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Music Textbooks and Manuals in Zagreb in the Last Two Decades of the 19th Century Represented by Vjenceslav Novak's Work: a Contribution to the History of Music Pedagogy

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Abstract

There has not been a lot of musicological research on the 19th century music textbooks and manuals as historical sources for the development of musical didactics and pedagogy of the time. Vjenceslav Novak's textbook Introduction to Music Harmony, intended for students of the teachers' school, is being analysed in correlation with Novak's text published in the report of Music Institute's school in 1891. Both the text and the textbook made significant contributions to the definition of theory of music (especially a part of it the author refers to as "basic theory of music"), defining pedagogical and didactical principles of teaching, and to the making of a comprehensive curriculum for theoretical disciplines. The author found the meaning and purpose of these disciplines in aesthetics, and the ultimate purpose of music in knowing God. In this sense he viewed the educational process as a path from the practical to the speculative. The textbook is also a reflection of the sociopolitical circumstances it was written in. Aesthetical and theological principles of Novak's concept of theory of music enabled teaching to be a medium for religious and moral upbringing, and the use of folk songs gave it the necessary element of national consciousness.

Key words: *aesthetics; Mažuranić's law; Music Institute; teachers' school; theory of music*

Introduction

History of music pedagogy and education has never been researched thoroughly and has always been a neglected subject in musicology. As parts of research in historiography, music textbooks and manuals are always mentioned merely to illustrate either the authors' versatility or certain aesthetic principles, or to provide historiographic synthesis. Nevertheless, it is the research in musicological historiography that helped discover forgotten or lost textbooks and manuals, thus creating a collection of unresearched historical sources. The study of these sources brings together musicology and history of pedagogy, and some of the areas this research can cast light on are:

- 1) methodical principles and didactical postulates of the authors;
- 2) goals and tasks of a school subject;
- 3) status of certain skills or scientific disciplines in the system of education;
- 4) the correlation between general and music education;
- 5) teachers' level of music education;
- 6) the role of music education in historical, social, political and religious contexts.

The latter half of the 19th century, especially the last two decades, was the time of the first significant breakthrough in music textbook publishing. The most important author in the field of theory of music of the time was Vjenceslav Novak. Nowadays primarily recognised as a novel writer, one of "our realist front ranks" (Šicel, 2005, p. 211), Novak's versatility far exceeded this flattering position. "He was one of the few writers of the time professionally educated in music" (Majer-Bobetko et al., 2009, p. 109). At the conservatory in Prague he got degrees in the organ, and also in teaching singing and theory of music. From 1887 he taught music at the male school for teachers (*preparandija*) in Zagreb, and in the period between 1890 and 1894 he taught "theory of music, music aesthetics and history of music at the school of the Croatian Music Institute"¹ (Majer-Bobetko et al., 2009, p. 109). Through his work at the *preparandija* he influenced music teaching significantly, namely the subject Singing in primary schools. Teaching future teachers, he formed both their music competence and also their view of the art of music and its position in the system of education.

¹ Since it was founded in 1827, Croatian Music Institute changed its name more than once. In the period between 1827 and 1847 the official name Societas Filharmonica Zagrabiensis was approved by the Hungarian Regency in Budim. The name Musik-Verein in Agram was used in private circles. At the same time in the Novine Horvatske and Danica ilirska magazines (Croatian Newspaper and Illyrian Morning Star) the name Musical Society occurs. From 1847 to 1852 the Parliament named it The Zagreb Harmonious Sound Society (Croat. Skladnoglasja društvo zagrebačko), and from 1852 to 1861 the Society of Friends of Music in Zagreb (Croat. Društvo prijateljah muzike u Zagrebu). From 1861 to 1895 (the time when Novak was active), the name changed to the People's State Music Institute (Croat. Narodni zemaljski glazbeni zavod). In 1895 it became the Croatian State Music Institute (Croat. Hrvatski zemaljski glazbeni zavod), and in 1925 the name finally changed into its today's form. In order to simplify the text, I will use the name Music Institute, to best suit the period when Novak took part in the institution's activities.

