

**UNKNOWN LETTERS OF JAKOV GOTOVAC, BORIS PAPANDOPULO
AND JOSIP ŠTOLCER SLAVENSKI IN BORIS GAIDAROV'S ARCHIVES
(From the History of Bulgarian-Croatian Music Contacts between
the 1920s and the 1940s)**

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Abstract

The present study is based on the partially preserved correspondence of the Bulgarian editor and music teacher Boris Gaidarov with the Croatian composers Jakov Gotovac, Boris Papandopulo and Josip Štolcer Slavenski, and is an attempt to reconstruct the idea of the long-lived professional contacts between them. The focus of this creative exchange is the *Junošeski drugar* music collection, which was published by Gaidarov in the period between 1926 and 1948 and contained their choral compositions, as well as compositions of other contemporary Croatian composers. A large part of these works was incorporated into the repertoires of the Bulgarian choral societies between the 1920s and 1940s.

In the study, other B. Gaidarov initiatives for establishing closer contacts between the musicians from the two countries were also represented and they were found in his publications. Among them, the most dynamic and closest form of music communication to the general public was support for the exchange of choral society concerts. The efforts

made in this direction, both by professional music unions and by particular musicians such as Jakov Gotovac, Boris Papandopulo, and the like, revealed the perspective of mutual introduction of Bulgarian and Croatian national composer works. The performance of Jakov Gotovac's opera *Ero s onoga svijeta* in Sofia in 1940 marked the culmination of the tendency in that period.

Boris Gaidarov's publishing activities are just a page in the wide spectrum of creative contacts between the Bulgarian and Croatian musicians. Though developed in a small town on the Danube, far from big cultural centres and state music institutions, they represent an example of how the personal initiative of a musician goes beyond the borders of national art and leaves its trace in the history of music cultural relations between Bulgaria and Croatia.

Key words: Bulgaria, Croatia, Music Contacts, 20th century, Boris Gaidarov, Jakov Gotovac, Josip Štolcer Slavenski, Boris Papandopulo

The period between the 1920's and the 1940s marked further development of Bulgarian-Croatian cultural relations in all art spheres. The close contacts established between the professional organisations of artists, writers and actors, allied periodicals and fellow countrymen societies show a wide spectrum of initiatives and projects, which brought creative artists closer in the field of art and culture. Many of the ideas born during those decades outlived the complicated political situation of times that often separated the two peoples in their historical existence.

This also happened in the field of music art. Traditional contacts between the Croatian and Bulgarian musicians revived again in the years after the First World War owing to the active efforts of several composers of the so-called »first generation«: **Dimit'r Hadžigeorgiev** (1873-1932) and **Dobri Hristov** (1875-1941), **Aleksand'r Kr'stev** (1879-1945), **Nikola Atanasov** (1886-1969) and **Milan Mitov** (1884-1972), the last three of whom were former graduates of the Music School of *Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod* in Zagreb (the Croatian Music Institute). However, under the new conditions, professional music institutions (The Zagreb Academy of Music, The Zagreb School of Music, and the Croatian Choir Association etc.) became mediators in the process of revival and, in co-operation with music periodicals, they popularised the idea of getting these two national cultures to become acquainted.

The brief chronology of well-known documents and facts shows that the initiative that stimulated the co-operation between the Bulgarian and Croatian musicians came from Zagreb and from **Franjo Šidak**, a secretary of the Croatian Section in Yugoslav Music Union at the time. In a letter to his colleagues in Sofia (January, 1924), released on the pages of the Bulgarian newspaper *Musikant* (Musician), he wrote: »In our programme we pursue one aim as well — getting familiar with different music societies. That's why our request to you, Mr Chairperson, is to turn your attention to us by telling us something about music life in Bulgaria. What is your organization like? Do you have a music newspaper to send to us in return?«¹

Šidak's idea of co-operation between Sofia and Zagreb was ardently supported by **Dimitar S'ipliev** (1875-1951), the newspaper editor and chairperson of the Union of United Professional Musicians in Bulgaria.² He mentioned this idea in his report to the Third Congress of the Music Union (June, 1924), but regrettably, it turned out that constant re-organisations in its statute were a serious obstacle for the development of future professional contacts.³ In the pages of his newspaper,

¹ Column »S'juzen život« (Union Life), *Musikant*, 2 (1924) 15/16, 6.

² In the years after the First World War, professional musicians in Bulgaria were united in two organizations: the Union of Professional Musicians and the Bulgarian Music Union, which published two separate music newspapers — *Musikant* (Musician), edited by Dimit'r S'ipliev and *Musikalen vestnik* (Musical Herald), edited by Dimit'r Hadžigeorgiev. At the end of 1924, the first issue was reorganised and started to come out as *Musikalen pregled* (Music Review), edited by Andrej Petrovič Bersenev.

³ From its report it is clear that Franjo Šidak's initiative was also developed in another direction. The Yugoslav Music Union offered future establishment of the »Music Confederation of the Balkans«. Cf. Column »Kongresni dni« (Congress Days), *Musikant*, 3 (1924) 1, 1-2.

music life in Zagreb was represented in its entire variety of genres — with information about opera performances, symphonic and chamber concerts etc.⁴ These cultural events were in complete contrast to the level of music art in Bulgaria, where stagnation, due to the national catastrophe after the First World War, had still not been overcome.

