

Nada Bezić  
Hrvatski glazbeni zavod, Zagreb  
nada.bezic@zg.t-com.hr

### From private to public: The Zagreb Club *Kvak* and music

Abstract. The Club *Kvak* was active in Zagreb from 1879 until 1941. The main aim of the Club was fun with subtle humor. Members were men, mostly from the upper classes, the wealthy citizens and artists. They met every Saturday and twice a year organised special events; almost always with musical performances. Although it was closed to the broader audience, their repertoire was also known outside the seat of the Club (even outside of Zagreb), primarily through printed *Kvak* compositions and performances of operetta-parodies. Among members were professional musicians and music-amateurs of various professions. Basically the repertoire consists of short and simple songs and couplets. The list contains fifty-five pieces written by *Kvak* members or written for *Kvak*, and sixty-two other pieces that were part of their repertoire. Sheet music is preserved in the National and University Library in Zagreb, the library of the Croatian Music Institute and Zagreb City Museum.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Zagreb had become the leading music centre of Croatia, a country located in the part of the Monarchy which since 1868 had been politically and economically dependent on Hungary. A relatively small town in the second half of the nineteenth century, Zagreb doubled in size between 1883 and 1903 and entered the new century with a population exceeding 60,000.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the years the Musikverein, the Society of music lovers, today the Hrvatski glazbeni zavod (Croatian Music Institute) was a constant in music life of Zagreb. Since its foundation in 1827, the Society had been organising concerts, and in 1829 it established a school which educated both professional and amateur musicians. When the Society's building was constructed in 1876, Zagreb received its first concert hall. A number of music societies, mostly choral societies, were founded in the 1860s and later. The most important one was the Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo *Kolo* (Croatian Choral Society 'Kolo'), founded in 1862. Tamburitza societies were also popular at this time, and there was even a zither club, the Prvi zagrebački citraški klub (The First Zagreb Zither Club), established in 1883. For many years

operas were performed in Zagreb by foreign troupes, but this all changed in 1870 when the Zagreb Opera was established.

Like elsewhere in the Habsburg Monarchy, music making in the bourgeois salons was very popular. Amateur musicians, sometimes joined by professionals, contributed to the cultivation of chamber music. The private-public aspect of these music circles is very interesting, especially on the occasions when amateur musicians stepped out from their salons and offered broader audience chance to hear them in Zagreb concert halls.

In its role in the public (not only musical) life of Zagreb, the Club *Kvak*, founded in Zagreb in 1879, holds a special position. Although the Club was fairly well-known in Zagreb before the World War II, it was not a topic of research until the last fifteen years. The Club was mentioned for the first time in the book on cabaret life in Zagreb by Igor Mrduljaš, who concluded: 'We could be almost certain that "Kvak" was forerunner of the first Zagreb cabaret'.<sup>2</sup> Though Giga Gračan deserves credit for the revival of the Club *Kvak* by virtue of a broadcast and an article she wrote about the *Kvak* dramatic works,<sup>3</sup> until recently nothing has been published about music of the Club *Kvak*.<sup>4</sup> One reason is that only a small part of the Club's archive, which is held in the Muzej grada Zagreba (Zagreb City Museum), is accessible to the public;<sup>5</sup> the rest is either lost or still in private possession.

### Beginnings and structure of the Club *Kvak*

Researchers point out similarities between the Club *Kvak* and the Schlaraffia (in German: an idealistic fairy-tale land) societies already widespread in the Habsburg Monarchy and in German-speaking Europe as societies for the cultivation of friendship, art, humor, and fraternity. The first Schlaraffia society was founded in Prague in 1859, followed by the societies in Berlin (1865) and Leipzig (1872).<sup>6</sup> In 1907 there were 6,000 members,<sup>7</sup> and

today's 10,000 members come from Europe, both Americas, and even from South Africa and Australia.<sup>8</sup>

As in the Schlaraffia societies, membership in the Zagreb Club *Kvak* was restricted to a maximum of twenty men, mostly intellectuals, artists and affluent citizens. The mascot of the Schlaraffia is the owl, while Zagreb Club's emblem was a frog. Croatian onomatopoeia for frog's croak is 'kvak' [kva: k], hence the name of the Club. Frog was a part of all *Kvak* equipment, from printed materials to plates and jugs. There are similarities with Schlaraffia, such as special membership names coming from their profession, origin or name (e.g. Janko Grahor alias Ciglokvak had a brick factory, 'cigla' means brick). A registered membership included a *Kvak*-name, a sign, and, in most cases, a portrait decorating the Club's room.

The Club *Kvak* held meetings every Saturday evening in a spacious flat, which the members called 'the pond'. 'Kvakancija' (kvak-ation) was a special name for those meetings, and the chairman was the 'kvakissimus'. During some meetings members would perform music or theatre plays, but they held specially prepared important performances twice a year: on the New Year's Eve and on the Ash Wednesday. The latter was held in spite of the fact that the society in Zagreb was predominantly Catholic. These were the only occasions when women were allowed to enter the 'pond'. Those special events would sometimes bring together more than fifty persons. In the course of time more and more of non-members' both literary and musical works have been appeared on the programmes; indeed, some non-member musicians were guest performers.<sup>9</sup> Minutes of the *Kvak*'s meetings provide the list of the regular guests; among them were ministers, high-ranking military officers, members of the city government, and sometimes the mayor of Zagreb.<sup>10</sup>

According to its statutes printed in 1894 and 1899, the members of the Club were 'a group of friends, who in their meetings foster sociability with harmless entertainment seasoned with polite fun, who promote culture, but whose performances, productions, and

discussions contain no political or religious content'.<sup>11</sup> The statutes included a book of rules which show that one of the intentions of the founders was to parody 'serious' societies, primarily a Masonic lodge. As Nikola Hoffer alias Nikokvak wrote, 'although statutes forbid conversation on politics and religion, there was hardly a "kvakancija" without discussion on all actual and important occurrences in Zagreb, Croatia and in the whole world. *Kvak* was always [...] a true reflection of the condition of the culture and political atmosphere of the Zagreb society, the heart and soul of Croatia'.<sup>12</sup> Members of the Club entertained themselves with music and sophisticated humor until 1941, when Croatia was dragged into World War II and the new pro-fascist Croatian regime forbade the Club, just as Schlaraffia societies were forbidden earlier in Germany and Austria. While Schlaraffia societies were re-established in Germany in 1947, in post-war Croatia the communist regime was dissolving music societies like the *Kolo* in 1948.