On Vjenceslav Novak's Textbook *Introduction to Music Harmony*

Vjenceslav Novak's textbook *Introduction to Music Harmony* (Croat. *Priprava k nauci o glazbenoj harmoniji*) is the central point of this research. Besides analysing specific problems and revealing intense development of music pedagogy in the late 19th century, the research also shows the great potential for scientific work hidden in the manuals and textbook materials of the 19th century. The textbook was first published in 1889, and again in 1898 in Zagreb. It is divided into 27 chapters, explaining all of the key terms in music theory in this order: tone, tone names, notation, clefs, note values, dotted notes, pause, sharps, flats and naturals², time signatures and rhythm, intervals, inverted intervals, enharmonic intervals, scales (major and minor), intervals on the tonic in major and minor scales³, tonality (all major and minor scales organized in circle of fifths), harmonic intervals and their consonance/dissonance, and resolutions of dissonant intervals (Novak, 1889). There is also an appendix with tempo, dynamics and performance markings in Italian, and also their translations to Croatian, taken from F. K. Kuhač. The last part of the textbook deals with ornaments and abbreviations in notation. The order of lessons is organized by the principle of graduality, going from simple to more complex concepts, drawing each unit from the previous one in a logical manner. In each chapter pupils are given tasks to work on by themselves. Some of the chapters have supplements, intended only for the most advanced students (as the author states in the foreword), to offer assistance in future practice in music, where they will be faced with terms and markings they have not come across before (Novak, 1889). These chapters are *On Church Notation*, *On Natural and Tempered Tuning*, *On Old Church Modes*, on harmonics and acoustic explanation of causes of consonance and dissonance of intervals, and *Incorrect Voice Leading*.

The textbook was intended for the students of the teachers' school, with the purpose of preparing pupils for harmony lessons. Novak states in the foreword that he composed the textbook in accordance with the latest works on theory of music, but also adapting some sections to his own experience and to teaching methods of experienced music teachers he talked to or was himself taught by them. He emphasizes that there are parts of the text that employ ways of explanation different from "other books of the profession" (Novak, 1889, no pagination). Novak thus points out that he based his textbook on already established and acknowledged methodical and didactical principles, which he surely acquired during his training in Prague, but also that he came up with his own methods and teaching techniques.

The author deals with each teaching unit systematically, insisting upon clarity. "Mere naming of tones and dry definitions make the learning dead, and the pupil will never

² This chapter contains explanations of whole and half steps, enharmonics and temperament.

³ This chapter prepares students for the definition of tonality functions, as the basis for understanding harmony.

grasp the importance (...) until there is clear illustration that leads to what the teacher is intending to show” (Novak, 1889, no pagination). The textbook is therefore abundant with pictures and illustrations helping pupils to understand the subject matter also visually in addition to hearing. For example, whole and half steps, scales and intervals are explained with the image of white and black piano keys. Didactical principle of clarity is applied consistently, also achieved by numerous music exemplifications. They include very aptly composed didactical examples, folk songs fragments and excerpts from literature. The didactical examples are the most numerous, followed by many folk song fragments. There are not many excerpts from literature, only the melody of Croatian national anthem *Lijepa naša domovino*, I. pl. Zajč's choir *U boj, u boj*, an excerpt from a vocal composition by F. Livadić, vocal compositions by V. Klaić (unnamed) and an excerpt from *Miruj, miruj, srce moje*, a song by V. Lisinski. It is to be noted that Novak does not use any examples from European literature, although he was undoubtedly well acquainted with it, given his professional education in music. The examples he used were all popular, well known compositions with strong national symbolism.

Novak explicated norms in theory of music (such as tone heights and their relations in a scale, intervals, temperaments, consonance and dissonance of intervals, etc.) with the laws of acoustics, striving to prove that they are driven from natural laws, that are more fundamental than theory of music and are beyond it, thus confirming that theory of music is actually valid and logical. He used the same starting points in teaching, because he found that “when pupils understand the whole of the tonal system founded on what they are already familiar with – in this case physics and physiology, the terms and definitions will remain forever clear to them” (Novak, 1889, no pagination).

