliše obrazovanje postala je sve izraženija tokom 18. i 19. veka, što je dovelo do donošenja ključnih zakonskih dokumenata tokom tog perioda, koji su značajno uticali na školski sistem i služili kao temelj za izgradnju modernog obrazovanja kakvo poznajemo danas. Značaj analiziranih dokumenata posmatra se ne samo kroz prizmu oblikovanja školskog sistema, već i u kontekstu muzičkog obrazovanja. To je otvorilo vrata muzičkim pedagogima različitih profila da teže ka poboljšanju nastave muzike. U početku je muzičko obrazovanje bilo ograničeno na aktivnosti pevanja, ali su ubrzo počele rasprave o tome da li je pevanje dovoljno i da li bi drugi elementi muzičkog obrazovanja trebalo da budu uključeni u nastavni plan. Te rasprave se prate kroz objave u stručnim časopisima, kao i kroz analizu udžbenika i nastavnih materijala koji su stvarani i korišćeni u muzičkom obrazovanju tokom 19. veka.

Ključne reči: muzička pedagogija, modernizacija obrazovanja, muzičko obrazovanje, pevanje, školsko zakonodavstvo.