In this article I will considerate the period from the *Kvak's* inception until 1907, since there are no preserved minutes of *Kvak* meetings after that year.

### Members – musicians

Members of the Club *Kvak* were persons of different professions. The statistical survey conducted on the occasion of the Club's sixtieth anniversary in 1939<sup>13</sup> showed that there had been ninety-two members since the foundation of the Club. The largest group consisted of 'clerks, solicitors, officers', followed by smaller groups of about the same size: 'scientists, professors, physicians, artists', 'bankers, industrialists, businessmen' and 'free-standing occupations, landed nobility, and entrepreneurs'.<sup>14</sup> In the first two decades of the Club's existence no fewer than sixty members passed through. Membership fluctuated considerably; some members stayed in the *Kvak* for not more than a few years. They were mainly younger, but comfortably situated men: the average age of the founders in 1879 was

thirty. New members typically were in their late twenties to forties, and some of them were only beginning their careers.<sup>15</sup> In tune with typical *Kvak* tolerance and declared avoiding of political topics in meetings, members were of different ethnic origins: Croats (majority), Austrians, Jews, Serbs, Italians, using probably not only Croatian but also the German language, as almost all Zagreb citizens did. But in a time when fights were fought for better Croatian position in the Monarchy, that was enough to cause an anonymous public attack on the *Kvak* in the newspapers in 1881, what remained without any reply.<sup>16</sup>

Among the seven founding members were two professional artists: the famous actor Andrija Fijan alias Keankvak (1851–1911), who chose his name in honor of the English actor Edmund Kean, and Nikola Milan (Simeonović) alias Mimokvak (1843–1928), actor, director, and author of comedies.

Some ten years later the first professional musician, conductor and composer Nikola Faller alias Glazbokvak (1862–1938; member of the Club 1887–94 and 1918–38, ‘glazba’ means music), joined the Club.<sup>17</sup> He was followed by the writer and music critic Milan Grlović alias Smotrovak, (1852–1915, member of the Club 1887–8) and the owner of a printing office Ernest Schulz alias Zbiljokvak (1866–1943?,<sup>18</sup> member of the Club 1894–1919, ‘ozbiljno’ means seriously). In the twentieth century, eminent members of the *Kvak* included composer Gjuro Prejac alias Zagorkvak (1870–1936, member of the Club 1918–36, Zagorje is a region north of Zagreb) and opera singer Drago Hrzić alias Dragokvak (1896–1978, member of the Club 1936–41?).<sup>19</sup> The vivid environment of the Club, however, nurtured the hidden talents of many other members, who began to compose simple melodies for songs/choirs and couplets.<sup>20</sup> Among the amateur composers was Ferdo Strozzi alias Kvakolino. He was a desk officer of the government treasury, husband of the actress Marija Ružička-Strozzi, and father of the famous Croatian soprano Maja Strozzi. Franjo Arnold alias Damokvak (‘dama’ means lady) was notary public; Zvonimir Tkalčić alias Brojkvak (‘broj’

means number) treasurer of the bank Prva hrvatska štedionica (The First Croatian Savings Bank) and father of the violoncellist Juro Tkalčić; Dragutin Gvozdanović alias Kvakica was owner of large estates; Milan Smrekar alias Gudokvak ('guditi' means to play string instruments with bow, he learned cello at the music school of the Croatian Music Institute) solicitor and amateur musician;<sup>21</sup> Slavko Šrepel alias Slavokvak, senior clerk of the city of Zagreb; Guido Hreljanović alias Kvakarić, theatre manager, and Julije Šenoa alias Kvaković, bank director and comedy writer, brother of the very famous writer August Šenoa. The compositions and all other publications (invitations, programmes, even a few numbers of the *Kvak's* newsletter) were published by the owners of printing offices Dragutin Albrecht alias Typokvak, Ernest Schulz and Franjo Xaver Hribar alias Papirokvak ('papier' means paper) (cf. Appendix 1).

Zvonimir Tkalčić's home was in the last two decades of the nineteenth century meeting point for musicians, both professional and amateur, who enjoyed in playing chamber music. Among them were, of course, some *Kvak* members: Faller, Šrepel and Smrekar as well as composer Eisenhuth.<sup>22</sup> Music was not the only connection among the *Kvak* members; work and business were also important. The Club managed through its members to have continuous contact with the Prva hrvatska štedionica, one of the most important banks of that time: in that bank worked Julije Šenoa, Zvonimir Tkalčić, Vilim König alias Kvakiček and Milivoj Crnadak alias Micokvak who in 1897 became the main director of the bank. Although there was no talk on politics in *Kvak's* 'pond', some members were involved in politics, like city councillor Franjo Zorac alias Vicekvak and city representatives Miroslav Kulmer alias Poljokvak, Franjo Arnold and Franjo Hribar; Tošo Mallin alias Gradokvak was even city senator ('grad' means city).