Novak's didactical principles do not neglect the importance of future teachers' practical application of acquired knowledge. Although education of the time was secularized, “the Church kept control over the organization of religious teaching, but also over upbringing in general” (Munjiza, 2009, p. 42). This was one of the pressing issues for the teachers of the latter half of the 19th century. According to an unnamed author in the *Napredak* (*Progress*) magazine, teachers were complaining about the huge demands of school and church obligations, and also about the church salaries that were low, “irregular and not regulated by the law” (... , 1875, p. 172). In smaller communities more than elsewhere, teachers often had to work as organists and parish choir leaders, a good reason for Novak to add a chapter on “choral notation” (Novak, 1889, p. 7).

Defining Theory of Music

At the end of school year 1890/1891 music school of the Music Institute published a school report with Novak's introductory text (... , 1891). It was an opportunity for the new teacher to describe his teaching principles and give precise definitions of the skills he taught. He defined music theory as a field consisting of “acoustics, basic theory of music, music harmony, counterpoint, composition, aesthetics of music and history

of music” (Novak, 1891, p. 6). The great importance of *Introduction to Music Harmony* lies in the fact that it precisely defines the field of “basic theory of music” extending it also to acoustics in order to provide it with scientific foundation. Already in the title there is an explanation of its function – it was a precondition for the other disciplines to be understood and acquired, especially Harmony, taught directly after “basic theory of music”⁴. The above-mentioned report of the school of the Music Institute testifies to the plan and programme of teaching within a six year period. Pupils attend “basic theory of music in the first year (...), followed by two years of harmony and a year of counterpoint and finally, they have lessons in music aesthetics and history of music” (... , 1891, p. 8). Although *Introduction to Music Harmony* defines one area of Novak’s concept of music theory, it does not testify to the plan and programme of the subject in the Music Institute’s school. In the foreword to the textbook, the author states that the book is suitable for future teachers, not for younger generations that need “music theory in the small amount necessary for the practical exercise of their instrument” (Novak, 1889, no pagination). Clearly, teaching in the school of Music Institute was adapted to ages and needs of the pupils, simplified and reduced. Novak probably left out the sections on acoustics due to their complexity.

Consistently following the principle of graduality, Novak is very precise in the distinction between basic theory of music and harmony. In the chapter titled “The Kinship of Tonalties” he defines the difference between terms *mode* and *tonality* by saying that “if a composer is writing a composition, he determines both the mode (major or minor) and the tonality it will grow from” (Novak, 1889, p. 66). This means that *mode* is a general term signifying the type of scale, and *tonality* is a concrete scale of the circle of fifths or fourths. In chapter “Intervals on the first degree in major and minor scales” he names the main and secondary degrees of a scale, but he explains their role in a scale with the intervals they create with the tonic, leaving out their harmonic content and function, for example the fourth and the fifth tone of a scale are the only ones creating pure intervals with the tonic. In the same section of the text he stresses that “it is well advised to remember this exactly, as it will make the learning of harmony much easier” (Novak, 1889, p. 50). The organization of the subject matter shows how Novak defined parts of theory of music based on their mutual causality – acoustics as a precondition of basic theory of music, and basic theory of a music as a precondition of harmony and other disciplines. Causality is therefore logically followed also in the didactical principle.

In the above-mentioned text, published in the music school’s report, as already stated in the title, Novak (1891) answers why it is necessary to learn theory and what the goals and tasks of subjects involving theory are. He finds the main reason for learning theory in curiosity, or the will for learning, which he interprets as the human need to see “in our souls the small sparkle that connects us to the source of all truth and

⁴ Novak already published his *Music Harmony* textbook in 1890.

all knowledge – God” (Novak, 1891, p. 3). The purpose of art, including music, is to express beauty, and beauty is born “in the soul of an artist inspired by God, turning into an irresistible longing to make it come to life and share it with others” (Novak, 1891, p. 4). It is knowledge that serves as the mediator between divine inspiration and idea on one side and the final work of art on the other. “God alone is the one who creates an artist, (...) ideas are conveyed by angelic whisper, (...) and realization of an idea, selection of subject matter, and the manner of ordering this subject matter into an art form is a result of experience, that is, science” (Novak, 1891, p. 4). The importance of knowledge is also stressed for performing artists – singers and players. Aware of the irreplaceable significance of natural talent, the author states “knowledge is the true leader, and natural talent is the eye for distinguishing and recognizing the leader's paths” (Novak, 1891, p. 5). According to Novak (1891), it is also important for amateurs to learn theory. By this he was referring to pupils that “attended the Music Institute's school as part-time students” that were to become “solid amateurs”, rather than music professionals (... , 1891, p. 7).

