

THE CROATIAN COMPOSER IVAN ZAJC IN THE HISTORY
OF BULGARIAN MUSIC CULTURE
(An Attempt at a Brief Chronography)

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Abstract

The fruitful musical relations between the Croatian and Bulgarian peoples in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, were particularly marked by the activity of the Croatian composer Ivan Zajc.

The study is an attempt to provide a brief chronography of Ivan Zajc's creative presence in the period of formation of the Bulgarian national composers' school. The performances of his works and their editions in Bulgaria at the time, as well as the role and meaning of the Zagreb Music School of the Music Institute —

while Zajc was its director — have been researched and presented in the paper. Zajc was also the winner of the First Bulgarian Music Competition (1894) and the author of the hymn of the First Bulgarian Singing Society (Plovdiv, 1896). Some melodies of his marches written after the words of famous Bulgarian poets represent the national fight for liberation and are often considered Bulgarian in origin.

Key words: Ivan Zajc, history of music, Bulgaria, Croatia, 19th century

When talking about the old-time cultural relations between the Bulgarian and Croatian peoples, music historians in Bulgaria never miss the opportunity to give at least three examples as a symbol of their long-lived tradition:

— Bishop Josip Strossmayer's support for the publication of the »Bulgarian Folk Songs« collection by the Konstantin brothers and Dimitar Miladinov (Zagreb, 1861);

— the popularity of the Croatian national hymn *Liepa naša domovina* among the town inhabitants in Bulgaria before and after the Liberation of the country (1878), and,

— the first Bulgarian symphony (1912-1913) composed by Nikola Atanasov, a graduating student in Composition at the Zagreb Music Institute School of Music.

These examples can be multiplied several of times: with facts from the works of Bulgarian and Croatian composers, performing practice, music periodicals and scientific research disclosing various aspects of active interaction between the two music cultures from the middle of the 19th c. to the 1940s.

However, there is one musician whose name somehow remains outside the outlined trajectory of historical time — **the Croatian composer Ivan Zajc**.¹ For decades past, his vocal compositions have held a firm position in the repertoire of Bulgarian choirs. The melodies of his marches written after the words by famous Bulgarian poets represent the national fight for liberation of our nation and are often considered as **Bulgarian** in origin.

The present study is an attempt to provide a brief chronography of Ivan Zajc's creative presence in the period of formation of the Bulgarian national composers' school. Part of the materials listed in it is well-known in the history of Bulgarian music culture, others have been mentioned for the first time and they expand the field of study on this subject in order to prompt its more extensive research.

The Beginning: From the Years of the Bulgarian Revival and after the War of Liberation

In the 1860s and 1870s, the process of the Bulgarian Revival reached the climax of its development. The rapid economic progress of the towns and the active commercial contacts with near and far countries broke up the patriarchal traditions in the lives of the Bulgarians, by introducing various cultural influences. The awakening national self-awareness was equally on the lookout for the new and the modern, not only in daily life, but in the culture of other European countries as well. In one of his articles, **Dobri Hristov**, the doyen of the first generation of Bulgarian composers, gave the following vivid description of music life in Bulgaria at that time: »*The songs of the great **Botev** (bold by St. G.) fire up people's souls, **Karavelov's** (bold by St. G.) verses sound tenderly [...] Known and unknown names start singing rebel songs with melodies in the **western** (bold by St. G.) tone*«. ²

¹ The idea of writing this study was suggested by Dr. Sanja Majer-Bobetko, who also initiated the research of the theme about Iv. Zajc and Bulgarian musical culture. I dedicate it to her as a mark of our beneficial professional cooperation.

² Dobri HRISTOV: Muzikata u nas okolo osvoboditelnata ni epoha i posledstvijata ot neja varhu pok'snoto ni individualno tvorcestvo (Music in this country around the period of our Liberation and its effects on our later individual works, 1935), in: Dobri HRISTOV: *Muzikalno-teoretično i publicistično nasledstvo* (Musico-theoretical and publicistic heritage), vol. 1, B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1967, 307-308.

Thus, in the period before the Liberation of our country from the Turkish yoke, famous Bulgarian Revival poets like **Petko Račev Slavejkov**, **Dobri Čintulov**, **Petar Ivanov** and others wrote a great number of patriotic and lyrical songs which, in intonation and theme, were completely different from the songs of the old country folklore. Some of them were composed in »*narodnen ton*« (popular tone) while others — in the so-called »*obšt ton*« (general tone) with loaned lyrics or melodies.³ After the War of Liberation (1877-1878), the first music bands were formed in Bulgaria. Following the example of the Russian choirs, a lot of singing formations were founded in this country, developed later on into music societies. Czech musicians — bandmasters were employed in the new Bulgarian army. They conducted the military brass bands and included the unknown European »harmonic music« (art music, ed. note) in their repertoire.

About those years, when the foundations of Bulgarian music culture were being laid, D. Hristov wrote: »*Eager for new life, with vehement zeal, the Bulgarian is in a hurry to make up for the lost through the ages and affiliate himself to the light of western civilization and culture [...] Melodies from **Croatian, Slovene, Polish and Russian revolutionary songs** (bold by St. G.) were adapted to translated or original texts [...] The melodious verses of Botev's unrivalled ballad 'Živ e toj' [He's Alive] sound in an alien tone, and the singing of the wonderful text of 'Obesvaneto na Vasil Levski' (The Hanging of Vasil Levski) is after the magnificent adaptation of artistic music from a Croatian composition*«. ⁴ (bold by St. G.)

It is hard to say where and when songs of Croatian origin were heard for the first time, in the bright intonation kaleidoscope of music life during the Revival, and the one that followed after the Liberation. Records about them in the musicohistorical studies at the end of the 19th c. and in the 20th c. are fragmentary and incomplete. Most often researchers put these melodies in the context of Slavic vocal compositions. They were most widely spread in the Bulgarian lands, owing to the similarity in the folklore and languages of the peoples.⁵ The songs recreating the struggles of the South and West Slavs for national independence like the Polish *Slavjanski himn* (Samuel Tomašek), the Slovakian *Kde domov můj* (František Jan Škroup) and the Croatian *Liepa naša domovina* (Josif / Josip / Runjanin), the Slovene *Naprej, zastava slave* (Davorin Jenko) and others of Russian, Hungarian and Czech origin, were close to the longings of the Bulgarians. As usual, the names of their

³ The definition »*narodnen ton*« (»popular tone«) in Bulgarian music history refers to compositions in which stylized intonations from the Bulgarian folk music have been used in the melodies. The definition »*obšt ton*« (»general tone«), »*čužd*« ili »*zapaden ton*« (»alien« or »western tone«) refers to melodies whose intonations have been borrowed from other artistic layers and cultures.

⁴ Dobri HRISTOV: *Muzikata u nas okolo osvoboditelnata ni epoha i posledstvijata ot neja varhu pok'snoto ni individualno tvorčestvo*, 308. In this text D. Hristov did not mention the name of the Croatian composer Vilko Novak, who composed the song after the verses of the Bulgarian poet Hr. Botev but, with underlined notes, he specified that he himself »adapted« (i.e. arranged) this song for choral performance.

⁵ Nikolaj KAUFMAN: *1500 B'lgarski gradski pesni* (1500 Bulgarian Urban Folk Songs), vol. 1, *Lirični i ljubovni* (1842-1918) (Lyrical and Love), Slavena, Varna 2002, 32-33.

authors were not mentioned and this widely spread practice in the 19th c. can easily be explained: they were heard among the circles of music fans and were not written down in notes but diffused »by ear«. Their bearers were bright young Bulgarians who studied in the nearby Slavic countries and could read »European notes« and play classical musical instruments (violin, flute, and piano).

One of them was **Petar Ivanov**, an outstanding Bulgarian writer of the National Revival, a poet and musician. He finished high school and ecclesiastical seminary in Belgrade. In the year 1870, he returned to his native town, Stara Zagora, became a teacher and worked for the development of music (*Appendix IX.8.*). He wrote patriotic and school songs, well-known all over the country. As a participant in the national-liberation uprisings of the Bulgarian people, P. Ivanov knew well the power and effect of a song. After his verses were adapted to the melody of *Liepa naša domovina*, the Croatian anthem became widely popular among the Bulgarian population in the years immediately before the Liberation from the Turkish yoke. The importance the poet attached to his text is confirmed by the fact that he included it in his first volume of poetry, published in the year 1875 in Constantinople, entitled *Po podražanie na H'rvatskata Liepa naša domovina* (after the Croatian *Liepa naša domovina*) (*Appendix I.1.1.*).

Years later, arranged as a march, the melody of the song was published in **Stojanov-Račov's** Collection *B'lgarski pesni i hora za fortepiano* (Bulgarian Songs and Wheel Dances for Piano) together with *Šopsko horo* (Shopp's Wheel Dance) and *Hej, Slavjane* (Hey, Slavs). According to the study by Ivan Kamburov, one of the experts on the history of Croatian music, it was still being performed in various circles of Bulgarian society at the beginning of the 20th century.⁶

In the 1880s and 1890s, the connections between the Bulgarian and Croatian musical cultures were getting more and more versatile. The opening of the first music printing house by the Croat **D. M. Drobnjak** in Ruse in the year 1882, and soon after that in other Bulgarian towns (Varna, Kazanlak), contributed not only to the swift diffusion of songs and choral works by different European composers (including Croatians), but also to the popularization of musical compositions by the first Bulgarian composers.⁷ Music magazines started to be published in Bulgaria (*Gusla*, 1891, Plovdiv, editor G. Bajdanov; *Kaval*, 1894, Silistra, editor K. Mahan); collections of choral, solo and school songs were published and they gradually made up for the deficiency in new artistic production for schools and amateur choral groups.

⁶ Cf. Andrej A. STOJANOV and Račo M. RAČOV: *B'lgarski pesni i hora za fortepiano* (Bulgarian Songs and Wheel Dances for Piano), *Narodna muzika*, L. Nitše, Varna 1888, No. 8, 4, and Ivan Kamburov's comment in his books: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni* (The Melodies of Botev's Songs), *Nauka i izkustvo*, Sofia 1949, 24-25, and *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost* (Croatian Music. Past and Present), T. F. Čipev', Sofia 1942, 5-6.