Sometimes the *Kvak* members collaborated with established Croatian composers who were not members of the Club. History of the *Kvak* proudly emphasises that the most

important composer in Zagreb in the last decades of the nineteenth century, Ivan Zajc (1832–1914), wrote the song *Klopovac* ('A rattle'), to lyrics by Julije Šenoa, dedicated to the *Kvak*. Gjuro Eisenhuth (1841–91), a versatile musician whose work in the field of dance music caused his contemporaries to call him 'Strauss of Zagreb',<sup>23</sup> wrote his *Mazurka for four children trumpets* and composed two operettas (more on the operettas topic will be discussed later) to the *Kvak*. In the twentieth century Srećko Albini (1869–1933), a conductor and composer best known for his operettas, composed songs and an operetta for the Club *Kvak*, although he was not a member of the Club.<sup>24</sup>

It seems like there was no *Kvak* meeting without music. If at some 'kvakancija' no programme was prepared or there was no inspiration for spontaneous singing, the members at least sang drinking songs during obligatorily toasts at the beginning of the gathering. In the cases where an instrumental ensemble was required, the Club usually hired military ensembles of about eight musicians. On the occasion of more significant celebrations, like New Year's Eve, some ten compositions were performed. Most of them were written by the *Kvak* members, but there were also music pieces by other, mainly foreign composers like Karel Komzák (1850–1905). Sometimes the repertoire was very actual: on New Year's Eve 1890 the *Kvak* orchestra<sup>25</sup> performed a march from the operetta *Des Teufels Weib* by Adolf Müller Jr. (1839–1901) only several months after its premiere in Vienna.<sup>26</sup>

### Repertoire of the Club *Kvak*

The *Kvak* songs, duets and couplets were mainly very short, with a four-bar introduction followed by twenty to forty bars. The voice and piano parts were simple, as meant for amateurs. Lyrics were written in the Zagreb local and Kajkavian dialect. A special group of compositions, called 'ubojstva' (murders), four songs with epic stories about murders, were parodies of 'Moritaten' songs, popular in the nineteenth century. One of these

songs, *Grozno umorstvo u Lašćini* ('Terrible murder in Lašćina') was published with eight illustrations (cf. Appendix 2).<sup>27</sup>

The next group of the *Kvak* compositions consists of more extensive works for a few voices, with a combination of singing and acting parts. One of the most popular in the Club was *Na kapljicu* ('To a droplet'), designated as a 'Kvak opera in two parts', with libretto by Julije Šenoa and music by Zvonimir Tkalčić, Milan Smrekar and Nikola Faller. Along with those compositions, the repertoire obtained Croatian folk songs as well as works by Mozart and popular songs by contemporary Austrian or German composers, like in the trio *Kovačev liek* ('Blacksmith's Remedy'), where the audience could hear the songs *Das ist den Wiener sein Schan* ('Des is in Weana sei Schan'), *Gleiche Jahre machen viel*, *Wen ich einmahl der Hergott wär*, *Ich und mein Fläschchen*. This brings us to the discourse of Croatian and the German culture in Zagreb and opens a whole discussion on the city's popular music repertoire in the second half of the nineteenth century that is yet to be researched.

The members of the *Kvak* organised and performed operatic parodies. Since the members were only men, they sang also the female parts. In some short pieces for a few voices, humorous *Kvak* lyrics were cleverly set to music from famous operas. Fragments of Charles Gounod's best known opera *Faust* are used in the *Kvak's Faust i Margareta* ('Faust and Margaret'), yet the author of the new lyrics remained unknown. Verdi's *Il trovatore* appears in two versions by the *Kvak* members: *Il Trovatore*, for one voice, lyrics by J. Šenoa, 'to be sung on the melodies from Verdi's opera having the same name and with showing pictures'<sup>28</sup> and *Troubadour*, for two voices (Leonora and Manrico), author of the lyrics is unknown. In the latter piece, a part from Verdi's opera is followed by a duet on the music of the *Kvak's* song *Hrvatske poslovice* ('Croatian proverbs') by Tkalčić. Finally, Šenoa made a special combination in his 'opera' *Verdinetto iliti Čudna rodbina. Jako mutna opera u I. činu* ('Verdinetto or a strange kin. A very turbid opera in one act'). Characters from Verdi's operas



(Trovatore, Ernani, Rigoletto, Aida) sing parts from different operas (*Trovatore, Ernani, Rigoletto, Aida*), following instructions given in the libretto (numbers of pages, obviously from some editions of piano scores).

There were four *Kvak* operetta-parodies, two on plays by Shakespeare and two on operas by Richard Wagner and Pietro Mascagni. As in similar works created elsewhere in Europe at that time, parodies had less number of characters and always had a happy ending. Already in the group of songs and duets we find a parody: the duet *Nero i Oleander. Jako žalostna historija koja se je sbila prije 3000 let desno od Helesponta* ('Nero and Oleander. A very sad story which happened 3000 years ago, left of Helespont'), based on Franz Grillparzer's famous tragedy *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, performed for the first time in Zagreb in 1888, two years before the *Kvak* parody. The lyrics were written by Julije Šenoa and the music 'on the old-Greek motifs' was composed by Milan Smrekar.

The first operetta-parody was perhaps not a *Kvak* production at all. It was a parody on Romeo and Juliet (although Faust and Margaret are explicitly mentioned) with the title *Tiburtio i Žužalina iliti Kažiprst providnosti oliti Čudnovate posljedice tuge, jako žalostna romantična opera destilirana u jedan čin* ('Tiburtio and Žužalina or Forefinger of providence or curious consequences of sorrow, a very sad romantic opera distilled in one act'). The piece was premiered on 30 August 1879, a few weeks before the *Kvak* was officially founded. The authors Julije Šenoa (libretto) and Gjuro Eisenhuth (music) used pseudonyms S. Julic and G. Lordski. There is no record of a performance in the Club *Kvak* and the text was not published in the collection of the *Kvak* repertoire in 1899 along with all of others *Kvak* 'operas'.<sup>29</sup> Theatre scholar Antonija Bogner-Šaban described the topic in a witty manner: 'To the numerous love outpourings of Tiburtio and Žužalina, horned cattle from a nearby stable provide a bovine refrain [...] while friends of the lovers drown their suffering with an prodigious amount of wine'.<sup>30</sup> According to the earlier research, four performances of