After determining the reasons why artists need knowledge, the author analyses didactical aspects of acquiring it, stating that the purpose of any training is gaining independence which can be perceived in the following:

a) Students become able to perform a musical piece on their own, meaning that they not only “aptly deal with technical difficulties, but also understand the composer's thoughts, best seen in the correct distinction of levels of importance” (Novak, 1891, p. 5);

b) The ability to determine “what is beautiful, and what is not, what is good and what is not?“, the ability that Novak names musical taste. Although he does not deny the importance of “a natural ability to understand beauty“, or “the society and one's living circumstances“, he points out that “complete independence and freedom of judgment is acquired only by those who measure fruits of exquisite composers with the laws of art – nature alone nor society do not suffice for this” (Novak, 1891, p. 5). In conclusion, the author finally states that knowledge is necessary for obtaining independence. What follows from Novak's statements is that both composers and performers need knowledge to understand music and to repeatedly create on their own. This knowledge is collected in theory of music, and by learning it, one learns “the laws of the beautiful in music” (Novak, 1891, p. 6). Speaking of the beautiful in music, in his discourse “meaning music itself“ (Majer-Bobetko, 1979, p. 35), Novak permeates pedagogical and didactical principles with aesthetic ones. He is an author nowadays recognized as “unquestionably the first in Croatia to include issues of music aesthetics in various texts published in professional journals and cultural magazines“ (Majer-Bobetko, 1979, p. 32). Also, it must be noted that he defined aesthetics as a part of theory of music in a text of a primarily pedagogical purpose, expressing principles of the Music Institute's school as a section of the school's report.⁵ Detecting the basis

⁵ The same text was published in the *Gusle* magazine in 1892.

of teaching theory of music in aesthetics, Novak reinforces theoretical fields and, by means of pedagogical mediation, incites contemporary thought about matters of aesthetics, thus far neglected in Croatian culture.

Theological grounds of learning theory are yet another confirmation of Novak's aspiration to create a comprehensive teaching curriculum, drawing on pedagogical and didactical principles of Jan Amos Komenski. His *Didactica magna* "was translated and published in 1871 for the first time in Croatia" (Batinić, & Gaćina Škalamera, 2009, p. 41). It was very popular and greatly esteemed, frequently quoted in texts published in the most relevant magazine for pedagogy, the *Napredak (Progress)*. As an example, Vatroslav Horvat, an advocate of learning singing by ear, rather than from notes, appeals to Komenski's practical principle "what one must do, one learns by doing it" (Horvat, 1880, p. 40). Komenski saw learning as cognition of the curricular cosmos, where elements as God's creations are connected in themselves and among them, all originating from God and going back to God. This natural order is treated by men as godlikeness, as it guarantees "an education that pleases God" (Pranjić, 2005, p. 31). Novak's view on education in music is similar: the artistic idea comes from God, knowledge is what realizes it in the beautiful in music, and the beautiful in music leads again to the realization of the human longing to learn, "to connect to the source of all truth and all knowledge – God" (Novak, 1891, p. 3). What follows from Novak's views is that he saw the educational process as "a path from the practical to the speculative", the same as Komenski's teaching methods as seen by Pranjić (Pranjić, 2005, p. 28). The goals of teaching are achieved when the prescriptiveness turns into a cognition of a higher order, beyond mere norms and opening the way to interpretation.

