

POČETCI STVARANJA HRVATSKOGA NACIONALNOGA OPERNOGA REPERTOARA - HRVATSKA NACIONALNA POVIJESNA OPERNA TRILOGIJA (MISLAV, BAN LEGET, NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI) IVANA pl. ZAJCA

Palić Jelavić, Rozina

Doctoral thesis / Disertacija

2017

Degree Grantor / Ustanova koja je dodijelila akademski / stručni stupanj: **University of Zagreb, Department of Croatian Studies / Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Hrvatski studiji**

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:111:054347>

Rights / Prava: [In copyright](#)

Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2021-03-05**



Repository / Repozitorij:

[Repository of University of Zagreb, Centre for Croatian Studies](#)





Sveučilište u Zagrebu

Hrvatski studiji

Rozina Palić-Jelavić

**POČETCI STVARANJA HRVATSKOGA
NACIONALNOGA OPERNOGA
REPERTOARA
– HRVATSKA NACIONALNA POVIJESNA
OPERNA TRILOGIJA
(*MISLAV, BAN LEGET, NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ
ZRINJSKI*) IVANA pl. ZAJCA**

DOKTORSKI RAD

Mentor

Prof. dr. sc. Vjera Katalinić

Zagreb, 2017.



University of Zagreb

Croatian Studies

Rozina Palić-Jelavić

**THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CROATIAN
NATIONAL OPERA REPERTOIRE
CREATION
– THE CROATIAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL
OPERA TRILOGY
(*MISLAV, BAN LEGET, NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ
ZRINJSKI*) by IVAN von ZAJC**

DOCTORAL THESIS

Supervisor

Prof. dr. sc. Vjera Katalinić

Zagreb, 2017

MENTOR

Vjera Katalinić (Zagreb, 1955.)

http://info.hazu.hr/hr/clanovi_akademije/osobne_stranice/vjera_katalinic

http://info.hazu.hr/hr/clanovi_akademije/osobne_stranice/vjera_katalinic/vjera_katalinic_izbor_recentnije_literature/

Životopis

- **diploma i magisterij iz muzikologije** na Odjelu za muzikologiju i glazbenu publicistiku, doktorat obranjen na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Beču (1999.)
- **studijski boravak** na Freie Universität, Berlin (1987.-88.)
- **zaposlena** (od 1983.) u Odsjeku za povijest hrvatske glazbe HAZU, od 2015. kao znanstveni savjetnik u trajnome zvanju; od 1992. upraviteljica Odsjeka
- **nastavnička djelatnost:** nasl. red. prof. na Muzičkoj akademiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu; povremena nastava na doktorskim studijima na Hrvatskim studijima i Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Sveučilištu u Palermu i University college u Dublinu; pozvana predavanja održala u SAD-u, Italiji, Irskoj, Poljskoj i Hrvatskoj
- **rad u znanstvenim društvima:** 2007-2013. predsjednica Hrvatskoga muzikološkoga društva
- **nagrade:** nagrada Hrvatskoga glazbenoga zavoda “Franjo Kuhač” (1978.), nagrada HAZU (2007.), nagrada „Dragan Plamenac“ Hrvatskoga muzikološkoga društva (2007.), nagrada „Josip Andreis“ Hrvatskoga društva skladatelja (2015.)
- **član suradnik HAZU** od 2014.

- **autorski i urednički rad:** objavila četiri autorske i deset uredničkih knjiga, te šest notnih izdanja, objavila oko 200 članaka u Hrvatskoj, europskim zemljama i SAD-u; urednica časopisa *Arti musices* (1999.-2006., od 2016.), članica uredništva časopisa *Muzyka*, dopisna urednica časopisa *Current Musicology* (New York)

- **znanstveni skupovi:**
- sudjelovala s referatima na oko 100 simpozija u Hrvatskoj, europskim zemljama, SAD-u i Kanadi, organizirala i suorganizirala osam međunarodnih simpozija te 20-ak domaćih okruglih stolova i stručnih sastanaka

- **rad na znanstvenim projektima:**
- **glavni istraživač** na projektu MZOS-a “W. A. Mozart i hrvatska glazbena kultura 1750.-1820.” (1992.-1996.)
- **voditeljica europskog projekta** “Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: The Meeting of the European East, West and South” (HERA, 2013.-2016.)
- **suradnica** na nacionalnim projektima MZOS-a (1992.-2013.)
- **suradnica** na međunarodnim interdisciplinarnim projektima “Oper im Wandel der Gesellschaft” (Volkswagen-Stiftung; 2005.-2008.) te „Europe and Beyond: Transfers, Networks and Markets for Musical Theatre in Modern Europe, 1740-1960” (European University Institute, Firenze, 2009.-2011.)