⁷ It is interesting that the name of D. M. Drobnjak was mentioned in all studies of the history of Bulgarian music culture, but no other information is known about the personality and work of this Croatian publisher.

There were two approaches in the process of affiliating musical life to European artistic culture: on the one hand, the familiar practice of adapting Bulgarian texts to different popular compositions was still applied while, on the other hand, the necessity of new repertoire made the publishers declare some of the foreign songs as being Bulgarian. In one of his critical reviews, Dobri Hristov described a similar case from the beginning of the 20th century: »10-15 years ago **Stojanov and Račov** (bold by St. G.) from Šumen misled us by publishing a number of **Czech and Croatian songs** [?] as their own compositions and, not long ago, we thought of the songs 'Dej rodāt mi' (Where Are My People) and 'Napred ni čaka slava' (Glory Awaits Us Ahead), as our folk songs«. ⁸ (bold by St. G.)

Meanwhile, in the first decades after the Liberation, some new trends were outlined where authorial songs played the leading part — choral, school and, later on, solo songs. When a professional composers' school was established in Bulgaria during that period, the vocal genres, together with the instrumental suites »kitki« (potpourri) of military bandmasters, developed the idea among music fans of the **new composer works**. The programs at music soirées and brass bands concerts included a vivid mixture of works, among which the works of the Slavic authors took a significant place. Some of them, composed after verses by famous Bulgarian poets, were so closely »woven« with our music culture that their melodies were accepted as **authentic Bulgarian compositions**. Ivan Kamburov gave a similar example in one of his research works: »The Croatian composer **Vilko Novak** (bold by St. G.) has a song entitled with only one word — the name of the deacon, **Levski** (bold by St. G.). This is a **wonderful** (bold by St. G.) and unusually artistic song which had taken the well-deserved leading place of honour in the repertoire of our male choirs and has become one of the most favourite songs of our audiences«. ⁹

V. Novak's song was written on the basis of the immortal elegy of the great Bulgarian poet **Hristo Botev**. In it he praised the heroic deeds of the Apostle of the Bulgarian national movement for liberation — **Vasil Levski** — hanged by the Turks for his revolutionary activities. It is known that Botev's poetry became famous even in the more remote Slavic countries through the newspapers *Svoboda* (Liberty) and *Nezavisimost* (Independence), published by the Bulgarian immigration in Brâila, Bucharest and other towns. ¹⁰

⁸ Dobri HRISTOV: Rubrika »Kritika«, Column (Critical Review), *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1906) 1, 6. **Atanas Stojanov** (1854-1930) and **Račo M. Račov** (1853-1897) were one of the first Bulgarian music publishers who lived and worked in the town of Šumen. *Dej rodāt mi* is the Bulgarian title of *Kde domov můj*, which some authors think is of Slovak and others of Czech origin. The Croatian *Napred ni čaka slava* for the time being remains as having unknown authors of the melody and lyrics.

⁹ Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, 38. *Djakon* (deacon; diakonos — of Greek origin) — a clergyman of the first, minor rank in the Christian Orthodox Church.

¹⁰ This is the last of Hristo Botev's verses written in the October-December 1875 period. It was published for the first time in the wall calendar for the 1876 New Year, issued by Botev, together with V. Levski's portrait. In the year 1888, the elegy was included in the book *Hristo Botev's Writings*, published in Sofia under the editorship of Zahari Stojanov. It is not known where and when V. Novak read the work of the Bulgarian poet-revolutionary.

However, information about V. Novak's song is quite scanty in Bulgarian music historiography. According to some researchers, it was written right after the years of the Liberation of Bulgaria, but no specific evidence has been found in support of this statement.¹¹ On the basis of well-known data from the biography of the Croatian composer, dating from the beginning of his active creative work to the last decade of the 19th century, we can assume that it was written during that time.¹² The popularity of the song about Levski among the amateur choral groups in Bulgaria, and the presence of other works by V. Novak in their repertoire, has not been a subject of special research in Bulgarian musicology so far. (*Appendix VIII.6, 6.1, 7, 8, 9*).

The names of other Croatian composers were brought to the knowledge of Bulgarian music culture through the first music newspapers and magazines published by **Karel Mahan** (1867-1923) and **Georgi Bajdanov**. For example, the composition *Kitčica ot Bulgarski Makedonski pesni* (Potpourri of Bulgarian Macedonian Songs) to **Franjo Kuhač's** melody was published in the only issue of the *Gusla* newspaper (1891).¹³ Two articles translated from Croatian were included in the *Kaval* music magazine — **Vjenceslav Novak's** *Forma i sadržanje na kompoziciite* (Form and Content in Compositions, 1894) and **Franjo Kuhač's** *Starogrčki ladove v našata narodna muzika* (Ancient Greek Modes in Our Folk Music, 1895).¹⁴ Karel Mahan, the editor of the magazine, directed the attention of musicians for the first time to the theory and aesthetics of composition and to folk music modal structure. This was not by chance since, during those years, he himself published a number of

¹¹ Venelin Kr'stev, for example, wrote only that »the widely known choral a capella song by the Croatian composer *Vilko Novak*« was written after the Liberation of Bulgaria. Cf. V. KR'STEV: *Očerci po istorija na B'lgarskata muzikalna kultura* (Articles on the History of Bulgarian Musical Culture), *Musika*, Sofia 1977, 82. So far, no original a capella variant of the song by V. Novak, published in a Bulgarian edition has been found.

¹² Writing about him, Iv. Kamburov said: »The choral composer who left permanent traces in the Croatian choral literature is *Vilko Novak* (1865-1916) who attended lectures in Law at the University of Zagreb and, along with this, went in for music by playing the piano and even trying to engage himself in the art of music as self-educated. From 1891 to 1894, Novak studied at the school of music of the Glazbeni zavod. Upon completion, he worked as a secondary school teacher and he was a teacher of theory, general choral singing and history of music at the school of music during the 1895-1910 period.« Cf. Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'roatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, 65.

¹³ Franjo KUHAČ: *Kitčica ot B'lgarski makedonski pesni* for a mixed choir by G. Bajdanov, *Gusla*, 1 (1891) 1, supplements, 14-15.

¹⁴ Cf. Vjenceslav NOVAK: *Forma i s'daržanje na kompoziciite* (Form and Content in Compositions), *Kaval*, 1 (1894) 2, 13-14. Agapija BALAREVA, in her article *Muzikalnata publicistika v B'lgaria ot Osvoboždenieto do kraja na XIX v* (Musical Journalism in Bulgaria from the Liberation to the End of the 19th century), published in the magazine, *B'lgarsko muzikoznanie*, 1993, 3-4, mis-spelled the name of the author **Vjenceslav Novak** as **Vilko Novak**. In fact, for the time being, this article is the only known material of the Croatian theoretician found in Bulgarian music periodicals. It is interesting that the article *Starogrčki ladove v našata narodna muzika* by **F. Kuhač** published in *Kaval*, 1 (1895) 13, 77-82, was published in the journal *Nada* in Sarajevo under the title *Starogrčki motivi u našoj narodnoj glazbi* (Ancient Greek Motives in Our Folk Music). Cf. Franjo KUHAČ: *Starogrčki motivi u našoj narodnoj glazbi*, *Nada*, 1 (1895) 3, 51-55. The translation into Bulgarian (with comments by K. Mahan) was made very soon after the first material had been published.

articles with similar topics, among which were reflections about *B'deščteto na južnoslavjanskata muzika* (The Future of South Slavic Music).¹⁵

In the years after the War of Liberation, Bulgarians gave spontaneous expression through music to their joy with their life as free people: in that way, a new attitude to art, which was different to their traditional folk culture, was initiated. The teachers, clerks, lawyers etc. founded their own study circles and united to organize, by common efforts, amateur choral groups and orchestras. The vocal compositions of another Croatian composer, **Ivan Zajc**, were repeatedly included in their musical performances.

Ivan Zajc — The Winner of the First Bulgarian Music Competition (1894)

According to the accounts that have come to light so far, Ivan Zajc's songs were found even in the 1880s in the concert programs of the first Bulgarian choral formations. Some of them probably became popular among the city population even earlier. This was suggested by the concert program of the secondary school for boys in Plovdiv in the year 1889, for which the music teacher **Georgi Bajdanov** arranged the melody of *Napred ti, B'lgarino* (Forward, You Bulgarian). In 1891, the repertoire of his school choir included another Zajc march *Stavaj, rode mili* (Rise Up, Dear People).¹⁶ At the same time the secondary school choir in the town of Sliven was singing *U boj, u boj* (Into Battle, Into Battle). The name of the author was not indicated on the program but for the then-performers and listeners this »omission« was hardly of any substantial significance (*Appendix III:1.1, 2, 3.*)¹⁷

Though first diffused by amateur music circles, at the end of the 19th century and during the first decades of the 20th century, the works of the Croatian composer »took a central place in the repertoire of the Bulgarian choral groups.«¹⁸ A convincing example of this is the extract of the soirée program, quoted below, and performed by the teachers' club of the Teacher Training School in the town of Kjustendil (1895). »The music numbers« included in it indicate not only the stylistic preferences of the performers but also the place Zajc's works took in their repertoire:

1. *Nošni pazači* (Night Guards) **by Iv. Zajc** (performed by an amateur choir); 2. *Potpourri from the opera »La Traviata« by Verdi* (piano); 3. »*Morjaki*« **by Vileboa** (duet); 4. *Cavatina from the opera Robert Diavolo* (military orchestra); 5. **Tamo gore** (Up There)

¹⁵ Cf. Karel Mahan's articles: Our songs, in: *A collection of Folk Tales, Science and Literature*, vol. 10, Sofia 1894, 221-235; Persian-Arabian motives in Bulgarian songs, *Bulgarian Review*, (1895) 8, 90-96; The Future of South Slavic music, *Bulgarian Review*, (1896) 4, 50-54 etc.

¹⁶ Cf. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo* (Plovdiv Singing Society. History and Annals.), First part, manuscript, Plovdiv 1965, 20, 23.

¹⁷ Cf. Vasil DIMITROV: *Istorija na muzikalното minalo na grad Sliven* (History of the Musical Past of the Town of Sliven), 2nd and 3rd section (manuscript), 1966, 155.