Tiburtio took place in Zagreb, all at events by the Choral Society *Kolo* (in 1879, 1880, 1882, and 1899).<sup>31</sup> If Tiburtio was a *Kvak* piece, it would have been the most successful one; it was performed outside Zagreb, in Karlovac, a town south-west of Zagreb, in 1882,<sup>32</sup> and five (!) times (1893–1903) in Požega, a town in Croatian Slavonia region.<sup>33</sup>

Julije Šenoa wrote a libretto for another comic operetta *Otelo, mletački crnac iz Venecije* ('Othello, a black from Venice'), set to music by Ferdo Strozzi and Gjuro Eisenhuth. It was premiered in the Club in 1884, two years before Verdi finished his opera, and performed again for a much broader audience in February 1886, at the carnival concert given by the Choral Society *Kolo*. After the performance there was a quadrille, which joined about 300 couples.<sup>34</sup> Although Wagner's *Tannhäuser* was performed in Zagreb for the first time in 1895, Zagreb music lovers were acquainted with the music much earlier, partly from the music scores they could have bought in Zagreb, partly from having seen the opera abroad. The *Kvak's* parody of the opera's second act *Pjevački megdan na Počkajgradu* ('Singers tournament at Počkaj-castle'; Počkajgrad is a fictional location), and subtitled as 'a big *Kvak* opera' was performed in the 'pond' in 1886. This piece by Julije Šenoa and Milan Smrekar was probably performed with a piano accompaniment only.<sup>35</sup>

In February 1907 the highest honor was conferred on a *Kvak* operetta when a *Parody of Cavalleria rusticana* by Milan Smrekar (libretto) and Srećko Albini alias Negrini (music), was performed on the stage of the National Theatre.<sup>36</sup> No less than five daily newspapers published reviews on *Cavalleria*, and they tended to be rather unenthusiastic.<sup>37</sup> It was during the time (1902–9) when, due to financial difficulties and political reasons, the official Zagreb Opera was dissolved, but certain opera and operetta (stagione) were held as private production by Nikola Faller. He was the one who orchestrated the music for *Cavalleria*. The director was Gjuro Prejac alias Zagorkvak. And in the same year, 1907, the management of the theatre was handed to the actor Andrija Fijan, one of the founding members of the *Kvak*.

*Kvak* outside the ‘pond’

Now is time for the question of which positions the *Kvak* members held in Zagreb public and music life, and how this affected the dissemination of their music pieces from the ‘pond’.

From sixty members who joined the Club until 1902, twelve of them were included in the *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (‘Croatian biographical lexicon’), the basic lexicographical edition in Croatia.<sup>38</sup> Other lexicons provide information on additional members. In her book *Očevi i sinovi. Privredna elita Zagreba u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća* (‘Fathers and sons. Zagreb Economic elite in the second half of the nineteenth century’), in the chapter ‘Everyday life; Leisure time’, Iskra Iveljić wrote a paragraph on the Club *Kvak*,<sup>39</sup> and mentioned several members of the Club in different contexts. As expected, there were members who were also masons, like Anton Schlesinger alias *Kvakograf*, one of the founders of the *Kvak* and the editor of one of the most important newspapers *Agramer Zeitung*.<sup>40</sup>

The three institutions/societies, which were the most significant for the Zagreb musical life, were: the Croatian Music Institute, the Opera and the Choral Society *Kolo*. The Club *Kvak* had connections to all of them. Five of the *Kvak* members were engaged in the directorship of the Croatian Music Institute, and one of them, Slavko Šrepel, was working as its secretary for ten years.<sup>41</sup> Nikola Faller was a conductor of the Opera, brothers Ivo Hreljanović alias *Livnokvak* and later Guido Hreljanović were managers of the National Theatre. Many members of the Club were also members of the *Kolo*, as singers, choir masters (Ernest Schulz), head clerks (Ferdo Strozzi) and even as a president (Franjo Arnold).

Although the Club was an elite club, according to some writers also a ‘partly secret’ society,<sup>42</sup> there is no doubt that the *Kvak* was very influential on many levels to the social and musical life of Zagreb. It was probably a model for the *Ljubinkovečki klub*, an informal society gathering every Thursday evening and that also claimed in their statutes that every

discussion on politics is forbidden. The composer Gjuro Eisenhuth and the *Kvak* members Franjo Arnold and Lacko Holjevac alias Kvakić were also present at the mentioned meetings.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, it seems like the appearance of humorous performances and concerts started synchronously in *Kvak* and *Kolo*. Eisenhuth wrote many parodies and short pieces for *Kolo*, and later some music from *Kolo* repertoire entered the *Kvak* programmes.

*Kvak* compositions became known mainly through *Kolo* events. Some songs by Milan Smrekar appeared at the carnival concerts organised by *Kolo* in 1888 and 1892; in both cases the composer was listed in the programme only as Gudokvak. But, one could conclude that the Club *Kvak* was not eager to share its productions with anybody. Such is the case of the collection of lyrics *Sbirka kvakačkih šaljivih popievaka i inih sastavaka*, printed in 1899 in twenty 'better' examples for the members, and two hundred examples 'for the descendants and the friends of the *Kvak*'. Members determined that the copies meant for the friends 'could be given as presents only with the permission of the Club, in order to prevent them from falling in the wrong hands'.<sup>44</sup> When Zagreb gymnastic society *Sokol* asked *Kvak* to hand over 'some humorous piece' for their party in 1900, they were rejected because *Kvak* did not have any new pieces to offer, 'and earlier ones are already too well known to the broader Zagreb audience'.<sup>45</sup>

The performance of *Cavalleria* parody in Požega in 1908 proves the *Kvak's* influence even outside Zagreb. There was (at least) one occasion when the Club members themselves came out of the 'pond', and performed in public. It was on the big event in the Zagreb park Maksimir in 1882, with the aim to raise money for the new theatre building.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to conduct a research related to the *Kvak* activities and their music performances in the twentieth century, for the documentation on the Club has not been preserved. There is only a partial history of the Club *Kvak*, written in 1939. Only a few programmes of the *Kvak* events are mentioned in the survey; instead of Verdi's arias, the new

*Kvak* songs were written to the music by contemporaries like Robert Stolz. Although the earlier production and performance practice has been modified, it seems that the members of the Club managed to retain that special ‘Kvak spirit’ until the very end.