Sažetak

Ova se doktorska disertacija temelji na rezultatima istraživanja obilježja i značenja triju Zajčevih jedinih nacionalnopovijesnih opera (*Mislav*, *Ban Leget* i *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*). Temelj je rada muzikološka analiza partitura s obzirom na njihovo tekstnoglazbeno tkivo, a u središtu su istraživanja bile: glazbene sastavnice (ritamske, melodijske, harmonijske i formne), glazbena artikulacija dijelova / brojeva / prizora, analitička razradba libreta te sveza libreta i glazbenoga sadržaja (strukture opere), teatrološki pristup opernome djelu (u pogledu suodnosa dramskoga teksta, libreta i operne partiture, odnosno recepcije i percepcije djela u hrvatskoj /zagrebačkoj/ sredini toga doba), naposljetku, promisao o scenskoj (vizualnoj) komponenti operâ. Odgovarajućim metodološkim pristupom, što je uključivao arhivski rad na autografnim i ostalim rukopisnim te tiskanim izvorima, proučavanje historiografske građe, analitički rad te artikulaciju prikupljenih i odabranih podataka u znanstvenu cjelinu interdisciplinarnog karaktera, u ovome su radu izloženi različiti aspekti (o i oko) Zajčeve nacionalnopovijesne operne trilogije. Također se utvrdilo na koji je način i u kojoj mjeri, kao najkompetentniji i profesionalni glazbenik s prethodnim internacionalnim iskustvom, odgojen na talijanskoj glazbi („verdijanstvu“) i s praktičnim djelovanjem operetnoga majstora, ali i otvoren novim utjecajima sublimiranima u zahtjevima, očekivanjima te mogućnostima hrvatske sredine, Zajc odgovorio zadatku stvaranja hrvatskoga nacionalnoga opernoga repertoara. Osobita se pozornost posvetila sagledavanju elemenata *nacionalnoga* na razini: teksta / libreta, glazbene komponente, dramaturškoga aspekta (dramaturgije glazbe, dramaturgije libreta, dramaturgije scene, dakle, vizualne komponente u pogledu scenografije i kostimografije), ali i odnosu *internacionalnoga* / *kozmpolitskoga* i *nacionalnoga* idioma u Zajčevoj opernoj trilogiji. U kontekstu vremena i prostora (intencije sredine i intencije autorova stvaranja) i u odnosu na postojeću glazbenu tradiciju te perceptivna iskustva sredine za koju je stvarao, Zajc je progovorio u znatnoj mjeri aktualnim (primjerenim) glazbenim jezikom, a razinom uporabe glazbenofolklornih elemenata, odgovorio je i na ideološke poticaje toga povijesnoga trenutka. Stoga se potvrdila teza da je Zajc u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća u začetnim godinama hrvatske Opere – unatoč i/ili zahvaljujući višeslojnim čimbenicima – ostvario bitan, ključan i tadašnjoj publici prepoznatljiv, zapravo dotad prvi realni *hrvatski nacionalni operni kanon* s dostatnim i, kao što se pokazalo, relevantnim obilježjima nacionalnoga idioma. Stoga je ovaj rad doprinos promišljanju o Zajčevoj ulozi u kreiranju prvoga nacionalnoga opernoga repertoara, ujedno i odgovor na pitanje o nacionalnim i internacionalnim elementima i interakciji tih obilježja te biva otvoren novim muzikološkim i kroatološkim, analitičkim i/ili sintetskim radovima o Zajcu i njegovu opusu.

Summary

Zajc's Croatian national opera trilogy *Mislav* (1870), *Ban Leget* (1872) and *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* (1876) was composed in a sequence and by that time Zajc already had had compositional experience in operas, acquired in both his early and intensive operatic periods. After a series of operettas, composing of a historic opera with national elements was a *conditio sine qua non*, especially after Zajc's arrival in Zagreb from Vienna, which was arranged with Croatian intellectuals in 1870. That same year, the premiere of opera *Mislav*, which was on 2nd October, one decade after the establishment of the Croatian Drama (1860), i.e. Croatian National Theatre (1861) and twenty years after completion of, then still unperformed Lisinski's opera *Porin* (1847 – 1851) commenced the work of Zagreb's permanent opera as well as Zajc's forty years long musical activity in Zagreb. Moreover, the aforementioned operas, together with Lisinski's *Love and Malice*, were in Croatian cultural and historical range of that time declared as only “real” Croatian national operas which were composed and performed (except *Porin*, which was performed in 1897). Despite their uneven quality level and contemporary as well as later success (audience reception), our attention was attracted by the questions pertaining the competence of the author who had to make, upon arrival, all the necessary assumptions for creating the first publicly performed national opera. Firstly, the music ensemble and education were to be established; “upbringing” the players and music education of the singers. In accordance with inherited predispositions, cultural and family ambience (influence of his musician father), music education and specialization (Rijeka, Milan), author's artistic growth and formation in diverse environments (Rijeka, Milan, Vienna, Zagreb), Zajc managed to establish the creative dialogue in the new ambient, in the context of time and the intention of creation. One could say that the endeavours of Zagreb's patriots for the formation of national (musical) culture after the period of Bach's absolutism coincided with (private and artistic) circumstances which have brought Zajc in Zagreb. Zajc came in the time period between the neoabsolutism and the rule of Héderváry (from 1883). While the operas *Mislav* and *Ban Leget* were composed during the reigns of banus Levin Rauch (*Mislav*), rather Antun Vakanović (*Ban Leget*), both guided by aggressive Hungarian politics, the opera *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* was created during the reign of Ivan Mažuranić, whose reign was a “bright oasis” in the socio-political circumstances in Croatia in the second half of 19th century. Even though the last period was rather favourable, one could say that the opera trilogy as whole was composed in the intermission between two strong political pressures (Bach's and Khuen's). Therefore, it is important to emphasise the