¹⁸ Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria* (Choral Development in Bulgaria), B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1992, 98.

by Iv. Zajc (solo); 6. A collection of folk songs (school choir); 6. **Quartet from the opera Pan Tvardovski by Zajc**; 7. Ja vas ljubil by Varlamov (solo).¹⁹ (bold by St. G.)

Undoubtedly, the phenomenon of Zajc's popularity in Bulgaria was the result of the various needs in music life. Besides, it was also a result of the fighting spirit of his marches, which reminded the Bulgarians of the heroes of their recent revolutionary past. His works were found all over the country — both in the bigger musical centres such as Plovdiv, Lom, Varna, Šumen, Kjustendil, and in small towns with recently developed musical activities (*Appendix III.*). The melodies of the songs written after famous verses of Bulgarian National Revival poets soon became popular. Some of them reflected intonations close to the »fashionable« sound atmosphere of the Bulgarian town. That is why conductors easily »adjusted« Zajc's works to the repertoire of their musical groups, adapting them to choral *a capella* performance, for choir and orchestra, and, subsequently, even to a ballet performance (*Appendix II., Appendix IV.*).

Hence, in the years after the Liberation, the songs of the Croatian composer filled one of the niches of Bulgarian musical culture, which was taking its first steps and was closest to amateur musical performance potential. The fact that his numerous opera works remain unfamiliar in Bulgaria indicates that no conditions are yet available in our musical practice for their popularization. Naturally, we should suggest that the wide popularity of the Croatian composer in this country was due to highly professional musicians such as K. Mahan, G. Bajdanov, A. Bukureščliev, etc. It is evident that they were well familiar not only with his numerous works, but they also had a clear idea of his ranking in Croatian musical life. For that reason, not by chance, one could come across Ivan Zajc's name on another page of the history of the Bulgarian music culture.

One of the first initiatives of the Sofia Society of Music (established in the year 1893) under the chairmanship of the outstanding Bulgarian intellectual **Dr. Ivan Šišmanov**, was a competition for writing a Bulgarian song (*Appendix IX.14.*). In this way, the organizers wanted to find a solution for one of the most important issues for music practice — the repertoire of the Bulgarian choirs in which, in those years, the prevailing place was taken by **foreign** works of music. The results of the competition were announced in the *Kaval* magazine (1894) with the following review: »A total of 13 compositions were sent to the first music competition organized by the Sofia Society of Music. The song '**Majka**' (Mother), a song for one voice, composed by **the Croatian composer Iv. Zajc** was awarded the first prize, and the composition '**Imah konja hranena**' (I Had a Well-fed Horse) by **Al. Macak** (bold by St. G.), a bandmaster of the 4-th infantry regiment, was awarded the second prize.«²⁰

¹⁹ Cf. ***: [News from soirées and concerts], *Kaval*, 1 (1895) 13, 83.

²⁰ *** : [On the first music competition], *Kaval (Silistra)*, 1 (1894) 6, 43.

Майко клета

Текст: М. Велков *Музика: М. Зайц*

Andante sostenuto

Canto

Май-ко кле-та, май-ко кле-та май-ко! От-ка-дъ си
 се у-те-бе си-ла Да ка-тар-палъ такъ сжл-бл-ро-сетъ-та, Да гръ-не-се-лътъ то-е-ко-ва татъ-ла-ла.
 Какъ-же гуръ-же-же ти отъ-ро-ва, какъ-на-сирѣ-те, май-то, какъ-га-зи! Вско-лъ-те-бе-чи-ни-
 ма-ка-грѣ-бо-ва, И какъ-же-съ-отъ твоѣ-то-сър-це-це па-зи!

Piano

fz *fz* *fz* *p* *meno rit.*

Photo 1: The beginning of Zajc's song *Majka/Majko kleta* (Mother). Published in *Muzikalen vestnik*, 2 (1905) 4, 3-4.

Despite how paradoxical or natural it may have been, the aims and results of the first Bulgarian music competition were not justified. The prizes carried off by composers of Croatian and Czech origin proved that Bulgarian music at the end of the 19th century was still at the initial stage of its development, and no representatives of equal worth to the winners could be found. The question of Zajc's possible contacts with Bulgarian musicians and intellectuals also remains open. The Sofia Society of Music elected him as **an honorary member**, and this fact, which requires special study of the available records, suggests the probability that such contacts existed.²¹

Napred ti, B'lgarino (*Forward, You Bulgarian*) by Ivan Zajc — the Hymn of the First Bulgarian Singing Society (Plovdiv, 1896)

In the years after the Liberation, the second largest city in Bulgaria — Plovdiv — was one of the most active music centres in this country. Not quite by chance, some of the first Bulgarian professional musicians and composers like **Emanuil Manolov** and **Georgi Bajdanov** lived there for extended or shorter periods of time and, through a number of initiatives, they gave their contribution to its musical development. In the 1890s, the young musician **Angel Bukureščliev**, who had just graduated from the Organ School in Prague, also settled in Plovdiv. He became one of the founders of the Plovdiv Singing Society and the conductor of the newly formed male choir (1896). **Anton Bezenšek**, a Slovene by origin, who worked as a stenography teacher at the secondary school for boys, was elected chairman of the organization (*Appendix IX.3.*). On his initiative and through connections with foreign journalists accredited in Sofia, the foundation of the Plovdiv Singing Society was made public in Vienna, London, Zagreb and Belgrade. Greetings were sent by different singing organizations, among which were those from a lot of Slavic countries, expressing their willingness for future cooperation with the Bulgarian musicians.²²

And so, guest performances soon followed. In the very same year, 1896, the **Pirot Singing Society and the mandolin orchestra of the society branch in Sofia H'rvatska zadruga** (Croatian Society) went on a tour to the city of Plovdiv and gave a concert together. During their visit the local newspaper started an initiative for the foundation of **Jugoslavjanski Pevčeski S'juz** (South Slavic Singing Union). Its purpose was to unite the music organizations of the South Slavs by means of

²¹ »Sofia Society of Music elected a new board. [...] It elected as honorary members: Mr. **Iv. Zajc**, who, as was mentioned above, received the first prize and **E. Zauer**, our court pianist, well known to Sofia audience.« (bold by St. G.) ***: [On the first music competition], *Kaval (Silistra)*, 1 (1894) 6, 43.

²² According to the data in N. Janev's manuscript *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo*, 52-58.

common rules, and to contribute to their acquaintance through joint performances by the choirs from their countries. »Until now«, we learn from the article, »a few very old societies have already joined the Union, including the Kolo **Zagreb Singing Society**, which was founded about 30 years ago. The example of the older will be followed by the younger and, in this way, the Union will become a powerful factor in the cultural aspect of the Slav South.« On behalf of the Croatian component, the name of **Ivan Dobrić [Dobrić?]** was also mentioned as an initiator of this movement.²³

For the Bulgarian musicians, the mutual contacts between the singing societies from the South Slavic countries were particularly important. Above all, they provided an opportunity for the exchange of choral repertoire, something which performers needed most of all. That could be exemplified by the report on the first performance: »The concert started with *the splendid Bulgarian march 'Napred ti, B'lgarino' (Forward, You Bulgarian) by Zajc* which was beautifully performed with A. Bukureščliev conducting. The audience realized that they were honoured to hear the singing of a very well-organized choir.«²⁴ (bold by St. G.) Shortly, the programs of the choir were enriched with other titles of songs by the Croatian composer — **Botev-Levski, U boj, u boj (Into Battle, Into Battle), Stavaj, rode mili (Rise Up, Dear People), Domovina (Homeland), Robstvo (The Yoke)**, etc. However, in the chronicles of the singing society, Zajc's first march remained a peculiar musical emblem and, long after that, it was adopted as his eternal hymn. (bold by St. G)

Angel Bukureščliev contributed to the diffusion of Ivan Zajc's songs not only as a conductor, but also as a music publisher. At the beginning of the 20th c., he began publishing the *Muzikalen sbornik za ednorodni i smeseni horove* (Musical Collection of Songs for Unisex and Mixed Choirs), a series of works including a varied repertoire of songs by classical and contemporary authors. »The books that came out contain an entire series of lovely works, quite popular in secular musical literature. Most of all, they were composed by the **more famous Slavic composers: Zajc, Čajkovski, Vorotnikov, Krasnohorski etc.**«²⁵ (bold by St. G.)

Zajc's choral scores, printed under the editorship of Bukureščliev, were the first publications of his works in Bulgarian music editions for the time being (*Appendix V.*). They appeared at the moment when choral art in Bulgaria entered upon a new stage of its development and required proper music literature to suit the practical needs of the European countries. The music collections promoted the further diffusion of works by the Croatian composer, together with the works of other contemporary authors.²⁶

²³ *Ibid.*, 59-60. Other facts about the personality and activities of the Croat Ivan Dobrić [Dobrić?] are not known as of now.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁵ ***: [Critical review], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 1 (1904) 2, 5.

²⁶ In 1934 and 1938, the Plovdiv Singing Society gave concerts in Zagreb, Ljubljana, Belgrade and other towns of the former Yugoslavia.

НАПРЪДЪ ТИ БЪЛГАРИНО.
(МАРШЪ)

Музика: Ив. Зайцъ.

Tempo di Marcia.

На - прѣдъ ти бѣл-га-ри-но за бой се за-ло-ви за спав-но-то ти ние съсь

пуш-ка хай-вѣр-ни На пуш-ка хай-вѣр-ни Съсь о-рж-же на дѣ-ни-ца

да го-ни-мъ нашъ душ-манъ отъ на-ша-та до-бра зе-м-я да бѣ-га нашъ душ-манъ

На-прѣдъ за-прѣдъ на-прѣдъ да бѣ-га нашъ душ-манъ да бѣ-га нашъ душ-манъ

Fine

Photo 2: The beginning of Zajc's song *Napred ti, B'lgarino* (Forward, You Bulgarian).
Published in *Muzikalen' sbornik'*, 1 (1902) 1, 4-6.