## Appendix 1

### Music repertoire of the Club Kvak 1879–1907

The list of *Kvak's* music productions up to the year 1907 is put together from various sources such as minutes of *Kvak* meetings, programmes and sheet music kept in the Zagreb City Museum; published lyrics of the *Kvak* compositions; sheet music in the National and University Library in Zagreb and in the Croatian Music Institute, as well as books on the history of the Choral Society *Kolo*. Of the fifty-five compositions in the first part of the list (pieces written by *Kvak* members or for the Club), only twenty-one of them have survived to the present day in the form of printed music or manuscript (in the list they are marked with \*). The second part of the list contains sixty-two compositions composed outside the Club. There had to be a lot more music, since the only folder (no. 1) with the *Kvak* music in the Zagreb City Museum, containing thirteen *Kvak* and non-*Kvak* compositions arranged in alphabetical order by title, terminates with the letter 'C'. Scheme of the list: Composer / author of the lyrics. Title (year of the composition or performance).

1) Compositions by members of the Club *Kvak* and compositions by their contemporaries (Albini, Eisenhuth, Katkić, Zajc) written for the Club

1a Songs (couplets), duets, choruses

Albini, Srećko / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Ak' moguće* (1904) \*

Albini, Srećko / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Balada o žabcu* (1906) \*

Albini, Srećko. *Čergari*

Faller, Nikola. *Kvakački pozdrav* (1892)

Hreljanović, Guido Kvakarić (melody); Albini, Srećko (accompaniment) / Arnold, Franjo Damokvak. *Ali platonički* (before 1899) \*

Hreljanović, Guido Kvakarić / Arnold, Franjo Damokvak. *Na pepelnicu* (performed 1890) \*

Hreljanović, Guido Kvakarić / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *To je elektricitet* \*

Katkić, Slaviša / Rihtarić, Gjuro Bacylokvak. *I to ni laž* (performed 1901)

Schulz, Ernest Zbiljokvak / Rihtarić, Gjuro Bacylokvak. *A badava* (1892?) \*

Schulz, Ernest Zbiljokvak / Kulmer, Miroslav Poljokvak. *Mužka prevrtljivost* (performed 1899) \*

Schulz, Ernest Zbiljokvak / ? Banjokvak.<sup>1</sup> *O! pardon!* (1898)

Schulz, Ernest Zbiljokvak / Rihtarić, Gjuro Bacylokvak. *Sve je prošlo, što bje bajno* (performed 1899)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Dva proštenjara* (performed 1892)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Francek budi grub* (performed 1900)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Jedanajsta zapovjed* (before 1899) \*

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Anon. *Mužikaške karmine* (1905?)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Anon. *Na ribolovu* (performed 1900)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Nero i Oleander* (performed 1890)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Anon. *Noćnik* (performed 1905)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Anon. *Odnio me djavo sam* (performed 1901)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Kulmer, Miroslav Poljokvak. *Pešikan* (performed 1899) \*

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Sujevjerja* (1886)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Svatko voli promjenu* (1885) \*

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Kulmer, Miroslav Poljokvak. *Sve na papiru* (1888) \*

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Zagorske rečenice* (1886)

Strozzi, Ferdo Kvakolino and/or Šenoa, Julije Kvaković / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković: *Grozno umorstvo u Lašćini* (before 1899) \*

Strozzi, Ferdo Kvakolino / Sajević, Šandor Mungokvak. *U našoj bari čist je zrak* (1887)

Strozzi, Ferdo Kvakolino / Sajević, Šandor Mungokvak. *Viečan je kvak* (1887)

Šenoa, Aurel / Operman, Dragutin Brojokvak. *Cherchez la femme!* (1903)\*

Šenoa, Aurel Kvaković ml. / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Naš Tuškanec* (before 1899)

Šenoa (Kvaković), Ida / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Grozno barbarsko tiranstvo* (before 1899)

Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Grozno umorstvo u Lašćini* – cf.: Strozzi

Šrepeš, Slavko Slavokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Jen i jen su dva* (before 1899)

Šrepeš, Slavko Slavokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Same takve stvari* (1888) \*

Tkalčić, Zvonimir Brojokvak / Arnold, Franjo Damokvak. *Čudan Kinez* (1890) \*

Tkalčić, Zvonimir Brojokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Hrvatske poslovice* (1886)\*

Tkalčić, Zvonimir Brojokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Peklensko umorstvo* (before 1899)

Tkalčić, Zvonimir Brojokvak / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *To nesmije bit* (1886)

Zajc, Ivan / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Klopovac* (1889) \*

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<sup>1</sup> There is no member with this *Kvak* name mentioned in the history of the Club, cf. Frangeš – Hoffer, *Povijest Kvaka (1869–1939)*.