convenience of the historical moment for the expression of the national, that is, for the creation of national operas with more or less allusive messages and metaphors, especially for plunging in the Croatian langsyne (which as such became evident in Zajc's trilogy). This can especially relate to *Mislav*, it being the first work of its kind, but also to *Ban Leget* and *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*, which were also intended to be national operas, and Zajc followed mutual ideas (for instance, self-sacrifice) in his choice of themes in all three works, thus being pursuant to the general mood of the society of the time. Their mission was to reinvigorate and confirm the Croatian national identity in the times of uncertainty, just after the two Settlements, during the unrest in Croatian national aspirations. The choice of themes aimed, with a great deal of certainty, for the confirmation of the national: the existence of the nation since the "ancient history". Furthermore, the themes reflected the key terms of the founders' myths of identity, unity and continuity (of one's nation).

Librettos, three diverse texts written by three authors (Franjo Marković: *Mislav*; Ivan Dežman: *Ban Leget*; Hugo Badalić: *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*), were inspired by folk tale (*Good Children* from Erben's collection no. 48 in *Mislav*), historic book (*De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, written by Ivan Lucius in 1666 in *Ban Leget*) and a drama text (written by a German Theodor Körner after a drama *Zriny* from 1812 in opera *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*) – three topics from three different sources: folk tale (*Mislav*), scenes from Croatian history / legends / myths (*Ban Leget*) and a historic event (*Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*). The subjects are typical for that time and they depict three different periods of Croatian history in range of 1000 years; 6th century in so called Great Croatia, homeland of Croatian people before the journey to Panonia and Adriatic sea (*Mislav*: battle with Avars); the second half of 10th century (*Ban Leget*: internal conflicts of a disunited nation – battle for power; an illegitimate ruler) and 16th century (*Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*: the conflict with the Turks).

The librettists of Zajc's national-historical trilogy were three distinguished writers, as well as librettists of Zajc's other operas (Josip Eugen Tomić, August Harambašić, Ivan Trnski, Stjepan Širola, Julije Benešić, S. S. Kranjčević). However, in the time of conception of those operas they were all young people; Ivan Dežman (31 years old) had had very little theatrical experience and Franjo Marković (25 years old) and Hugo Badalić (25 years old) hadn't had any experience in writing a libretto. So, in the conception of the dramatic course they didn't follow the scheme of Italian librettos, such as different dispositions of numbers / scenes which are conditioned by drama. However, despite the different quality levels and/or some minor shortcomings of librettos (*Mislav*, *Ban Leget*), mostly as illogicality in language and drama, the three librettists strived to "think musically" during writing their texts,

making parts of diverse character and atmosphere possible, solos (romances and arias), vocal duets, quartets, quintets, sextets, choruses, marches (suggested by text) and other structural opera parts.

In this paper diverse aspects of Zajc's national historical trilogy are stated; on the one hand, about them it is contemplated regarding time and beginnings of creation Croatian national operatic repertoire, and on the other hand regarding their musical and textual characteristics based on musicological and croatological analysis.

Namely, thanks to the analytical and comparative method various factors are considered, not only by necessary basic analytics of an opera, but their relation (by emphasising the differences in diverse aspects as well as connecting similarities). According to presumptions which are the result of consulting the primary and secondary material and selection of relevant facts, and based on the three national historical operas as one segment of author's opus, the thought about the level of participation of a composer in musical courses of that time was affirmed. The research aimed to comprehend the level of composer's contribution and significance in the context of his oeuvre and inspect the question of author's intention of creation in the time and milieu in which he was engaged (the milieu intentions) from various aspects. Firstly, the cultural, socio-political and ideological surroundings were observed, especially the idea of the national as well as the thought of *national* in Zajc's works, along with the reception of the national historical trilogy in the time of its creation (chapter II). Particularly, some of the (new) cognitions led to conclusion that Zajc – according to his own saying – in fact had an rather early approach to the problematic of the national (which was once more the affirmation of his knowledge, capabilities and artistic crafts, but foremost his striving to bring it to reality) in the way and by the means he thought he should. However, even though he was unprepared for such national idiom and isolated from the milieu in which those phenomena would be closer to him, he had understood them in his own artistic way and had fulfilled the essential national task.