The Croatian Verdi

Ivan Zajc's name was mentioned in Bulgarian music periodicals as early as at the end of the 19th century. One of the first publications about him appeared in the year 1895 in *Kaval* journal. Dedicated to »**the Nestor of the South Slavic composers**« (bold by St. G.), it was a brief announcement about the celebration held in Zagreb on the occasion of the 50 years of Zajc's musical activities, and the 25 years of his directorship of the Zagreb Music Institute's Music School.²⁷ Other reports included in the bibliography also contain records about the performance of his works, together with works by the outstanding Slavic composers: Rimski-Korsakov, Smetana and Dvořák. In this way, Zajc's reputation in the major European music centres became generally known to the Bulgarian readers.

At the beginning of the 20th century, *Muzikalen Vestnik* (The Musical Herald), an organ of the Bulgarian Union of Music, established in the year 1903, published several materials dedicated to the Croatian composer. The editor of this professional edition, **Dimitar Hadžigeorgiev** (Appendix IX.6.), maintained a regular column about music life in the Slavic countries, which was published with the participation of contributors from Zagreb and publications from overseas periodicals.²⁸ One of the reviews published there presented in detail Ivan Zajc's biography and his astounding creative output. The author was present at the first performance of his most recent operetta »*Nihilistica*« (The Nihilist Lady) in the theatre in Zagreb and described the delight of the audience after the performance: »One felt tenderness and strange thrills at the sight of the old maestro, walking with difficulty on the front stage by himself or lead by the actors, who replied to the numerous shouts »**Zajc, Zajc**«, and then, even with more enthusiasm »**Živio!**« was heard. The applause had no beginning and no end...«²⁹ (bold by St. G.)

The column contained information about »the big concert which the old singing society of music 'Kolo' was about to organize in the first half of May, [1907, St. G.] in honour of the renowned '**Croatian Verdi**', the indefatigable maestro Zajc,« by preparing the performance of his »famous oratory '**Proi grijeh**' (Original Sin)«.³⁰ (bold by St. G.) For this jubilee, held in Zagreb on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the composer, the Bulgarian edition published a substantial essay by its correspondent.³¹ Written with moving words of admiration and praise, the article gave indisputable evidence both of Zajc's various connections with young Bulgarian musical culture, and of his popularity in our lands:

²⁷ Cf. ***: *Kaval* (Lom-Palanka), 1 (1895) 13, 83.

²⁸ Some of the Zagreb collaborators of *Muzikalen vestnik* signed their materials with the initials B. B-v, B. T. B, and T. D. Their identification requires special research.

²⁹ B. B-v: [From the music life of the Slavic and our neighbour countries. Zagreb. Zajc and his latest operetta], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 2-3, 7.

³⁰ B. T. B.: [From the music life of the Slavic and our neighbour countries. Zagreb], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 5-6, 9.

³¹ C. IVANOV: Iv. Zajc's jubilee, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 7-8, 5-6. There is no information about the author of this article.

»*There is no Bulgarian who is not familiar with Croatian music and knows nothing about Zajc or his children — his students, (bold by St. G.) who is not singing or listening to his tender and melodious songs, or being amazed at his great success. And now they fill meadows and hillocks, valleys and hills, palaces and huts!*«³²

A more careful and analytical reading of this publication would further open other aspects to the author of the study about Zajc's close relations with Bulgaria, who, in the words of its author, »*knows us well, the Bulgarians, and our region*«. *With his lively and melodious sounds, he and others like him, could doll up and ornament a lot of Bulgarian songs by adding their nuance to them, their own character and soul, so close to the Bulgarian character and soul, so that he was no less dear and beloved by the brothers of the Croatians — the Bulgarians.*«³³ (bold by St. G.)

In this case, we could only guess which works are referred to in the text above: whether they were his famous songs, written after the verses of the Bulgarian poets Karavelov, Botev and Vazov or others, composed by Zajc in the style of the then-popular adaptations of Bulgarian folk songs. The answer to this question requires special study.³⁴

The Zagreb School of Music of the Croatian Institute and the First Bulgarian Composers

The popularity of Ivan Zajc in our musical life is due, most of all, to his students — the Bulgarian musicians who finished their studies at the Zagreb School of Music of the Croatian Institute, in the years when he was its director. Most of their names are known, others will, no doubt, be found subsequently. Their number is not defined and the facts of their study at the school have been interpreted quite vaguely and not in any detail. So far, no study has ever thrown light on the significance of the cultural atmosphere in Zagreb and its musical institutions for the Bulgarian community of students from the end of the 19th c. and the beginning of the 20th c.

According to some sources, two Bulgarian students studied there in the period from 1899 to 1901 — **Aleksand'r Kr'stev and Stefan Vapordžiev**. They were fellow-citizens, both born in the town of Vidin. Information about that period of their lives is very scanty. It is known that they were in the academic choir during the performance of Beethoven's *IX symphony*, one of the remarkable events of Zagreb music life in the year 1900.³⁵ (*Appendix IX.10., 15*) In the year 1901, **Georgi Goranov**

³² *Ibid.*, 6.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ In spite of the editor's remark on p. 6, no further report was found about the celebration of Ivan Zajc's jubilee in Zagreb.

³⁵ According to Velislava Rankova's biographic book about her father. Cf. Velislava RANKOVA: *Aleksand'r Kr'stev*, Musika, Sofia 1980, 15. Data about the personality and music activities of *Stefan Vapordžiev* are not found in the *Enziklopedija na b'lgarskata muzikalna kultura* (Encyclopedia of Bulgarian

and Milan Mitov went to Croatia and in the year 1906 — **Manol Ivanov, Petar Kazandžiev** together with **Nikola Atanasov** — the future composer of the First Bulgarian Symphony, which was in three parts and was composed as his graduation paper at the Zagreb Music School of the Music Institute (*Appendix IX.1.*).³⁶

Separate fragments of the memoirs of these Bulgarian musicians confirm Ivan Zajc's popularity among students. *»According to Aleksand'r Krastev, who was Zajc's student at the Zagreb School of Music of the Croatian Institute, Zajc loved our people and was deeply interested in them, in our writers and our folk songs«* (bold by St. G.).³⁷ These lines document the words of the Bulgarian composer by the competent music historian Iv. Kamburov and is important evidence, though it was not later confirmed by the composer's daughter. In her monographic book, Zajc's name was not mentioned in the list of names of his teachers. According to her, they were: Vilko Novak, Antun Stöckl, Vjenceslav Novak and Franz Ilel.³⁸ Nikola Atanasov studied there in the period from 1906-1912 and his teachers in various music subjects were Franjo Dugan, Vjekoslav Ružić, Ćiril Junek and Vaclav Huml.

On the initiative of the Bulgarian students at the Zagreb School of Music, an authorial concert of the composer Dobri Hristov was held in the year 1908 — **the first concert that introduced his work abroad**. An extensive review about the program and the performers participating in it was published in one of the columns of *Muzikalen vestnik*, where we read:

*»On 9/22 January this year the young Bulgarian students held a musical soirée and only compositions by Mr. Dobri Hristov were performed, something which, as far as we know, has not been done in this country, even in the heart of Bulgaria where so much selected musical power is available.«*³⁹ (bold by St. G.) *The following of his*

Music Culture), B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1967. His name can be found among the teachers of music in Gabrovo, mentioned in the ethnological study by Stefan PRODANOV and Kina PRODANOVA: *Facts from the musical past of the town of Gabrovo*, Musika, Sofia 1982, 70. Brief biographical information about him is included. Cf. *Ibid.*, 242. About the performance of Beethoven's *Ninth*, Andreis wrote: *»In the year 1900 Beethoven's IX Symphony was performed in Zagreb with the participation of students and teachers, singers from the 'Kolo' Singing Society, members of the military and theatrical orchestra and soloists from the operetta.«* Josip ANDREIS: *Music in Croatia*, Institute of Musicology — Academy of Music, Zagreb 1974, 191.

³⁶ The contribution of the Bulgarian musicians **Georgi Goranov (Kjustendil), Milan Mitov (Lom, Sofia), Manol Ivanov (Haskovo) and Petar Kazandžiev (Kjustendil)** to Bulgarian music culture was mainly on a regional level. They worked as musicians in different provincial towns — Kjustendil, Lom, Haskovo etc., conducted choral groups, composing mostly choral and school songs. In the new *Enziklopedija »B'lgarski kompozitori«* (Encyclopedia »Bulgarian Composers«), Elisaveta Valčinoва wrote that, actually, tuberculosis was the reason that G. Goranov was not admitted to study at the Zagreb School of Music. Cf. Elisaveta VALČINOVA: *Enziklopedija »B'lgarski kompozitori«* (Encyclopedia »Bulgarian Composers«), S'juz na b'lgarskite kompozitori, Sofia 2003, 78.

³⁷ Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika*, 53.

³⁸ Cf. Velislava RANKOVA: *Aleksand'r Kr'stev*, 14-15.

³⁹ The author was mistaken on this point. The first authorial concert of D. Hristov was performed a year before in the town of Varna and a review about it was published in *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 7-8, 9.

musical compositions were included in the program: 'Ivajlo' — overture, 'Zvući ot Balkana' (Sounds from the Balkans), 'Liljana moma hubava' (Liljana Lovely Lassie) — a potpourri of folk songs, 'Pusti momi žeravnenki' (Artful Žeravnenki Lassies) — a potpourri of folk songs, 'Studentski marš' (Student's March), 'Prizori' (At Dawn) — a solo song and 'Snošti si azi otidoh' (I Left Last Night) — a solo song. The compositions which were performed by the orchestra and the Student's March (a mixed choir and an orchestra) were most successful. [...]

We cannot but mention the participation of the young ladies — members of the local **society of music 'Kolo'** (bold by St. G.) who sang in the above-mentioned two potpourris and the student's march, for which they deserve the gratitude of all of us. Yet, in general, the soirée was successful. It is of great significance for our music as it attracted the attention of a lot of people to us and, in this respect, even if they gave their opinion quite affectionately, they couldn't stop asking: 'Do you have just one composer'?