## 1b Stage compositions

Albini, Srećko; Faller, Nikola Glazbokvak (orchestr.) / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Cavalleria rusticana* (1903) \*

Eisenhuth, Gjuro / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Tiburtio i Žužalina* (1879) \*

Eisenhuth, Gjuro; Strozzi, Ferdo Kvakolino / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Otelo ili mletački crnac iz Venecije* (1884) \*

Faller, Nikola Glazbokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Na tajinstvenu kapljicu* [II. part of *Na kapljicu*] (performed 1889)

Hreljanović, Guido Kvakarić and others / Anon. *Kovačev liek* (before 1899)

Onigrerec (?), Tanquari (?); arranged by Gjuro Rihtarić Bacylokvak and Slavko Šrepel Slavokvak. *Faust* (performed 1901)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Dva od pučkog ustanka* (performed 1886)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Jurek s banganetom* (Jurek i Barica) (performed 1888) \*

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković and Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Pjevački megdan na Počkajgradu* (performed 1886)

Tkalčić, Zvonimir, Brojkvak and Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Na kapljicu* [I. part] (1887)

## 1c Instrumental music

Eisenhuth, Gjuro. Mazurka for four children trumpets

Gvozdanović, Dragutin Kvakica. *El turia*, waltz (performed 1891)

Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Kvakačka koračnica*, for orchestra (performed 1886)

Šenoa, Aurel. *Oj ti vilo*, for piano \*

Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Koračnica sokača*, for orchestra (performed 1890)

Šrepel, Slavko Slavokvak, *Malogradski koncertaši iz Časlave*, for small orchestra (performed 1889)



## Appendix 2

### Works by other composers

#### 2a Compositions by composers who are indentified

##### 2a – 1 Compositions with *Kvak* texts and/or *Kvak* music

Goetz, Hermann. *Francesca da Rimini* (performed 1901)

Bial, Rudolf / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Josip i Putifarka* (before 1899)

Chwatal, Franz Xaver / prologe translated by Milan Smrekar Gudokvak. *Vesela vožnja na saonah*, symphony for 12 children instruments (performed 1889)

Genée, Richard: *Talijanska šalata* (performed 1901)

Gounod, Charles; Anon. *Kvak* composer / Anon. *Kvak* text writer. *Faust i Margareta* (before 1899)

von Hoof, Eugenie / Schiller, Miroslav (Friedrich), free translation by Julije Šenoa Kvaković. *Rukavica* (before 1899)

Schild, Theodor Franz / translation from German by Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak. *Gle banda gre* (1888)

Smern (?) / Šrepol, Slavko Slavokvak and Gjuro Rihtarić Bacylokvak. *Gospodin ravnatelj* (performed 1900)

Suppe, Franz; Arnold, Franjo Damokvak (orchestr.). *Vražja koračnica za vražja glasbala* (performed 1889)

Verdi, Giuseppe; Hreljanović, Guido Kvakarić / Šenoa, Julije Kvaković. *Il Trovatore / Trovator* (performed 1889)

Verdi, Giuseppe; Tkalčić, Zvonimir Brojkvak / Anon. *Kvak* text writer. *Troubadour* (before 1899)

Verdi, Giuseppe / Anon. *Kvak* text writer. *Verdinetto* (performed 1897)

Wagner, F. / Smrekar, Milan Gudokvak: *Fićfirička koračnica* (performed 1889)

##### 2a – 2 Other compositions

Albini, Srećko. *Barun Trenk*, marches 'Takvi smo mi Hrvati' and 'Takav je Trenk', arr. for piano

Chwatal, Franz Xaver. *Božićna simfonija*, for piano (four hands) and children instruments  
Conradi, August. *Božićna uvertira*, for piano and children instruments  
Denza, Luigi. *Funiculi, funicula* (performed 1907)  
Fioravanti, Vincenzo. *Il ritorno di Columella*, two arias, piano score  
Genée, Franz Richard. *Talijanska šalata*, choir  
Hopfe, Jul. *Božićni koncert*, chamber ensemble  
Komzák, Karel. *Vindobona*, for orchestra (performed 1886)  
Müller, Adolf jr. *Vražja baba*, march from the operetta *Des Teufels Weib* (performed 1890)  
Offenbach, Jacques. *Choufleuri*, piano score  
Rosen, Jos. *Zimska pošta*, polka for piano and eight children instruments  
Spencer, Emile. *Koračnica za francuzke pučke ustaše*

## 2b Compositions by unknown composers

### 2b – 1 Vocal music

*Brezina*, couplet  
*Budi svoj*, male choir  
*Dva vesela žabca*  
*Dve neženje*  
*Giri biri cocolo*  
*Lumpacijuš Vagadunduš* (Trifolium)  
*Mačja serenada*  
*Mačji duet / Dvopjev mačaka*  
*Marljivi kvakači*  
*Na moju dušu, to neznam ja*  
*Najljepše je u Kvaku*  
*Neapolitanske pučke pjesme*  
*Norvežki kvartet*  
*Pod šatorom*  
*Senjski ribari*  
*Sjedi djeva na kamenu / Pokraj mora sjedi djeva*  
*Strašno četverostruko umorstvo*  
*Što mi se je snilo*

*Takav sam ja kvakač*

*Veseli kvakač*

*Zubna bol*

*Žaba ima grlo*

*Žabja serenada*

*Žablji kvartet*

## 2b – 2. Instrumental compositions

Chamber music:

Composition without title, for piano

*Elvira* polka

Potpourry opera

Produkcija na xylofonu

Orchestra:

*Bruckner-Lager*, march

*Krapinski Defilir Marsch*

*Kvak-čing*, polka

*Ljubavni čar*, mazurka

*Naprej*

*Orlando furioso*

*Poputnica Banovca*

*Staroilirska koračnica*

*Zvezdi pouzdanici*

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<sup>1</sup> Franjo Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1996), 777.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Gotovo se sa sigurnošću može reći da su “kvakači” bili preteče prvog zagrebačkog kabareta’. Cf. Igor Mrduljaš, *Zagrebački kabaret. Slika jednog rubnog kazališta* (Zagreb: Znanje, 1984), 28. The members of the Club *Kvak* at that time would not agree, on the contrary, Nikola Hoffer alias Nikokvak wrote in his report in 1913 that ‘our club is not and can not be some kind of theatre, variete or cabaret’; cf. Oton Frangeš and Nikola Hoffer, *Povijest ‘Kvaka’. 1879–1939*, typescript, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Giga Gračan, ed. *Kvak i parodije mu*, audio project, Croatian Radio, III Program, January 1993. Giga Gračan, ‘Grillparzer među kvakačima’. *Gordogan* 14/37–38 (1993), 213–6. Giga Gračan, *Tak je kvakal KVAK, ili Vedri duh Zagreba*, radio documentary, Croatian Radio, Drama Department, February, 2003. In 2002 the Croatian Music Institute organised two performances of the *Kvak* operetta *Otelo, mletački crnac iz Venecije*, in a modernised version by composer Silvio Foretić; cf. Silvio Foretić, ‘Mletački crnac u Veneciji’. *Cantus* 116 (2002), 6. One year later it was performed in the Gradsko kazalište *Komedija*.

<sup>4</sup> Nada Bezić, ‘Zagrebački klub “Kvak” i glazba s posebnim osvrtom na razdoblje od osnutka 1879. do 1907.’. *Arti musices* 43/1 (2012), 3–44. Kristina Lučić mentions *Kvak* in her article ‘Popularna glazba u Zagrebu između dvaju svjetskih ratova’. *Narodna umjetnost* 41/2 (2004), 128. Text by Nada Bezić ‘From the theatre to the aristocratic drawing-room: Locations of opera and operetta performances in Zagreb’ (in *Musical theatre as high culture? The cultural discourse on opera and operetta in the 19th century*, ed. Vjera Katalinić, Stanislav Tuksar, and Harry White. Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2011. 97–106) partly deals with the *Kvak* stage productions.

<sup>5</sup> Part of the material is on the permanent exhibition of the Museum. Cf. also Nada Premerl, Vodič: *Muzej grada Zagreba* (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 2002), 120–1.

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<sup>6</sup> Giga Gračan, 'Kvaku u spomen. U povodu izvedbe Muzikalne tragikomedije "Otelo" iz šaljivog repertoara Kvakača'. *HaGeZe* 6/1, (2002), 1.

<sup>7</sup> Anon., 'Schlaraffia', in *Herders Konversations-Lexikon*, ed. Franz Meister. Freiburg: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1907. Vol. 7, 1214.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Was ist Schlaraffia. <[http://www.schlaraffia-hammonia.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=304&Itemid=113](http://www.schlaraffia-hammonia.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=304&Itemid=113)>. But *Duden Lexikon* mentions 14,000 members as early as in 1967; cf. Anon. 'Schlaraffia', in *Das große Duden-Lexikon*. Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1967. Vol. 7, 182.

<sup>9</sup> In the 1930s welcome guest in the *Kvak* was Lovro Matačić, a world-wide celebrated conductor to become in the second half of the century.

<sup>10</sup> Muzej grada Zagreba, Zbirka arhivalija, Klub Kvak, Zapisnici kvakancija od 28. I 1899. – 26. IV 1902. In his text on some aspects on popular music in Zagreb, Krunoslav Lučić wrote that 'during it's [*Kvak*'s] activity it was often speculated on the influence that it had in making decisions in the town government' ('tijekom njegova djelovanja često se spekuliralo o utjecaju koji je imao u donošenju gradskih odluka'). Cf. Krunoslav Lučić, 'Glazba kao oblik popularne fikcije: Aspekti vokalno-instrumentalne popularne glazbe u Zagrebu između dvaju svjetskih ratova'. *Arti musices* 38/1 (2007), 128. He is probably right, although he did not base his conclusion on the primary sources, but on a book about Zagreb: Zvonimir Milčec, *Galantni Zagreb* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1989), 158–63.

<sup>11</sup> 'Kvakači su skup prijatelja, koji u svojim sastancih uz bezazlenu zabavu začinjenu pristojnom šalom podržaju društvenost, a unapredjuju uljudbu, nu podnipošto ne predstavami, proizvodi i razgovori političkoga ili religioznoga obilježja.' *Pravila kvakača*, Zagreb: [Kvakački klub], 1899, §1.

<sup>12</sup> Frangeš and Hoffer, *Povijest Kvaka*, 5–6.

<sup>13</sup> Frangeš and Hoffer, *Povijest Kvaka*, part 3, 1–23.



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<sup>14</sup> Frangeš and Hoffer, *Povijest Kvaka*, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Geologist Dragutin Gorjanović Kramberger alias Kamenokvak ('kamen' means stone) (1856–1936) has in the time of entering the Club in 1881 just got position in the Narodni muzej (National museum) in Zagreb. Later he will become an university professor and will gain fame in the scientific world after discovering fossil of pleistocen men in Krapina. Jakov Radovčić, 'Gorjanović Kramberger, Dragutin (Karlo)', in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, ed. Trpimir Macan. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod 'Miroslav Krleža', 2002. Vol. 5, pp. 57–60.

<sup>16</sup> Anon. '[Iz Zagreba pišu nam]', *Sloboda* 4/36 (1881), appendix 36, 2. The writer reports about 'some international society', where 'foreigners have the most influence' and German is almost predominant language.

<sup>17</sup> Zdravko Blažeković, 'Faller, Nikola' in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil, 2nd edn, ed. Ludwig Finscher. Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2001. Vol. 6. pp. 704–5.

<sup>18</sup> Iskra Iveljić, *Očevi i sinovi. Privredna elita Zagreba u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2007), 413.

<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, no membership records exist after 1939.