Based on available and collected material and using the proper methodological procedures, the score and text analysis were made (the original scores) of three operas and text sources (literary templates and librettos), the disposition / structure of musical material was observed, organization of parts of the opera (articulation of numbers/scenes, the course of action, the compositional praxis in shaping the course of action), furthermore, regarding the formal structure of opera numbers / scenes, the dramaturgical side of the opera was analysed, which manifested itself in the plan of bigger entreties (important solo and ensemble scenes, choruses and orchestral parts, etc.) and in procedures regarding work with the rhythm, melody

and motives. On the one hand, the permeation of the scenes / acts in the way of transfusion of the parts in one logical whole or chaining, by joining contrast segments, the musical differentiation of some parts, musical characterisation of the characters, etc.; on the other hand by observing the relations: dramaturgy of the libretto – dramaturgy of the music – dramaturgy of the scenery; visualisation or visual / scenery moments in the operas, the psychological effects in musical content-wise shaping of the storyline. In the centre part of this dissertation (chapter III), most of the attention is dedicated to musical and not only textual component of the operas, which included Zajc's melodic / vocal thought in operatic material, the component regarding harmony and rhythm, one could say the numerous influences which formed the author's musical expression, which was influenced by not only Italian, but German operatic tradition (as seen in rhythmical elements and operatic gesture) and by adding the Slavic (Croatian) elements (achieved by diverse means and in diverse nuances). Lots of thought was given to the presence folk motives (tunes and rhythmic patterns) as well as texts with folk characteristics. Namely, according to discovered influences of the content motivic in operas and their appliance, remarkable indicators for the national idea in libretto were found (such as narration / fairy tale, historical topic / legend and an episode from the history), especially pertaining the national idioms in choruses, which had a significant role in national operas (they represented the people, the national idea and patriotic rhetoric as well as heroic element), and all that not only as textual messages, but compositional procedures (by adding motives and musical associations on the folk music tradition), and, last but not least, national ideas in the visual aspect of the piece (costumes, scenery, movement).

Furthermore, the score and libretto analysis, regarding the contemplation on national and international or about questions: what is the national in the music, text (theme) and the visual component of the operas, led us to the judgment of author's intention of creation as well as the intention of time, which imposed the task and also made the creation of the national repertoire possible.

Of course, we raised the question concerning the extent of influences which formed Zajc's compositional style. Summing them, we come to the thesis emphasized in the introduction of this paper. From the observances it is clear that Zajc especially in this isolated segment of his opus – in accordance with then contemporary circumstances and his own capacities – was unavoidably tied to the socio-political events in his (Zagreb's / Croatian) milieu, or he was defined by them, and their artistic realization was necessarily conditioned by existing literature and librettos. Meanwhile, in their valorization one should consider the whole context of their designation – the composer's artistic habitus and many factors. One

could attribute Zajc with the phrase “being torn between”; there are three layers on three levels: first, his artistic profile between intimate creation, inclination and affinity, then the assignment, needs and capabilities of the milieu and the definition by the musical education and competence; the second, between the triple cultural influences of Italian, German and Croatian tradition, and third is, as the result of the second one, the aspect of author’s trilingualism as well as the environment (in which beside Croatian and German, and Italian and Croatian language in Dalmatia, even the Hungarian was present). Of course, in those triplenesses one could, as a metaphor, observe even the territorial designation of Triune Kingdom and her division between Croatian, Hungarian and Austrian politic.

Even though Zajc kept the basic language of international / cosmopolitan (Italian) music, in his national historical trilogy, wanting to create the *national opera canon*, he incorporated some formal innovations, as well as inventive melodic and rhythmic patterns. Zajc came to some of the solutions by himself, intuitively, which are already seen in *Mislav*, as an attempt to incorporate Slavic musical elements. That was achieved by:

- a) outer (descriptive, imitative) associations on folk melodies (by using folklore, oriental and local elements – the cadenzas in fifths, simple motives, repetitive patterns, dance rhythms and rhythmic patterns of Slavic and Czech origin);
- b) inspiration in folk (old town) tunes and shaping the arias or segment of arias in a similar way (*Zrinjski*: “Gdje na tvrdu Stancu-brdu“; melodic and rhythmic themes in *Mislav* and melodies in *Ban Leget*);
- c) using the preexisting folk tunes in a slightly modified way and exquisite stylization (in comparison with the piece as a whole, in fact he did the instrumentation), he inserted them in the operas (the arhaic “Cvate ruža rumena“ from *Zrinjski*);
- d) citing the tunes (also using suitable harmony and orchestration), styling them using refined artistic interpretation (the chorus of fairies “Ljubio je goluban“).

While striving to define the features of the trilogy's operas (notably their perception and reception, especially in the times of their inception), this work aimed to evaluate Zajc’s means and extent of creating the Croatian national operatic repertory, based on the fact that he was the most competent musician educated with the influence of Verdi school and possessing a practical experience of an operetta master. Having said that, this dissertation attempted to discuss the correlation between international and national idioms. The aforementioned idiom reflected on the context of creation of national operas and/or those which played a similar part in the

conscious of the cultural public of the time. Regarding the context of the time, the intention of such creation in a practical sense could only be achieved by the following compositional tools: associative use of the harmonic models (the choice of keys), selection from a motivic palette in order to underline the national feelings, and, lastly, composer's skillfulness – a weighted compilation, a touch of mannerism, all in the service of accomplishing results. The conclusion brings the cognition of the means and level of Zajc's realization of national operatic opus, in which the following is reflected: composer's compositional craft, his past international experience and his newer influences, contained in the demands / expectations and possibilities of Croatian environment, which speaks about the meaning of Zajc's trilogy as such.