We are pleased that with this soirée we have already knocked at the door of musical Europe, which will probably open it if we can offer something. [...] Everybody knows how we can do this so let's stop here. We would like to greet the author who, with his compositions, made the people outside our Motherland talk about our music.«⁴⁰

The reaction to this event shows that the School of Music in Zagreb was confirmed not only as a centre where the foundations of the professional development of the young Bulgarian musicians were laid, but also as a forum of the new Bulgarian music. The composer Ivan Zajc, tracing the road to the national orientation of Croatian music, became a model to be imitated by his Bulgarian students. In fact, their future mission as the first generation of composers in Bulgarian music is similar: with their work they prepared the foundation of **Bulgarian national composer school**. With a view to this prospect one of them wrote: »For the musical growth of our nation our deep conviction is that we have to imitate blindly other, more cultural, nations in this respect, particularly the Slavic countries — **Russia, Czechoslovakia and Croatia**. (bold by St. G.) [...] This will be the generally shared view one will come across by carefully studying the way, by means of which, the music workers in these countries have prepared society for the high revelations of music«⁴¹

We hope that this chronology of Ivan Zajc's creative presence in the history of Bulgarian music culture is the first step in the research and will prompt a more profound study of the versatile connections between the Bulgarian and Croatian music cultures.

⁴⁰ B. T. B-v: Zagreb. [The concert of the Bulgarian students], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 6-7. Years after that, at the same time in **Sofia and Zagreb**, two jubilees will be celebrated — the 65th anniversary of the composer Dobri Hristov and of his 45 years of creative work. The event will be marked with publications in the *Dnevnic* newspaper in Sofia, the Zagreb journal *Čirilometodski vjesnik*, the *Rodna pesen* magazine, etc. Cf. Kristina JAPOVA: *Arhiv'ot na Dobri Hristov. Katalog*. (Dobri Hristov's records. Catalogue), Matom, Sofia 2002, 93.

⁴¹ ***: [Directions of musical development in this country], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 7-8, 3-4.

„Napred“
 Blgarska davorija
 za mužki sbor
 Zajc Ivan pl. 504.

Soprano I.
 Soprano II.
 Tenor I.
 Tenor II.

Napred za lavi, na slavno to se ime, da
 pustka hajduri, na pustka hajduri.

Photo 3: The beginning of Zajc's male choir »Napred«. *Blgarska davorija za mužki sbor*. Autograph kept in: Narodna biblioteka »Ivan Vazov« (National Library »Ivan Vazov«), otdel »Spezialni sbirki« (department »Special collections«), Sign. RZ II 70

APPENDIX

I. Bulgarian texts adapted to Croatian tunes

I.1. Petar Ivanov (1847-1927)

I.1.1. *Verses, Constantinople, 1875, 15.*

Po podražanie na H'rvatskata *Liepa naša domovina* (After the Croatian *Liepa naša domovina*)

Draga naša tatkovino,
Oj ljubezna zemlju mila,
Staroslavna *B'lgario*
Dano b'deš večno čestna
Nam si mila det' si slavna,
Nam sa mili planinite;
Nam si mila det' si ravna,
Nam sa mili dolinite.

Jantro i Vardare tečete,
Ni Dunave sila gubi.
Det' tečete tam glasete
B'lgarinat si roda ljubi.

Dor zemja mu sl'nce gree,
Dor go krasno pole hrani,
Dor mu zivo s'rze bije:
B'lgarin toi ščte ostani

I.1.2. **Petar Ivanov: from *Memoirs***

»The songs I adapted to the needs of our orchestra were the following: '**Forward, You Bulgarian, to the Battle**' (music by Iv. Zajc, St. G.), '**Dear Homeland**' (*Liepa naša domovina*, St. G.), 'The Night Is Dreadful', 'Ah, Comrades', 'Proud Nikiphore Demanded' [...].«(bold by St. G.) Quotations from: Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia 1949, 10-11.

II. Ivan Zajc's songs composed after verses of Bulgarian poets

1. **Robstvo** (The Yoke), text by Ljuben Karavelov

2. Majka (Mother /Poor Mother/), text by Ivan Vazov. — Ivan Vazov's poem has the title *Na maika mi* (To My Mother).

3. Živ e toi (He's Alive), text by Hristo Botev. — In his book *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia 1949, 33, Iv. Kamburov questioned Iv. Zajc's authorship of this song. See the comment in *Appendix III.4.1*.

4. V mehanata (In the Tavern), text by Hristo Botev

5. Stavai, rode mili (Rise Up, Dear People), text by an unknown Bulgarian author

6. Napred, ti B'lgarino (Forward, You Bulgarian), text by an unknown author or Petar Ivanov. — According to Iv. Kamburov, the Bulgarian text was adapted. Cf. Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, 8, and the comment in *Appendix III.4.2*. Ivan Zajc's song with the same title — *Forward You, Bulgarian* — was published in *Muzikalen sbornik ot pesni za ednorodni i smeseni horove*, 1 (1902) 1, 4-6. The editor of the publication, Angel Bukureščliev, did not mention the author of the text as well. Another Bulgarian music historian, Stojan Petrov, in his *Writings* maintains that Petar Ivanov, a teacher, a poet and revolutionary from Stara Zagora »is the author of the patriotic and school songs, popular in Bulgaria before the Liberation«, among which is »Forward You, Bulgarian, To the battle«. (bold by St. G.) Cf. Stojan PETROV: *Očerci po istorija na balgarskata muzikalna kultura* (Essays on the History of Bulgarian Music Culture), vol. 1, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia 1959, 175. The question about the authorship of the text of this song remains open.

7. Napred v boi (Forward Into the Battle), text by an unknown author or Petar Ivanov. — In A. Bukureščliev's edition *Muzikalen sbornik ot pesni za ednorodni i smeseni horove*, 1 (1902) 6-8, 1-3, no author of the Bulgarian text was indicated either. In some sources the song is related to P. Ivanov's musical achievements.

8. Spi, detence moe (Sleep, My Child), text by Ljuben Karavelov. — So far, the song has not been found in the concert repertoire. Only Iv. Kamburov mentioned it in his book about Croatian music, defining it as a solo song for voice with piano accompaniment. Cf. Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'roatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, T. F. Čipev', Sofia 1942, 53.

9. Zora (Dawn), text by Ljuben Karavelov. — This song by Iv. Zajc after Ljuben Karavelov's text is not known in Bulgaria. It was identified as op. 851b by S. Majer-Bobetko on the list of Ivan Zajc's works. Cf. Hubert PETTAN: *Popis skladbi Ivana Zajca*, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb 1956, 192.

10. Ah, svobodo, kak si draga (Ah, Liberty, How Dear You Are), text by an unknown Bulgarian author or free translation from Croatian. — The Bulgarian text is »a free translation from Croatian« according to A. Bukureščliev's publication *Muzikalen sbornik ot pesni za ednorodni i smeseni horove*, 1 (1902) 3, 3-4. The author is unknown. The phrase, quoted by Iv. Kamburov in his research about Botev's songs: »De sa Botev, Levski, dvata l'va s griva zlata« suggests that the other title of the song is probably *Botev-Levski*. Cf. Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, 33.

10.1. Botev-Levski, see N^o 10

III. Ivan Zajc's Works, included in the repertoire of Bulgarian choirs from the end of the 19th century to the first decade of the 20th century (with information about the place of their performance according to records from music publications and musical-historical research)

III.1. Choirs

1. Napred, ti B'lgarino (Forward, You Bulgarian), adapted for a mixed quartet by **Georgi Bajdanov**, Plovdiv 1889, 1896. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, 1965, 20, 52, 60.

1.1. Napred, ti B'lgarino (Forward, you Bulgarian), Plovdiv 1896. *Ibid.*, 20, 52, 57, 60; Pleven. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 1 (1904) 7, 7; Varna high school choir. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 6, 8; Stanimaka. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10.

2. U boi, u boi ([**U boj, u boj**; ed. note], Into Battle, Into Battle), Sliven, high school choir, 1890-1894. Ivan Zajc's name was not included in the program. Vasil DIMITROV: *Istorija na muzikalnoto minalo na grad Sliven*, 2nd and 3rd section, manuscript, 1966; Kjustendil school choir, *Kaval*, 1 (1895) 13, 82; Plovdiv 1896-1912. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, 57-61; Plovdiv 1904, Armenian choir (in the Armenian language). *Ibid.*, 94. — Programs do not indicate that *U boj, u boj* is a fragment from Zajc's opera *Nikola Šubić-Zrinjski*. See also *Appendix III.2.3*.

3. Stavaj, rode mili (Rise Up, Dear People), Plovdiv 1891. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, 24; Stanimaka, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 2 (1905) 5- 6, 6.

4. Domovina ([**Domovini i ljubi?**; **Domovino naša?**; ed. note], Motherland), Plovdiv 1894. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, 27.

5. Ljubov ([**Ljubavi?**; ed. note], Love), Plovdiv 1894. *Ibid.*

6. Nošni pazači ([**Nočni stražari**; ed. note], Night Guards), Kjustendil. *Kaval*, 1 (1895) 13, 83.

6.1. Nocni stražari ([**Nočni stražari**; ed. note], Night Guards), Stara Zagora. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1906) 1, 8.

7. Tamo gore (Up There), solo song, Kjustendil. *Kaval*, 1 (1895) 13, 83.

8. Robstvo (The Yoke), Plovdiv, 1896-1912. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, 57-61; Vidin, choir of the »Kitara« Musical Society, conducted by Rusi Kodžamanov. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10; Varna. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10.

9. Junaci za mnom (Heroes, Follow Me), Plovdiv 1896-1912. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, 57-61; V. Tarnovo. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 2 (1905) 4, 6; Razgrad, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10. Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1992, 98. — A. Balareva does not mention any performers or towns where the choir performed.

10. Na groba ([**Nad grobom**; ed. note], At the Grave). Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, 79.

11. Ah, svobodo, kak si draga (Ah, Liberty, How Dear You Are)

11.1. Botev-Levski (Ah, svobodo, kak si draga), Plovdiv, 1900. *Ibid.*, 80; Lom, school choir, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 5, 12; Stanimaka, girls' choir, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 6, 8; Čirpan, amateur choir, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 6, 8; Tatar-Pazardžik, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1906) 1, 6; Gabrovo 1906, Aprilovska high school choir. Stefan PRODANOV, Kina PRODANOVA: *Iz muzikalnoto minalo na Gabrovo*, Musika, Sofia 1982, 58; Haskovo, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10.

12. Majka (Mother), V. Tarnovo, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 2 (1905), 5-6; Tatar-Pazardžik, school choir, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 1 (1907) 2-3, 10.