<sup>20</sup> A song with a refraine where lyrics is changed continuously. Usually one singer sings couplet and others refrain. Josip Andreis, 'Kuplet', in *Muzička enciklopedija*. 2nd edn, ed. Krešimir Kovačević. Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1974. Vol. 2, 400; Herbert Schneider, 'Couplet', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, 2nd edn, ed. Ludwig Finscher. Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1995. Vol. 2. pp. 1023–9.

<sup>21</sup> Hrvatski glazbeni zavod, Knjižnica i arhiv, *Imenik i razredba učenikah i učenicah učionah Narod. zem. glasbenoga zavoda u Zagrebu na koncu školske godine 1872/73, 1873/74, 1874/75; Izviešće Narodnoga zemaljskoga glasbenoga zavoda u Zagrebu koncem školske godine 1876, 1877.*

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<sup>22</sup> Antun Goglia, 'Komorna muzika u Zagrebu', *Sv. Cecilija*, 24/5 (1930), 152–3.

<sup>23</sup> Antun Goglia, 'Gjuro Eisenhuth', *Sv. Cecilija*, 20/2 (1926), 38.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Lovro Županović, 'Zajc, Ivan' in *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2002. Vol. 27, pp. 724–5; Zdravko Blažeković, 'Eisenhuth, Gjuro' in *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2002. Vol. 8, 36; Koraljka Kos (Josip Andreis), 'Albini, Srećko Felix' in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil. 2nd edn, ed. Ludwig Finscher. Kassel etc. and Stuttgart etc.: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 1999. Vol. 1, 366–7.

<sup>25</sup> As majority of the *Kvak* programmes, this one does not give the information on the members of the orchestra performers nor the conductor's name.

<sup>26</sup> Walter Obermaier, 'Müller, Adolf jun.' in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil. 2nd edn, ed. Ludwig Finscher. Kassel and Stuttgart: Bärenreiter and Metzler, 2004. Vol. 12, pp. 788–9.

<sup>27</sup> Lašćina was at that time a village near Zagreb, today is a part of the town.

<sup>28</sup> 'Pjeva se uz napjeve Verdijeve istoimene opere i uz pokazivanje slika', Slavko Šrepel, ed., *Sbirka kvakačkih šaljivih popievaka i inih sastavaka*, 28.

<sup>29</sup> Šrepel, ed. *Sbirka kvakačkih šaljivih popievaka i inih sastavaka*.

<sup>30</sup> Antonija Bogner-Šaban, *Povrat u nepovrat: na razmeđu realizma i moderne, devet kazališno-književnih portreta* (Zagreb: Hrvatski centar ITI-UNESCO, 2001), 17.

<sup>31</sup> Benjamin Zeininger, *Jubilejski spis* (Zagreb: Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo 'Kolo', 1892), 160–1, 165, 203; Antun Goglia, *Spomenica povodom 80-godišnjice društva Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo 'Kolo' u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: ["Kolo"], [1942]), 75.

<sup>32</sup> Goglia, 'Gjuro Eisenhuth', 43.

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<sup>33</sup> Sanja Raca, 'Gjuro Ivan Evangjelista Eisenhuth i njegove veze s Požegom', in *Glazbeni život Požege*. Zbornik radova sa muzikoloških skupova u Požegi 1998. i 1999., ed. Bosiljka Perić-Kempf. Požega: Poglavarstvo grada Požege, 2000. 71–8.

<sup>34</sup> Anon., 'Jurkonzert des Kolo', *Agramer Tagblatt*, 1/41 (1886), 5.

<sup>35</sup> Some ten years later, around 1905, another parody of the second act of *Tannhäuser* was performed in Zagreb, in the house of the estate-owner Vladimir Halper von Siget, in the Upper Town. Since he lived in the street named after the composer Vatroslav Lisinski, the 'musical joke' (as it stands on the programme in the archives of the Hrvatski glazbeni Zagreb., III-PG, kut. 2, 65) had the title *Pjevački boj u Lisinskijevoj ulici* ('Singers tournament in Lisinski Street'). The only information about the author is that his name was Burwig. At the same evening the operetta *Un mari à la porte* ('The husband at the door') by Offenbach was performed by a group mainly composed of aristocrats.

<sup>36</sup> Branko Hećimović. ed. *Repertoar hrvatskih kazališta 1840–1860–1980*, Vol. 1 (Zagreb: Globus, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1990), 197.

<sup>37</sup> Articles, all anonymous, were published on 11 February in *Agramer Tagblatt*, *Hrvatska, Narodne novine*, *Obzor* and *Pokret*.

<sup>38</sup> Their names are: Franjo Arnold, Hugo Badalić, Milivoj Crnadak, Julije Domac, Aleksandar Egersdorfer, Nikola Faller, Andrija Fijan, Janko Grahor jr., Milan Grlović, Dragutin Gvozdanović, Guido Hreljanović and Ivo Hreljanović.

<sup>39</sup> Iveljić, *Očevi i sinovi*, 362.

<sup>40</sup> Ivan Mužić, *Masonstvo u Hrvata (masoni i Jugoslavija)* (Split: Crkva u svijetu, 1983), 50, 53.

<sup>41</sup> Ladislav Šaban, *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda* (Zagreb: Hrvatski glazbeni zavod, 1982), 210–5.

<sup>42</sup> Lučić, 'Glazba kao oblik popularne fikcije', 128.

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<sup>43</sup> Iveljić, *Očevi i sinovi*, 346.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Zaključeno da se primjerci za prijatelje smiju poklanjati samo temeljem zaključka kluba, kako knjižice nebi dospjele u nezvane ruke’. Minutes of a kvakancija held on 25 March 1899. Zapisnici kvakancija od 28. I 1899.–26. IV 1902.

<sup>45</sup> Minutes of a kvakancija held on 17 February 1899. Zapisnici kvakancija od 28. I 1899. –26. IV 1902.