Moreover, certain features have been noted – innovative endeavour in the form and melodic-rhythmic creation in regard to composer's experience up to that point. The thesis that Zajc, against numerous odds, managed to play a key role in producing the first real Croatian national operatic canon in the second part of the 19th century (in the formative years of Croatian opera), thus inventing relevant features of a national idiom, was confirmed. These examples emphasize the importance of the social context and the role of a musical work (and the “musical life” of the environment that produced it and the environment where it belongs) – this role is most importantly a social one, which is, from a contemporary point of view on the history of music, especially actualized. With the sociological function, their appearance brought a political connotation – it was implied by the (social) political situation. Zajc's role on the path of inception and creation of the national operatic repertoire was also in exceeding all the possible obstacles. Despite the fact that Zajc's operas had in common with other heroic (national) operas, they did not seek to depict a random place, period or people; moreover, they were explicitly connected with Croatia, whether it is on behalf of toponymy and personal names or the historical foundation of the plot. As such, the operas are a reflection of a centuries-long tradition of musical creation, because they were conceived by the hand of a composer which was a regular paradigmatic example of an emissary bearing rich experiences and knowledge of European musical thought. The trilogy, based on the junction of Italian, Croatian and Austrian-German cultural influences, can be estimated as culturally complex, as it resonates the influences arisen from the composer's threefold being. The conclusion of this work is an attempt to summarize Zajc's importance as a composer of the national operatic opus, but at the same time also a call for further scholar work on Zajc's opus in the forthcoming discussions and studies.

Ključne riječi: Ivan pl. Zajc, *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* / Nikola Šubić Zrinski, *Mislav*, *Ban Leget*, Hugo Badalić, Franjo Marković, Ivan Dežman, Karel Jaromír Erben, Ivan Lučić, August Šenoa, Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, hrvatska Opera, Hrvatsko narodno kazalište, Hrvatski glazbeni zavod, operni repertoar, opera 19. stoljeća, hrvatska nacionalna povijesna opera, hrvatska nacionalnopovijesna operna trilogija, nacionalni identitet, ideologemi

Key words: Ivan von Zajc, *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* / Nikola Šubić Zrinski, *Mislav*, *Ban Leget*, Hugo Badalić, Franjo Marković, Ivan Dežman, Karel Jaromir Erben, Ivan Lučić, August Šenoa, Franjo Ksaver Kuhač, Croatian Opera, Croatian National Theatre, Croatian Music Institute, opera repertoire, opera of the 19th century, Croatian national historical opera, Croatian national historical opera trilogy, national identity, ideologemes

SADRŽAJ

Predgovor	1
UVODNA RAZMATRANJA	3
I. POLAZIŠTA	25
I. 1. PREGLED DOSADAŠNJIH ISTRAŽIVANJA ZAJČEVA STVARALAŠTVA	25
I. 1. 1. Ishodišni prinosi istraživanju Zajčeva glazbeničkoga djelovanja	25
I. 1. 2. Pettanovi prinosi istraživanju Zajčeva opusa i djelovanja	28
I. 1. 3. Znanstveni radovi o Zajčevu opusu	36
I. 1. 4. Ostali (analitički i pregledni) tekstovi o Zajčevu opusu	41
I. 1. 5. Tekstovi i kraći članci u periodici	43
I. 2. STANJE ISTRAŽIVANJA ZAJČEVA OPERNOGA STVARALAŠTVA	44
I. 2. 1. Radovi prve skupine	44
I. 2. 2. Radovi druge skupine	51
I. 2. 3. Radovi treće skupine	51
I. 2. 4. Radovi četvrte skupine	52
I. 3. IZVORI I STANJE (NOTNE I DRUGE) GRAĐE	55
I. 3. 1. Izvori i stanje notne građe operâ Mislav, Ban Leget i Nikola Šubić Zrinjski	55
I. 3. 1.a <i>Izvori / notna građa → autografi partitura operâ (prijepisi, ostali rukopisi)</i>	60
I. 3. 1.b <i>Izvori / notna građa → tiskovine (cjelovite partiture, ulomci, verzije)</i>	69
I. 3. 2. Izvori / zvukovni zapisi / snimke operâ i/ili ulomaka iz operâ Mislav, Ban Leget i Nikola Šubić Zrinjski	74
I. 3. 2.a <i>Diskografija Zajčeve operne trilogije iz Zbirke Ivana Gerersdorfera</i>	75
I. 3. 2.b <i>Odlomci iz operne trilogije na šelakovim gramofonskim pločama</i>	76
I. 3. 2.c <i>Diskografija operâ Mislav, Ban Leget i Nikola Šubić Zrinjski od razdoblja vinila do danas</i>	76
I. 3. 2.d <i>Audiosnimke (fonosnimke) operâ i/ili odlomaka iz operâ Mislav, Ban Leget i Nikola Šubić Zrinjski u Fonoarhivu HR (HRT)</i>	78
I. 3. 2.e <i>Video- i filmski zapisi operâ Mislav, Ban Leget i Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	81
I. 3. 3. Izvori / libreti (rukopisi; tiskovine)	81
I. 3. 3.a <i>Izvori / libreti (rukopisi; tiskovine) opere Mislav</i>	82
I. 3. 3.b <i>Izvori / libreti (rukopisi; tiskovine) opere Ban Leget</i>	82
I. 3. 3.c <i>Izvori / libreti (rukopisi; tiskovine) opere Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	84
I. 3. 4. Ostali sekundarni izvori i dokumentacija	86