Theory of Music in Social Context

The sociopolitical context that enabled education to develop in the 18th, and especially in the 19th century, affected Novak's pedagogical activities as well. Schooling became emancipated from primarily church education and became a political issue. By the latter half of the 19th century, a modern school system was created by state policies, and school became universally available and compulsory, regardless of social or financial status. The state was now in charge of the educational and school system, "new government mechanism passed school laws, standardized different school systems, prescribed teaching plans and textbooks, selected teachers and professors, controlled educational institutions strictly" (Horbec et al., 2017, p. 7). This kind of organization was a result of a "hierarchized way of life in the new national states, based on the respect of the authorities and obedience to higher ranks" (Pranjić, 2005, p. 51). Among many other reforms inaugurated by the modern oriented government of *ban* (governor) Ivan Mažuranić, there was a law that represents the high point of the education development in Zagreb: *Law of October 14, 1874 on the Organisation of Primary Schools and Teacher Training Courses in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia* (Croat. *Zakon od 14. listopada 1874. ob ustroju pučkih škola i preparandijah za pučko*

učiteljstvo u kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji). The law put state authorities in charge of schools, with the mission “to provide religious, ethical, psychological and physical upbringing, and the skills necessary for civil life – it introduced compulsory and free of charge primary schools for all children from the age of seven, lasting five years” (Horbec et al., 2017, p. 41). In 1888 another school law was passed, in most part based on the 1874 law, but it did not bring any novelties that would further affect Novak’s work. According to the 1874 law, the goal of the school subject Singing was “awakening and developing a musical spirit, exalting hearts and promoting patriotism” – in general, “youngsters are to be enabled to sing correctly and harmoniously plain church, folk and simpler patriotic songs” (Košta, 2016, p. 462). The area of Novak’s activity this law affected the most was his work at the teachers’ school, where he had to prepare future teachers to act by the law as hardworking and obedient citizens, thus contributing to an organized and efficient state government. Novak’s teaching concept was in accordance with the legislature. His own concept of theory of music and the aesthetical and theological principles he based it on, as well as the educational curriculum referring to it, all clearly show that Novak viewed music teaching as a medium for religious and moral upbringing. “Promoting patriotism” is clear in the choice of music examples used as illustrations of learning units in his textbook. Domination of folk songs, absence of any works by great European artists, and the choice of several Croatian works with strong national symbols, all indicate that Novak was very much aware of the necessity to promote national consciousness. He wrote, “the purpose of singing is to teach children folk songs, and through them the spirit of Croatian people” (Novak, 1884, p. 114). Other authors of the time shared this opinion. Košćević states, “if reading, writing and all the knowledge of the world are taught in school, but not adapted to our people, our school will be like a monster, like an image without ideas, and one will pass by it coldly, without exaltation” (Košćević, 1885, p. 275). The same author describes a city pupil with the following words: “the teacher is killing him in school with *tralala*-music, and when he comes home, he hears his mother or sister tackling Bach, Mozart or Beethoven. So where are we now? Our folk song is completely banished from towns, “educated” people despise it, and “scholars” merely laugh sadly at it” (Košćević, 1885, p. 276). The folk song was to promote “the Croatian national idea”, and “the foreign song is an assassination of our people” (Košćević, 1885, p. 276). Although some opinions are more radical than others, they all express the overall spirit among teachers in the last decades of the 19th century. The question remains, how much of Novak’s teaching really involved folk songs. It is a fact that the school of the Music Institute, raising future music professionals and amateurs, gave a great deal of attention to European music. The school was publicly criticized for this, partly for personal reasons: Franjo Ksaver Kuhač “was hoping to become the school’s headmaster in 1870”, but “Ivan pl. Zajc was chosen instead” (Šaban, 1982, p. 94). Since Zajc took charge of the school, according to Šaban’s (1982) estimate, the school was run similarly to other conservatories in Europe. On the other hand, Kuhač’s supporters (intellectuals

gathered at the *Obzor* (*Horizon*) and *Vijenac* (*Garland*) magazines) saw him as the only person capable of true reforms in music education. They attacked the school bitterly, “condemned the teaching of foreign works, demanded the management resignation and cutting subsidies, and advocated performances including only Croatian pieces” (Šaban, 1982, p. 94). The school policy remained unchanged in the period when Novak worked there. Nevertheless, folk music was far from neglected, the school made efforts to nurture it, encouraged Croatian composers and “organized concerts of folk songs arranged by the teachers themselves”, including Vjenceslav Novak (Šaban, 1982, p. 110). Naturally, the goals and tasks of the subject Singing in primary schools on the one hand, and teaching theory of music in music schools on the other, were quite different. Novak was able to adapt to both, as his excellent training in music and pedagogical and didactical skills made him capable of serving various social and professional needs.