12.1. Majka (Mother), Silistra. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 8-9, 9. — Zajc's name was not quoted. The author of the poem *Mother* is the national poet Ivan Vazov. In most cases his name was not indicated in the programs. Often, like here, Ljuben Karavelov was misquoted as the author of the verses.

12.2. Majka (Mother), Loveč (arrangement for choir and orchestra), conducted by V'rban V'rbanov. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 3-4, 7.

12.3. Majko, kleta (Poor Mother), Sevlievo, solo with piano accompaniment. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10.

13. Hej, veselo (Hey, Joyfully), Varna (conducted by D. Hristov). *Muzikalen vestnik*, 2 (1905) 5-6, 7; Silistra, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 8-9, 9, 5.

14. Rusalki (Pesenta na rusalkite) (The Song of the Mermaids), Varna, girls' high school choir. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 6, 8.

15. Napred v boj (Forward into Battle), Lom, school choir. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 5, 12; Orjahovo, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 7-8, 9; Stanimaka. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 5-6, 10; Ruse. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10; Stanimaka. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10.

16. Stavaj, več ne spi (Rise, Don't Sleep Any More), Varna, Musical Society »Gusla«, (with orchestration for the newly established orchestra), conducted by R. Franki. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 3-4, 7.

17. Živ e toj, živ e! (He's Alive, He's Alive, text by Hr. Botev), Stara Zagora, musical soirée. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 5, 12; Tatar-Pazardžik, school choir. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 1 (1907) 2-3, 10; Razgrad, school choir. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 5, 12.

18. **Makedonecat na Makedonkata** (Macedonian Boy to Macedonian Girl), Lom, male choir. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 5-6, 10.

19. **Gdje si dome moj?** (Where Are You, My Home?), Lom. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 5-6, 10.

20. **Kak s' rce plače za tatkovina** (How the Heart Cries for the Homeland), Sofia, amateur choir of the private music school in Sofia, conducted by D. Hristov. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 6 (1908) 6, 7.

21. **Morjaška pesen** ([**Mornarska**; ed. note], Sailors Song), Plovdiv, Children's musical potpourris. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10.

22. **Napred (v boj?)** (Forward /into Battle?/), Haskovo. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 6 (1908) 1-2, 10. — It is possible that the title of the song is a short version of »Forward Into Battle«.

23. **Učenički marš (Učenički marš; School March)**, Lom. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 7 (1910) 1-2, 10.

24. **Grad N.** (City N.), Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, 98. — A. Balareva does not mention any performers or towns where the song was performed.

25. **Spí, detence moe** (Sleep, My Child, text by Ljuben Karavelov). — So far the song has not been found in concert repertoire. Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, 53; Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, 33.

26. **V mehanata** (In the Tavern, text by Hristo Botev). — So far the song has not been found in concert repertoire. Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, 53; Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, 33.

27. **Na vojsku** (To the Army). Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, 98. — A. Balareva does not mention any performers or towns where the song was performed.

28. **Tiha nošć** (Quiet Night, text by a Croatian author [?], unknown, translation into Bulgarian by Georgi Mihajlov). *Junošeski drugar*, № 8, ed. Boris Gajdarov, S. M. Staikov, Sofia 1927, 41-44. — So far the song has not been found in concert repertoire.

III.2. Fragments from Ivan Zajc's operas and operettas, included in the repertoire of Bulgarian choirs from the end of the 19th century to the first decade of the 20th century

1. **Quartet from the opera *Pan Tvardovski***, Kjustendil. *Kaval*, 1 (1895) 13, 83.

2. **Sailors Song from the operetta *Mannschaft an Bord***, Kjustendil, benefit-concert of Petar Kazandžiev. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 3-4, 15.

3. **Nikola Šubić-Zrinjski**, fragments from the opera of the same name in arrangement for male and school choir. Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, 98. — A. Balareva does not mention any performers or towns where the fragments were performed.

III.3. Instrumental music by Ivan Zajc

1. **Hrvatsko kolo** (Croatian *Kolo* /Wheel Dance/). Plovdiv 1896. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, 57.

III.4. Ivan Zajc's songs with disputable authorship

1. **Živ e toj, živ e!** (He's Alive, He's Alive)

In one of his articles dedicated to the songs written after Botev's verses, D. Hristov mentioned two melodies by unknown authors that were composed after the text of the ballad *Živ e toj, živ e!* (He's Alive, He's Alive) and a third song after the same text based on a melody by the Croatian composer **Ivan Zajc**. Cf. Dobri HRISTOV: *Melodiite na Hristo Botevite pesni*, *Literaturen glas*, 7. 6. 1930, 3.

Later, in his *Očerci po istorija na B'lgarskata muzikalna kultura*, Musika, Sofia 1977, 81, Venelin Kr'stev confirmed D. Hristov's opinion about the authorship of these songs.

In his research into the songs written after Hr. Botev's verses Ivan Kamburov wrote: »The only melody by a foreign author with a text by Botev, adapted to it, whose author's identity we can declare with certainty in connection with the work on this humble research is '**Živ e toj, živ e!**' (He's Alive, He's Alive!) (bold by St. G.): The author of the melody is the Slovene composer **Davorin Jenko**.« (bold by St. G.) Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia 1949, 31-32.

In her book about the history of choirs in Bulgaria, A. Balareva mentioned three authors of melodies after Hristo Botev's ballad: **Iv. Zajc ('Živ e toj, živ e')**, **D. Jenko ('Hadži Dimitar' — the original title of Botev's ballad /italic by St. G./)**, **Vilko Novak (»Živ e«)**. (bold by St. G.) Cf. Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, Sofia 1992, 98-99.

In Bulgarian music historiography, the question of the authorship and versions of the songs after this text by Hr. Botev still remains unclear.

2. **Napred, ti B'lgarino** (Forward, You Bulgarian)

In the 1890s, Zajc's song was arranged for »a mixed quartet« by Georgi Bajdanov.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Angel Bukureščliev published it in *Muzikalen sbornik ot pesni za ednorodni i smeseni horove*, 1 (1902) 1, 4-6.

In his book about the history of Croatian music, Ivan Kamburov did not mention such a song after a Bulgarian text, composed by Zajc. Cf. Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, 53.

The same author in his research about *Melodiite na Botevite pesni* wrote that **a Bulgarian text was adapted to D. Jenko's song *Naprej, zastava, slave* and it became famous under the title *Napred, ti B'lgarine (Forward, You Bulgarian)*** (bold by St. G.) Cf. *ibid.*, 8. The question of the authorship of the text in this case also requires particular research.

IV. Songs by Ivan Zajc and other Croatian composers, included in the repertoire of Bulgarian choirs from the 1920s to the 1940s (according to records from *Muzikalen vestnik* and other sources)

1922: [Reviews about concerts and musical soirées. Concert morning], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 8 (1922) 15-16, 9.

On April 17, 1922 the Sofia children's musical-dramatic group »Rodni Zvuci«, established and conducted by the pianist Mr. Georgi Atanasov, gave a benefit concert morning for the poor members of the group at the »Renesans« Theatre. It ended with the **ballet performance of *V zarstvoto na samodivite (In Fairy-land)*, text by Iv. Vazov, music by Iv. Zajc** (bold by St. G.).

1923: Varna. Ivan Zajc, *Rusalki*, Alexand'r Krastev's choir; Čirpan. Vjekoslav Klajić, *Na starata kula*; Haskovo. Novak (?), *Album valzer*.

1924: Kula. Ivan Zajc, *Majka*.

1925: Village of Mihalci, County of Tarnovo. Vilko Novak, *Levski*; Čirpan. Ivan Zajc, *Nošćni stražari*; Borisovgrad. Ivan Zajc, *Nošćni stražari*.

1926: Gabrovo. Ivan Zajc, *Majko, kleta*.

1932: Gabrovo. Vilko Novak, *Levski*.

1941: Stara Zagora. Ivan Zajc, *Hej, veselo*, male choir, high school choir.

From the 1920s to the 1940s, the concert repertoire of the Bulgarian choirs included compositions by the new generation of Croatian composers, for example: Jakov Gotovac, Josip Štolcer-Slavenski etc.

V. Songs by Ivan Zajc published in Bulgarian music editions (journals and collections)

1. Napred, ti B'lgariano (Forward, You Bulgarian, a march), in: *Muzikalen sbornik ot pesni za ednorodni i smeseni horove*, 1 (1902) 1, 4-6, editor A. Bukureščliev.

2. Botev-Levski (a march), in: *Muzikalen sbornik ot pesni za ednorodni i smeseni horove*, 1 (1902) 3, 3-4, editor A. Bukureščliev.

3. Napred v boj (Forward Into Battle), in: *Muzikalen sbornik ot pesni za ednorodni i smeseni horove*, 1 (1902), 6, 1-3, editor A. Bukureščliev, Plovdiv-Sofia, 1902;

4. Majko kleta (Mother), in: *Muzikalen vestnik*, 2 (1905) 4, appendix, 3-4.

5. Tiha nošč (Quiet Night), arrangement for mixed choir by Arhangelski, in: *Junošeski drugar* [collection of] choral songs, N^o 8, collected by Boris Gajdarov, S. M. Staikov, Sofia 1927, 41-45.

VI. Bibliographical references to Ivan Zajc in Bulgarian musical editions

1. ***: [On the first music competition], *Kaval (Silistra)*, 1 (1894) 6, 43.
2. ***: *Kaval (Lom-Palanka)*, 1 (1895) 13, 83.
3. ***: [News from the world of music], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 1 (1904) 1, 8.

»On the 2-nd of December last year, the Slavic Singing Society in Vienna gave its first seasonal concert. Only works by Slavic composers were played such as: **Rimski-Korsakov, Smetana, Dvořák, Zajc, Kozlov, Dargomižski etc.**« (bold by St. G.).

4. B. B-v.: [From the music life of the Slavic and our neighbouring countries], Zagreb. (Zajc and his latest operetta), *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 2-3, 7.
5. B. T. B.: [From the musical life of the Slavic and our neighbour countries], Zagreb, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 5-6, 9.
6. C. IVANOV: Jubilejat na Ivan Zajc [Ivan Zajc's Jubilee], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907), 7-8, 5-6.