II. KULTUROLOŠKI ASPEKT NASTAJANJA OPERÂ <i>MISLAV, BAN LEGET I NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI</i>	88
II. 1. DRUŠTVENOPOLITIČKO, IDEOLOGIJSKO I KULTUROLOŠKO OZRAČJE U HRVATSKIM ZEMLJAMA U DRUGOJ POLOVICI 19. STOLJEĆA	88
II. 2. IDEJA NACIONALNOGA	119
II. 2. 1. Ideja nacionalnoga do Zajčeva doba	119
II. 2. 2. Ideja nacionalnoga u Zajčevo vrijeme	148
II. 2. 3. O <i>nacionalnome</i> (osjećaju) u Zajca	177
II. 3. UTJECAJI NA STVARANJE ZAJČEVIH NACIONALNOPOVIJESNIH OPERÂ <i>MISLAV, BAN LEGET I NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI</i>	183
II. 3. 1. Prva skupina poticaja	184
II. 3. 2. Drugi krug mogućih utjecaja	204
II. 4. IZVORI (PJESMARICE, ZBIRKE) NARODNIH NAPJEVA – MOGUĆE ISHODIŠTE POTICAJA U OBLIKOVANJU GLAZBENIH TEMA	223
II. 5. RECEPCIJA (PRIHVAĆANJE) HRVATSKE NACIONALNE POVIJESNE OPERNE TRILOGIJE U DOBA NJEZINA NASTANKA / ODJECI U TISKU	250
II. 5. 1. O operi <i>Mislav</i>	257
II. 5. 2. O operi <i>Ban Leget</i>	273
II. 5. 3. O operi <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	282
II. 5. 4. Završne prosudbe	298
III. TEKSTNOGLAZBENO TKIVO ZAJČEVIH OPERÂ <i>MISLAV, BAN LEGET I NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI</i>	309
III. 1. IZVORI ZA KNJIŽEVNI PREDLOŽAK (LIBRETO) OPERÂ <i>MISLAV, BAN LEGET I NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI</i>	309
III. 1. 1. <i>Mislav</i>	317
III. 1. 2. <i>Ban Leget</i>	319
III. 1. 3. <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	321
III. 1. 3.a <i>Tema o Zrinskom</i>	321
III. 1. 3.b <i>Körnerov dramski tekst</i>	338
III. 2. ODREDNICE KNJIŽEVNOGA PREDLOŠKA (LIBRETA) OPERÂ <i>MISLAV, BAN LEGET I NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI</i>	340
III. 2. 1. Libreto opere <i>Mislav</i>	348
III. 2. 2. Libreto opere <i>Ban Leget</i>	361
III. 2. 3. Libreto opere <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	371

III. 3. ODREDNICE GLAZBENOGA IZRIČAJA U OPERAMA <i>MISLAV, BAN LEGET I NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI</i>	396
III. 3. 1. Strukturne / gradbene odrednice opernoga tkiva nacionalnopovijesne trilogije	396
III. 3. 1.a <i>Formna struktura opere / operâ u cjelini</i>	396
III. 3. 1.b <i>Formna struktura brojeva / prizora</i>	404
III. 3. 2. Dramaturški aspekt nacionalnopovijesne operne trilogije	414
III. 3. 2.a <i>Dramaturgija libreta</i>	416
III. 3. 2.b <i>Glazbena dramaturgija</i>	439
III. 3. 2.c <i>Vizualizacija – vizualni / scenski momenti u operama</i>	510
III. 3. 3. Zajčeva melodijska / vokalna misao u opernome tkivu	514
III. 3. 3.a <i>Kategorije / tipovi melodije (vokalnih temâ)</i>	525
III. 3. 3.b <i>Melodija vokalne dionice u opernom tkivu s obzirom na karakter / ugođaj</i>	538
III. 3. 3.c <i>Oblikovanje ritamskomelodijskih tema</i>	543
III. 3. 4. Harmonijski aspekt Zajčeva glazbenoga izričaja	549
III. 3. 5. Ritamska komponenta Zajčeve skladateljske misli	553
III. 3. 6. Operetni utjecaji u nacionalnopovijesnoj opernoj trilogiji	563
III. 3. 7. Zajčeva orkestralna misao u opernome tkivu nacionalnopovijesne trilogije	573
III. 3. 8. Odnos nacionalne i internacionalne razine glazbenih utjecaja u operama <i>Mislav, Ban Leget i Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	603
III. 3. 8.a <i>Nacionalni idiom – s obzirom na tekstnu komponentu (libreto)</i>	607
III. 3. 8.b <i>Nacionalni idiom – s obzirom na glazbeni sadržaj</i>	621
III. 3. 8.b – 1. <i>Tragovi glazbenofolklornoga nadahnuća – pokazatelji nacionalnih obilježja u glazbi</i>	621
III. 3. 8.b – 2. <i>Zborski ulomci / brojevi iz aspekta romantičarskih i nacionalnih ideja</i>	641
III. 3. 8.c <i>Nacionalni idiom – s obzirom na vizualni (scenografski i kostimografski) aspekt ili vizualno u funkciji isticanja nacionalnoga</i>	674
III. 3. 8.d <i>Razina kozmopolitskoga / internacionalnoga utjecaja (talijanske / njemačke glazbene tvorbe)</i>	685
III. 3. 9. Srodnosti / poveznice među trima operama	695
III. 3. 9.a <i>Srodnosti u pogledu ideje / motivike</i>	696
III. 3. 9.b <i>Srodnosti na planu skladbenih postupaka</i>	700
III. 3. 9.c <i>Srodnosti u pogledu semantičkih (značenjskih) obilježja / odrednica</i>	711
III. 3. 10. Utjecaji i analogije	715
III. 3. 10.a <i>Utjecaji talijanske operne tradicije (Rossinija, Donizettija, Verdija)</i>	715
III. 3. 10.b <i>Utjecaji sjevernozapadnoeuropske (germanske / francuske) operne tradicije</i>	721
III. 3. 10.c <i>Utjecaji / analogije u srednjoeuropskih / slavenskih opernih djela</i>	724
III. 3. 11. Neke natuknice o zborskom broju / ulomku <i>U boj</i>	728
III. 3. 12. Zrinski i Nikola Šubić Zrinjski kao paradigme	732