Professional Music Education Vs. General Education

All the terms in Novak’s textbook are in Croatian, some of them also with German translation in brackets, like “Scala” and “Tonleiter” for scales (Novak, 1889, p. 45), or “Tonarten” for tonalities (Novak, 1889, p. 52). Even tempo, dynamics and performance markings are translated, regardless of the fact that they are nowadays used professionally in their original Italian forms. In the translation of tempo and performance markings, and also with the word *ćurlik* (Croatian for trill), he refers to “Kuhač-Lobe”, or *The Music Catechism* (Kuhač/Lobe, 1875). This refers to Kuhač’s translation of *Katechismus der Musik* by Johann Christian Lobe. It is the management of the Music Institute that encouraged new textbooks in order to enable teaching entirely in Croatian, so they commissioned Kuhač to translate the *Katechismus* and “work on music terminology” (Šaban, 1982, p. 96). When the work was forwarded to the Music Institute by the government in 1877, the teachers refused to use it in class, as they found it “awkward and sometimes almost grotesquely artificial” (Šaban, 1982, p. 97). “In 1877 the Music Institute management decided to start teaching in Croatian” (Majer-Bobetko et al., 2009, p. 88), a goal that needed to be reinforced by new textbooks. In this sense, Novak gets the credit for taking care of and developing professional music terminology. Apart from the “Kuhač-Lobe”, Novak refers to several other Kuhač’s works⁶, showing his respect of the author, regardless of his disputes with the management and teachers of the music school. Novak shares the opinion of most of the primary school teachers, who especially stressed the importance of Kuhač’s collection *South-Slavic Folk Songs* (Croat. *Južno-slovenske narodne popievke*) (Poturčić, 1888). Novak also refers to *Nauka o harmonii na vědeckem základě* by F. Z. Skuherski and *Experimentalphysik* by Adolf Wüllner, thus giving his textbook a scientific note and a critical approach.

⁶ Prilog za povijest glasbe južnoslovenske. Rad jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, book 38 and 39, Zagreb, 1877; Sto dječjih popievaka za jedno grlo za pučke škole i zabavišta, Zagreb: 1885., Južno-slovenske narodne popievke published by Kuhač himself between 1878 and 1881.

Introduction to Music Harmony speaks also about the level of teachers' education in music. When Mažuranić's school law was passed in 1874, "teachers' schools in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia were lengthened to a three year period" (Batinić, & Gaćina Škalamera, 2009, p. 15). In 1875 government of the Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia passed *The Permanent Statute for Teachers' Schools in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia* (Croat. *Ustrajni statut za preparandije u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*), containing an elaborate teaching plan and programme. The plan included "one hour a week of singing, two hours of the violin and two for the organ" (Batinić, & Gaćina Škalamera, 2009, p. 16). As explained earlier, organ playing enabled teachers to lead choirs or play in parish churches if necessary, and the violin was considered the most similar to the human voice, "and therefore most suitable for practicing songs with pupils in unison" (Horvat, 1880, p. 41). In spite of the high criteria in the law, it often happened in practice that "music teachers complained about the high demands for the singing lessons, that they cannot meet with their training", so it appears that "music education in teachers' schools was not sufficient for teaching singing in primary schools" (Košta, 2016, p. 463). It is precisely Vjenceslav Novak that helped bring music education and teaching to a much higher level. Novak, "the key person for the development of music pedagogy in Croatia in the latter half of the 19th century" (Košta, 2016, p. 469), gives a significant contribution to the development of the methodics of the primary school subject Singing. His definitions of the goals are much more precise and "he repeatedly answers the question of the purpose of singing in primary schools, elaborating on the well known facts about the inseparability of songs and human senses, explaining that songs must be accepted as parts of education, as their value in upbringing has no alternative"⁷ (Košta, 2016, p. 469). The demands set by the law were quite high and the enhancement of pedagogical and didactical criteria in practice took place gradually, and Novak, with the high level of his own music education, contributed a great deal to the higher competence of future teachers, articulating much better goals and tasks of school subjects, both for Singing in primary schools and for music theory in teachers' and music schools. Also, it is important to point out that the founding of the music school of the Music Institute in 1829 marked the beginning of institutionalized music education in Zagreb. There were not many music schools in the 19th century that were active in continuity, among them the one in Karlovac, founded in 1804, "as the oldest one with the longest uninterrupted activity" (Majer-Bobetko, 2009, p. 649). Nevertheless, the Music Institute school is by far the most influential one. The teachers of this school were the ones to develop pedagogical and didactical criteria of music education, and Vjenceslav Novak holds a special position in the field of theory of music as the first teacher of aesthetics and history of music.