»The 25 and 26 of April this year are remarkable days for the Croatian people and, in particular, for all South Slavic peace. [...] This day is the jubilee dedicated to the 75th anniversary of Ivan Zajc — **the glorious Croatian composer** (bold by St. G.). [...] His name will be noted with golden letters on the pages of world history. He will be a genuine subject of surprise for the future historian. He will be immortal.« [...]»

7. Milan MITOV: [Comments and notes. Critique in this country and abroad], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 8 (1922), 19-20, 11.

»I remember, as if it was today, during my study in Zagreb, **the great Croatian composer Zajc** (bold by St. G.) was asked by the board of directors of the School of Music to make a critical assessment of the latest music collections of the Croatian composers of that time, so that the School of Music could pay a fee to the most successful ones. The reply of the late Zajc was: 'Our native composers don't write songs to be criticized by some persons, but to be sung by the Croatian people and it is they who will give the best critique.' So, the great Zajc refused the honour of criticising the songs of his less talented colleagues-composers, leaving this hard task to the Croatian people.« [...]»

8. Ivan KAMBUROV: *B'lgarskata muzika. Minalo i s'vremennost*, Ivan G. Ignatov & sinove, Sofia 1926, 15.
9. Dobri HRISTOV: *Muzikata v B'lgaria* (1927), in the collection: Dobri HRISTOV: *Muzikalno-teoretičesko i publicistično nasledstvo*, vol. 1, Sofia 1967, 260-268.
10. Dobri HRISTOV: *B'lgaria v svoeto tonovo izkustvo* (1928), in the collection: Dobri HRISTOV: *Muzikalno-teoretičesko i publicistično nasledstvo*, vol. 1, Sofia 1967, 275-279.

11. Franjo ŠIDAK: Muzikalnata kultura v Jugoslavija, *Muzikalen pregled*, 4 (1927) 15-16, 2.
12. Dobri HRISTOV: Melodiite na Hristo Botevite pesni, *Literaturen glas*, 7. 6. 1930, 3.
13. Ivan KAMBUROV: Ivan. pl. Zajc, in: *Iljistrovan muzikalen rečnik*, Hemus, Sofia 1933, 299.
14. Dobri HRISTOV: *Muzikata u nas okolo osvoboditelnata ni epoha i posledstvijata ot neja v' rhu k'snoto ni individualno tvorčestvo*, Sofia 1935, in the collection: Dobri HRISTOV: *Muzikalno-teoretičesko i publicistično nasledstvo*, vol. 1, B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1967, 305-313.
15. Ivan KAMBUROV: Iv. pl. Zajc, in: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, T. F. Čipev', Sofia 1942, 46-54.
16. Dimit'r RADEV: *Obšča istorija na muzikata*, Pečatniza pri Z. K. S., Sofia 1948, 488.
17. Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia 1949, 32-33.
18. Stojan PETROV: *Očerci po istorija na B'lgarskata muzikalna kultura*, vol. 1, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia 1959, 173-174.
19. Nikolai KAUFMAN: *Pesni na B'lgarskoto revoljucionno dvizenie (1891-1944)*, Otečestven front, Sofia 1959.
20. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko družestvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, Plovdiv, 1965.
21. Venelin KR'STEV: *Očerci po istorija na B'lgarskata muzikalna kultura*, Musika, Sofia 1977, 82.
22. Velislava RANKOVA: *Aleksand'r Kr'stev*, Musika, Sofia 1980, 50.
23. Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria i vr'zkite mu s horovata kultura ot stranite na jugoiztočna i centralna Evropa prez perioda 1878-1944*, *Muzikalni horizonti*, (1984) 10, 93.
24. Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1992, 98.
25. Nikolai KAUFMAN: *Osvoboditelnata borba v B'lgarskata pesen*, Musika, Sofia 1977.
26. Nikolai KAUFMAN: *1500 B'lgarski gradski pesni*, vol. 1, Lirični i ljubovni (1842-1918), Slavena, Varna 2002.
27. Ivan HLEBAROV: *Istorija na novata B'lgarska muzikalna kultura*, vol. 1, Haini, Sofia 2004, 110, 131.

VII. Ivan Zajc's songs mentioned in Bulgarian musical-historiographical sources

1. **Nošćni pazaći** (Night Guards), in: Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, T. F. Ćipev', Sofia, 1942, 53; Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1992, 98.
2. **U boj, u boj** (Into Battle, Into Battle), chorus from the opera *Nikola Šubić-Zrinjski* (this is not mentioned in the programs, the song is assumed to be a separate choral work). In: *Ibid.* — This chorus was actually composed earlier (1866) and later was interpolated into the opera, where it functions as a recurrent motif. Having patriotic tension, it has remained extremely popular up until the present day (ed. note).
3. **Stavaj, rode mili** (Rise Up, Dear People), in: Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1992, 98.
4. **Majka (Majka žalna)** (Mother) (Poor Mother), in: Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, 53; Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia, 1949, 33; Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, 98.
5. **Napred, ti Balgarino** (Forward, You Bulgarian), In: Stojan PETROV: *Oćerci po istorija na B'lgarskata muzikalna kultura*, vol. 1., Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia 1959, 175; Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, 98.
6. **Živ e toj** (He's Alive), In: Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia, 1949, 33; Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, 98.
7. **Grad N.** (City N.), In: Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, 98.
8. **Na vojsku** (To the Army), In: *Ibid.*
9. **Ućenićeski marš** (School March), In: *Ibid.*
10. **Junaci za mnom** (Heroes, Follow Me), In: *Ibid.*
11. **Robstvo** (The Yoke), In: Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, 53; Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, 33.
12. **Ah, svobodo, kak si draga** (Ah, Liberty, How Dear You Are), In: *Ibid.*
13. **Spi, detence moe** (Sleep, My Child), in: Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, 53; Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, 33.
14. **V mehanata** (In the Tavern), in: Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, 53; Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, 33.

VIII. Other Croatian songs and marches in the repertoire of Bulgarian choirs from the end of the 1870s to the 1940s, quoted in various bibliographical sources

1. **Josif (Josip) Runjanin: Liepa naša domovina** (*Draga naša bašćtinjo*, Bulgarian text by P. Ivanov). Petar IVANOV: *Verses*, Constantinople, 1875; *Muzikalen vestnik*, 9 (1923) 10/11, 11; Ivan KAMBUROV: *H'rvatska muzika. Minalo i s'vremenost*, T. F.

Čipev', Sofia 1942, 6; Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia 1949, 32; Vasil DIMITROV: *Istoria na muzikalното minalo na grad Sliven*, 2nd and 3rd section, manuscript, 1966, 201; Nikolai KAUFMAN: *Osvoboditelnata borba v B'lgarslata pesen*, Musika, Sofia 1977, 48; — On p. 8-9 in his study, Iv. Kamburov maintains that P. Ivanov's text is a free translation from Croatian and he quotes a fragment from the poet's memoirs in which he speaks about the adaptation of Bulgarian texts to foreign songs. The title of *Liepa naša domovina* in the Bulgarian language is *Draga naša baštinja* in his work.

We also come across the same title of the song in the brief material dedicated to the 55th jubilee of the public and writing activities of P. Ivanov, which was celebrated in Stara Zagora in the year 1923, and reported in *Muzikalen vestnik*, 9 (1923) 10-11, 11.

2. Za tebe draha (Croatian solo song, the authors of the lyrics and music are unknown). *Muzikalen vestnik*, 1 (1904) 4, 6.

3. Napred ni čaka slava (Croatian solo song, the authors of the lyrics and music are unknown). *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1904) 1, 6.

4. Oj banovci, oj junaci (Croatian march for a mandolin orchestra). Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko družestvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, manuscript, 1965, 58.

5. Hrvatsko kolo (for a string orchestra). *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 5-6, 10. — According to some sources, Ivan Zajc is the author of this work. Cf. Programa na koncert na Pirotskoto pevčesko družestvo i sofijskija klon na družestvo »H'rvatska zadruga« in Plovdiv in 1896. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko družestvo. Istorija i letopis*, 57.

6. Vilko Novak: Levski. Dobri HRISTOV: *Muzikalno-teoretičesko i publicistično nasledstvo*, vol. 1, B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1967, 308; Ivan KAMBUROV: *Melodiite na Botevite pesni*, 38; Venelin KR'STEV: *Očerci po istorija na B'lgarskata muzikalna kultura*, Musika, Sofia 1977, 82; Stefan PRODANOV — Kina PRODANOVA: *Iz muzikalното minalo na Gabrovo*, Musika, Sofia 1982, 120.

6.1. Vilko Novak: Obesvaneto na Vasil Levski. Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1992, 99, 177.

7. Vilko Novak: Živ e toj. *Ibid.*, 99.

8. Vilko Novak: Gorski kraj (cantata for male choir with solo tenor). *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 5-6, 9; *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10; *Muzikalen vestnik*, 6 (1908) 1-2, 10.

9. Vilko Novak: Robska zemja (Taga na B'lgarskija narod) (A Captive Land). Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko družestvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, 137; Stefan LJONDEV: *Stranici ot muzikalното minalo na Harmanli*, Ganimed-AS, Harmanli, 1995, 54.

10. Vjekoslav Klaić: Misli moi [Misli moje, ed. note]. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 3 (1906) 6, 8; *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 7-8, 9.

10.1. Vjekoslav Klaić: Misli [Misli moje, ed. note], *Muzikalen vestnik*, 7 (1910) 1-2, 10.

11. Vjekoslav Klaić: *Kulata (Kuhana) Nehaj* [*Na Nehaju gradu*, ed. note]. Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, First part, 80; Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto delo v B'lgaria*, 99.

11.1. Vjekoslav Klaić: *Na starata kula* [*Na Nehaju gradu*, ed. note]. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 10 (1924) 3-4, 11.

12. Franjo Serafin Vilhar-Kalski (Croatian-Slovenian composer): *Stiga m'ki i nevoli* (for a mandolin orchestra). *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10; female choir, *Muzikalen vestnik*, 5 (1908) 6, 10.

13. Franjo Serafin Vilhar-Kalski: *Slovo* (cantata for mixed choir and solo baritone with orchestra accompaniment), *Muzikalen vestnik*, 6 (1908) 1-2, 10.