IV. ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA	740
IV. 1. ZNAČENJE I MJESTO NACIONALNOPOVIJESNE OPERNE TRILOGIJE U KONTEKSTU ZAJČEVA STVARANJA I HRVATSKE GLAZBE NJEGOVA DOBA	741
IV. 2. ZNAČENJE I MJESTO NACIONALNOPOVIJESNE OPERNE TRILOGIJE U KONTEKSTU POJAVE SRODNIH OPERNIH DJELA U ZAJČEVIM SUVREMENIKA HRVATSKE I INOZEMNE GLAZBENE STVARNOSTI	753
IV. 3. FENOMEN “ZAJC” – ZAVRŠNA CRTICA	764
Pogovor	767
V. BIBLIOGRAFIJA	772
V. 1. BIBLIOGRAFIJA CITIRANIH RADOVA	772
V. 2. OSTALA (CITIRANA) GRAĐA	808
V. 2. 1. Leksikografska i enciklopedijska izdanja (kronološkim slijedom)	808
V. 2. 2. Glazbenohistoriografske sinteze (kronološkim slijedom)	809
V. 2. 3. Edicije povijesti hrvatske glazbe (kronološkim slijedom)	810
V. 2. 4. Bibliografije (kronološkim slijedom)	811
V. 2. 5. Ostale publikacije (kronološkim slijedom)	811
V. 2. 6. Ostali izvori	813
V. 2. 7. Internetske stranice	814
V. 3. BIBLIOGRAFIJA RADOVA O OPERAMA	815
<i>MISLAV, BAN LEGET, NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI</i>	
V. 3. 1. Bibliografija radova o operi <i>Mislav</i>	815
V. 3. 2. Bibliografija radova o operi <i>Ban Leget</i>	816
V. 3. 3. Bibliografija radova o operi <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	818
VI. PRILOZI	832
VI. 1. SADRŽAJI OPERÂ <i>MISLAV, BAN LEGET</i> I <i>NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI</i>	833
VI. 1. 0. Izvori sadržaja	833
VI. 1. 1. Sadržaj opere <i>Mislav</i>	835
VI. 1. 2. Sadržaj opere <i>Ban Leget</i>	837
VI. 1. 3. Sadržaj opere <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	838