⁷ Košta points out that Novak's "capital work of the music pedagogy of the latter half of the 19th century is "Singing Training in Primary Schools"(Croat. *Pjevačka obuka u pučkoj školi*), published in 1892 in Zagreb" (Košta, 2016, p. 470).

Conclusion

Vjenceslav Novak's work, exemplified with his *Introduction to Music Harmony*, clearly shows an awareness of pedagogical and didactical principles. He focused his teaching on the individual capable of independent development. Encouraging students to seek higher levels of cognition was the main mission of his teaching. Therefore he expected the students to be able to analyse, synthesise, and to grasp the learning material in a way that enables them to create their own systems. For Novak, teaching music was a journey towards discovering sublime levels of art beyond teaching itself, both for professionals – performers and composers, and for amateurs – potential audiences. His textbook deals with basic theory of music, but never as a self-sufficient discipline that has no other purpose – a challenge where even our contemporary teaching often fails. Novak therefore kept asking why something is taught and what is the purpose of any discipline. With such questions he came up with correlations that helped him articulate logically a curriculum for theoretical disciplines. At the same time, his work as a teacher helped him define these disciplines. Although nowadays it is not acceptable to define aesthetics and history of music as parts of theory of music like Novak did, it is his treatment of these fields that made their development and emancipation possible.

Finally, Vjenceslav Novak is an exceptional example of a 19th century teacher. Faced with many challenges of a teacher's life and work, poverty and illness, with an impressive body of work including fiction and textbooks, he was definitely one of the teachers who were able to meet high demands of the time, a time when teachers were practically expected to be "super heroes". Among other characteristics, he had to be "fair, a person of firm character, religious, patriotic, a role model of family life, conscientious, dedicated, modest, patient and mild, strict and just, consistent, standing on his principles, bold, dignified, polite, clear minded, perceptive, capable of memorizing and understanding, educated, encyclopaedist, well informed on pedagogical theory and practice" (Batinić, & Gaćina Škalamera, 2009, p. 81). This was an ideal very difficult to achieve, and Novak was definitely one of the few to come closest to it.

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Udžbenici i priručnici glazbe u posljednja dva desetljeća 19. stoljeća u Zagrebu na primjeru Vjenceslava Novaka: prilog povijesti glazbene pedagogije

Sažetak

Glazbeni udžbenici i priručnici 19. stoljeća u muzikologiji su slabo istraženi povijesni izvori koji svjedoče o razvoju glazbene didaktike i pedagogije toga vremena. Udžbenik Vjenceslava Novaka Priprava k nauci o glazbenoj harmoniji, namijenjen polaznicima učiteljske škole, analizira se u odnosu na tekst koji je Novak objavio 1891. u izvješću škole Glazbenog zavoda. Zajedno s tim tekstom Novakov je udžbenik značajno doprinio definiciji teorije glazbe, a osobito njezine discipline koju autor naziva „elementarna nauka o teoriji glasbe“, određenju pedagoško-didaktičkih načela nastave te stvaranju cjelovitog obrazovnog kurikuluma teorijskih disciplina. Smisao i značenje tih disciplina autor je tražio u estetici, a konačnu svrhu bavljenja glazbom vidio je u spoznavanju Boga. Zato je obrazovni proces shvaćao kao put usmjeren od iskustvenog ka spekulativnom. Udžbenik odražava i društveno-politički kontekst u kojem je nastao. Estetička i teološka načela Novakova koncepta teorije glazbe omogućila su da se nastava ostvari kao medij religijskog i moralnog odgoja, a stavljajući naglasak na narodne pjesme ostvaren je imperativ poticanja nacionalne svijesti.

Ključne riječi: estetika; Glazbeni zavod; Mažuranićev zakon; teorija glazbe; učiteljska škola