14. Franjo Serafin Vilhar-Kalski: *Kraj brega na Marica*. *Muzikalen vestnik*, 10 (1924) 3-4, 11.

15. Franjo Serafin Vilhar-Kalski: *Na vrelu Bosne* (a major ballad). *Muzikalen vestnik*, 4 (1907) 5-6, 10.

16. *B'lgarin* (Croatian song, adapted to the Bulgarian language). Nikola JANEV: *Plovdivskoto pevčesko društvo. Istorija i letopis*, 137.

IX. Brief information about Bulgarian musicians, poets, revolutionaries and intellectuals, related to the topic of this study

1. Nikola Atanasov (1886-1969) was a composer and music teacher. From 1906-1912 he studied at the School of Music in Zagreb and his teachers were F. Dugan, V. Rosenberg Ružić, Č. Junek and V. Huml. He then worked as a teacher in St. Zagora, Pleven and Sofia. In the year 1923 he became a teacher, and later on, a professor in Theory of Music at the Sofia Music Academy, and also its director (1934-1937). He is the author of: 3 symphonies (the first one was written in Zagreb and finished in Bulgaria [1912-1913]) and of the first Bulgarian sonata for piano, two overtures and other instrumental plays.

2. Georgi Bajdanov (1853-1927) was a teacher, choir conductor and musical theoretician. He was born in Stara Zagora. He taught in his native town, and in Plovdiv, Svištov and other Bulgarian towns in which he established and conducted public and church choirs. He published the first Bulgarian music magazine *Gusla* in Plovdiv in 1891. He wrote music textbooks, musical-publicistic works etc.

3. Anton Bezenšek (1854-1915) was a Slovene stenographer and publicist. He adapted F. Gabelsberger's stenography system to the languages of the South Slavs and to the Russian language. He taught for an extended period of time at the high school for boys in Plovdiv. He was the first stenographer of the Bulgarian National Assembly (1879). In the year 1897 he wrote a book about the Bulgarians, which aroused interest in Slovenia.

4. Hristo Botev (1848-1876) was a Bulgarian revolutionary, a national hero, poet and publicist. He studied at high school in Odessa (Russia). He made close friends with the Bulgarian revolutionary exiles in Bucharest, and Braila, and contributed to Ljuben Karavelov's publication, the *Svoboda* newspaper. He organised a detachment of rebels for the liberation of Bulgaria and lost his life after heavy fighting against the Turks. Hr. Botev's poetry and publicism are the height of classical Bulgarian literature.

5. Angel Bukureščliev (1870-1950) finished training at an organ school in Prague (1890). He took part in the establishment and the first performances of the Sofia operatic-drama company. In addition, he was a teacher and piano concert performer. He worked in Plovdiv from the year 1894 to the end of his life. A. Bukureščliev was the founder and conductor of the Plovdiv Singing Society (1896) and the school of music in the city. He organised the first folklore music expeditions in Bulgaria. He is the author of 10 choral potpourris (suites), choral songs, songs with piano accompaniments, etc.

6. Dimitar Hadžigeorgiev (1873-1932) was a composer, music publisher and teacher. He was admitted to the College of Music in Prague in 1892, and studied Flute, Theory of Music and Composition there with Jeniš, Josef Bohuslav Förster and A. Dvořák. He was the founder of the society of music in Stara Zagora (1897) and the private school of music in Sofia (1904). After its nationalization (1912), he became its principal. From 1920 to 1931, he was director of the State Academy of Music in Sofia. He was an editor of *Muzikalen vestnik*, which came out, with some interruptions, from 1904 to 1928. He composed operas, works for symphony orchestras, piano, choral songs and chamber works, etc.

7. Dobri Hristov (1875-1941) finished his studies at the College of Music in Prague and his teachers included A. Dvořák, J. Suk, V. Novak and O. Nedbal (1903). He worked as a high school music teacher in Varna and Sofia and, later on, as a teacher and director of the State School of Music (1912). He was co-founder and conductor of the *Rodna pesen* music society. He taught theory of music at the State Academy of Music in Sofia from the year 1922. D. Hristov is one of the outstanding researchers of Bulgarian musical folklore, and he outlined the metrical and rhythmical characteristics of Bulgarian folk music in two fundamental scientific works — *Ritmičnite osnovi na narodnata ni muzika* (1913) and *Tehničeskijat stroež na balgarskata narodna muzika* (1928). He composed *Balkanska sjuita* (N^o 1, N^o 2), overtures, chorals, solo and children's songs, arranged folk songs, etc.

8. Petar Ivanov (1847-1927) established one of the first orchestras in Bulgaria in Stara Zagora (1870). First, he started teaching his musicians the notes and then he started teaching his pupils singing »by notes«. He wrote songs that became widely popular in the years before the Liberation from the Turkish yoke and, later, among amateur music bands.

9. Ljuben Karavelov (1834-1879) was an organiser and ideologist of the Bulgarian National Revolution, a writer and publicist. He studied at the Historical-Philological Faculty of Moscow University as a voluntary attending student. He wrote articles, stories and novels in Russia. He lived in Belgrade and Novi Sad (1868), and Bucharest (1869), where, together with other followers and in cooperation with Vasil Levski, he established the Bulgarian revolutionary Central Committee. He was the editor of the *Svoboda* newspaper, and he published the magazine, *Znanie*. He was the author of stories, novels, poems and dramatic works.

10. Aleksand'r Kr'stev (1879-1945) was a composer, music teacher and choir conductor. He finished the Teaching School in Silistra and the School of Music in Zagreb (with a gold medal) as V. Novak's student in Harmony, A. Stöckl's student in Violin, and Vjenc. Novak's student in Counterpoint and Musical Forms (1901). He taught in Lom, and then, to the end of his creative life, he lived and worked in Varna: he conducted the choir and orchestra of the local »Gusla« Music Society, and was the founder and principal of the Varna school of music. He wrote chorales and solo songs, some of which have remained in the repertoire of the Bulgarian choirs until the present day.

11. Vasil (Ivanov Kunčev) Levski (1837-1873) was one of the ideologists of the National Revolution of Liberation and he laid the foundations of the internal revolutionary organisation in Bulgaria. He instituted a network of revolutionary committees all over the country. He was elected Chief Apostle of Bulgaria at the general assembly (1872). He was captured and put on trial by the Turks and subsequently hanged in Sofia.

12. Alois Macak (1857-1923) finished his musical education in Prague. He came to Bulgaria in the year 1892 and, until his retirement, worked as a bandmaster in Pleven and Sofia. As a conductor of the Guards Orchestra (1904-1918), he transformed it into one of the best bands of that time. He performed his first symphony concerts in Sofia with this orchestra. He was the author of works for orchestra, »Kantata za Carja-osvoboditel« after Iv. Vazov's text, theatre music, piano pieces, songs, etc.

13. Karel Mahan (1867-1923 ?) was born in Mala Holic, Czech lands. He graduated from the College of Music in Prague. He worked as bandmaster in Niš, Serbia. He came to Bulgaria in the year 1891 and was a teacher in the teaching schools in Silistra, Lom, Šumen, Varna and Kjustendil. His pupils included N. Atanasov, G. Goranov, M. Mitov and others who later became students at the College of Music in Zagreb. In the year 1903 he went to Russia where, to the end of his life, he worked in different towns as bandmaster and teacher. K. Mahan has contributed to Bulgarian musical culture as an ethnographer, musical theoretician and publisher of the *Kaval* newspaper (1894-95, 1901-02), teacher and composer.

14. Ivan Šišmanov (1862-1928) was an outstanding Bulgarian literary historian and folklore researcher, a public and state figure. As minister of education (1903-1907), he gave his support to the establishment of the Bulgarian Union of Music and signed the act establishing a private school of music in Sofia (1904). Šišmanov was one of the active initiators of the establishment of the University of Sofia, the National Theatre etc. and other Bulgarian cultural and scientific institutions.

15. Stefan Vapordžiev (1878-1929) was a flute-player, music teacher, conductor and composer. He studied music in Zagreb and Bucharest, and later specialized in flute at the College of Music in Brussels. He was the first concert-performing Bulgarian flute-player. He worked as a music teacher in different Bulgarian towns. His two sons are famous Bulgarian instrumentalists: *Asen Vapordžiev* is a virtuoso contrabass player, and *Kiril Vapordžiev* — a cello-player and teacher.

16. Ivan Vazov (1850-1921) was a national poet, a patriarch of the new Bulgarian literature. He was the author of a number of volumes of poetry and novels. His novel *Under the Yoke* (1894), translated into many languages, is a national epic and provides a wide panorama of the life of the Bulgarians from the years before the Liberation of our country from the Turkish yoke.

Translation from Bulgarian: Hristina Zdravčeva

Sažetak

HRVATSKI SKLADATELJ IVAN ZAJC U POVIJESTI BUGARSKOGLAZBENE
KULTURE
(Pokušaj kratke kronografije)

Tijekom druge polovice 19. stoljeća i početkom 20. stoljeća intenzivirale su se bogate i plodonosne hrvatsko-bugarske kulturne veze, pa tako i one glazbene. Osobito istaknutu ulogu na području glazbe imao je hrvatski skladatelj Ivan Zajc.

Ovom se studijom nastojalo prikazati kratku kronografiju Zajčeve stvaralačke prisutnosti, popularnosti i utjecaja što ga je imao u Bugarskoj tijekom formiranja bugarske nacionalne skladateljske škole. U članku se iznose rezultati istraživanja i izlaže o izvedbama i recepciji Zajčevih djela, njihovim onodobnim izdanjima u Bugarskoj, te o ulozi i značenju što ga je glazbena škola Hrvatskoga glazbenog zavoda u doba njegova ravnateljstva imala na razvoj bugarske glazbe toga doba. Ističu se i u Hrvatskoj malo poznate, odnosno nepoznate činjenice: da je Zajc 1894. svojom popijevkom *Majka* pobijedio na prvom bugarskom glazbenom natjecanju, te da je skladao himnu prvog bugarskog pjevačkog društva osnovanog u Plovdivu 1896. (*Napred ti, B'lgarino/Naprijed ti, Bugarine*). Naposljetku, neke melodije njegovih djela, poglavito koračnica, skladanih na tekstove bugarskih pjesnika, postale su simbolima nacionalne borbe za slobodu i često su se držale izvorno bugarskim skladbama.