VI. 2. PODJELA OPERNIH ULOGA („ROLA“) NA PRAIZVEDBI OPERÂ MISLAV, BAN LEGET I NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI	840
VI. 2. 1. <i>Mislav</i>	840
VI. 2. 2. <i>Ban Leget</i>	841
VI. 2. 3. <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	841
VI. 2. 4. <i>Zajčeve učenice / učenici (pjevačice / pjevači)</i>	842
VI. 2. 5. <i>Pjevačice / pjevači u doba Zajca</i>	842
VI. 3. POPIS IZVEDBI OPERÂ MISLAV, BAN LEGET I NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI OD VREMENA NJIHOVE POJAVE DO 1914. GODINE	846
VI. 3. 1. Izvedbe opere <i>Mislav</i>	847
VI. 3. 1.a <i>Mislav – izvedbe cjelovite opere (za Zajčeva života: do 1914.)</i>	847
VI. 3. 1.b <i>Izvedbe ulomaka / fragmenata iz opere Mislav (do 1914.)</i>	848
VI. 3. 1.c <i>Izvedbe cjelovite opere Mislav nakon 1914. godine</i>	848
VI. 3. 2. Izvedbe opere <i>Ban Leget</i>	849
VI. 3. 2.a <i>Ban Leget – izvedbe cjelovite opere (za Zajčeva života: do 1914.)</i>	849
VI. 3. 2.b <i>Izvedbe ulomaka / fragmenata iz opere Ban Leget (do 1914.)</i>	849
VI. 3. 2.c <i>Izvedbe cjelovite opere Ban Leget nakon 1914. godine</i>	850
VI. 3. 3. Izvedbe opere <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i> (za Zajčeva života)	851
VI. 3. 3.a <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski – izvedbe cjelovite opere (izbor važnijih izvedbi)</i>	851
VI. 3. 3.b <i>Izvedbe ulomaka / fragmenata iz opere Nikola Šubić Zrinjski (za Zajčeva života: do 1914.) – izbor</i>	855
VI. 4. TABELE GLAZBENIH BROJEVA / PRIZORA U OPERAMA MISLAV, BAN LEGET I NIKOLA ŠUBIĆ ZRINJSKI	856
VI. 4. 1. Popis glazbenih brojeva / prizora opere <i>Mislav</i>	857
VI. 4. 2. Popis glazbenih brojeva / prizora opere <i>Ban Leget</i>	861
VI. 4. 3. Popis glazbenih brojeva / prizora opere <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	867
VI. 4. 4. Tabele zbornih brojeva / ulomaka	873
VI. 4. 4.a <i>Položaj zbornih dijelova u gradbenom smislu</i>	873
VI. 4. 4.b <i>Mislav (podjela brojeva u/sa zbornim ansamblima)</i>	875
VI. 4. 4.c <i>Mislav (eksplicite naznačeni zborni brojevi u partituri opere)</i>	876
VI. 4. 4.d <i>Ban Leget (podjela brojeva u/sa zbornim ansamblima)</i>	877
VI. 4. 4.e <i>Ban Leget (eksplicite naznačeni zborni brojevi u partituri opere)</i>	878
VI. 4. 4.f <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski (podjela brojeva u/sa zbornim ansamblima)</i>	879
VI. 4. 4.g <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski (eksplicite naznačeni zborni brojevi u partituri)</i>	880
VI. 4. 4.h <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	882
– <i>relativno samostalni zborni ulomci (srasli sa solističkima / ansamblima)</i>	
VI. 4. 4.i <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski (kratki zborni ulomci u solističkim ansamblima)</i>	883

VI. 4. 5. Tabele ideologema	883
VI. 4. 5.a <i>Mislav</i>	883
VI. 4. 5.b <i>Ban Leget</i>	886
VI. 4. 5.c <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	887
VI. 5. TABELE ORKESTRACIJE	891
VI. 5. 1. Tabela orkestracije opere <i>Mislav</i>	891
VI. 5. 2. Tabela orkestracije opere <i>Ban Leget</i>	892
VI. 5. 3. Tabela orkestracije opere <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	893
VI. 6. POPIS IZVORA (KORIŠTENE I/ILI KONZULTIRANE) NOTNE GRAĐE	894
VI. 6. 1. <i>Mislav</i>	894
VI. 6. 1.a <i>Izvori / notna građa → autografi partiturâ (prijepisi, ostali rukopisi)</i>	894
VI. 6. 1.b <i>Izvori / notna građa → tiskovine</i>	897
VI. 6. 2. <i>Ban Leget</i>	898
VI. 6. 2.a <i>Izvori / notna građa → autografi partiturâ (prijepisi, ostali rukopisi)</i>	898
VI. 6. 2.b <i>Izvori / notna građa → tiskovine</i>	902
VI. 6. 3. <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	903
VI. 6. 3.a <i>Izvori / notna građa → autografi partiturâ (prijepisi, ostali rukopisi)</i>	903
VI. 6. 3.b <i>Izvori / notna građa → tiskovine</i>	913
VI. 7. LIBRETI (RUKOPISI / TISKOVINE)	920
VI. 7. 1. <i>Mislav</i>	920
VI. 7. 2. <i>Ban Leget</i>	920
VI. 7. 3. <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	921
VI. 8. KNJIŽNA GRAĐA	923
VI. 8. 1. (<i>Mislav</i>)	923
VI. 8. 2. (<i>Ban Leget</i>)	923
VI. 8. 3. (<i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>)	924
VI. 9. POPIS ZVUKOVNIH IZVORA (AUDIOSNIMKE, VIDEO- I FILMSKI ZAPISI OPERA)	924
VI. 9. 1. Iz diskografije <i>Zbirke Ivana Gerersdorfera</i>	925
VI. 9. 2. Tonski zapisi (ulomaka iz <i>Nikole Šubića Zrinjskog</i>) na šelakovim gramofonskim pločama	925
VI. 9. 3. Zvukovni zapisi Zajčevih opera i/ili ulomaka (<i>Mislav, Ban Leget, Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>) od razdoblja vinila do danas	929
VI. 9. 4. Audiosnimke (fonosnimke) operâ i/ili odlomaka iz operâ <i>Mislav, Ban Leget i Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i> u Fonoarhivu HR (HRT)	948
VI. 9. 4.a <i>Mislav</i>	949
VI. 9. 4.b <i>Ban Leget</i>	952
VI. 9. 4.c <i>Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	956

VI. 9. 5. Popis video- i filmskih zapisa operâ <i>Mislav, Ban Leget, Nikola Šubić Zrinjski</i>	957
VI. 10. NOTNI PRILOZI	960
VI. 11. SLIKOVNI PRILOZI	964
Životopis autorice	971