During the following years (again at Fr. Šidak's initiative, at the time an editor of the newspaper *Jugoslavenski muzičar* [1923-1928], i.e. *Muzičar* [1928-1941]), the idea of co-operation between the Croatian and the Bulgarian musicians turned into a concrete programme and was published as »an open letter« to the publisher of the Bulgarian *Musikalen pregled* (Music Review) **Andrej Petrovič Bersenev**.⁵ Some common orientations were outlined in it around which the editors of the two newspapers found the intersecting point of their mission: »continuous exchange of periodicals and correspondence concerning current issues of music life, [...] publication of extensive studies and information on national music of the two neighbour countries« etc.⁶

Thus, through Franjo Šidak and Andrej Petrovič Bersenev, the professional contacts between the musicians from the two countries were also activated in other directions of art: guest performances by choirs and opera singers became more frequent, Bulgarian music was heard in Zagreb, and new music periodicals were exchanged.⁷ Their idea attracted new followers from allied music magazines in Sofia, Ljubljana, Belgrade, Warsaw, Brno, and Prague, and music figures from

⁴ Find below some of the information published in the column »Music Life«: »Music life in Zagreb is quite busy. **Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra** is particularly active. During the season it had 20 morning concerts each Sunday at 11.30 in the Music Hall conducted by **Sachs, Baranovič, Smedek and Jozefovič**.« *Musikant*, 2 (1923) 7, 4. Other material contains information about a chamber concert in which works by **B. Širola, A. Dobronić, Fr. Lhotka, Fr. Dugan, J. Štolcer-Slavenski, K. Krenedič, D. Pejačević**, and **M. Sachs** etc. were performed. Cf. Column »Musikalen zivot« (Music Life) *Musikant*, 2 (1924) 15/16, 5. (Bold by St. G.)

⁵ Andrej Petrovič Bersenev (a character from the novel »On the Eve« by the Russian writer Ivan Sergeevič Turgenev) is the pen-name of **Georgi Stojanovič** (1891-1941), which he used as an editor-publisher of the newspaper *Musikalen pregled* (Music Review, 1923-1929) to sign his publicist and music-critic materials.

⁶ *Musikalen pregled*, 3 (1926) 15/16, 1.

⁷ Find below some fragments from music publications:

- ***: In the next issue we will publish the portraits of four of the leading contemporary representatives of Croatian music — **the composers Štolcer Slavenski, Dr. Božidar Širola, Jakov Gotovac and the conductor Krešimir Baranovič**. In the same issue an article by Mr Fran Šidak will be published about Yugoslav music, in: *Musikalen pregled*, 4 (1927), 8/9, 8.

- ***: **Croatian Music Culture on the International Forum**, in: *Musikalen pregled*, 4 (1927) 10, 1-2.

- ***: A festival took place in Baden-Baden from 15 to 17 July and, during the festival, chamber-music pieces by **Béla Bartók, Alban Berg, Max Buting, H. Eisler, Krsto Odak and Roiter** were performed, as well as chamber operas by **Ernst Toch (America), Darius Milhaud (France), Kurt Weill and Paul Hindemith (Germany)**. In: *Musikalen pregled*, 4 (1927) 11/12, 6.

- ***: In one of its last issues »Obzor« published a review about the editing of »Musikalen pregled«, and about the articles of **Prof. St. Krtička (Brno), Hr. Pančev, V. Dimitrov and Fr. Šidak**, by underlining the wonderful results stemming from the mutual relations between the magazine »*So. Cecilija*«, »*Muzičar*« and »*Musikalen pregled*«).

different Bulgarian cities — Varna, Burgas, Stara Zagora and Plovdiv. At the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, a wide network of multicultural exchange was created and functioned between them.⁸ Boris Gaidarov's music publishing activities developed in the context of these connections dating back to the period between the wars.

The Music Publisher Boris Gaidarov (1892-1950)

Boris Gaidarov's achievements represent interesting phenomena in the history of Bulgarian music culture. All his life he lived in his native town Lom and worked as a music teacher in the local school of pedagogy. The small town on the riverside of the Danube was a thriving cultural centre as long ago as the Bulgarian revival years. A community centre was set up there in 1856, where amateur theatrical plays with music were performed, such as *Velizarieva opera*.⁹ Among the musicians working in the town was **Karel Mahan** (1867-1923 ?) — a composer, theoretician and publisher of newspaper *Kaval*. At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, he kept up contacts with his colleagues from the near South Slavic countries and cultural centres such as Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Niš etc.¹⁰ In fact, Boris Gaidarov's first music teachers were musicians from the Karel Mahan's school: **Milan Mitov** (1884-1972), **Aleksand'r Kr'stev** (1879-1945) and **Belčo Belčev**. All three graduated from the Music School of the Croatian Music

In the March issue of »Muzičar« reviews will be published about Mr Češmedžiev's collection (by Dr. B. Širola) and Mr Stoin's book (by Prof. Zl. Grgošević). The second article of Mr Fr. Šidak about »Music Culture in Yugoslavia« will be published in the next issue. In: Musikalen pregled, 4 (1928) 20, 7.

• ***: Naši vesti (News from Us). »Muzičar« — Zagreb will carry on with the publishing of the portraits of the most prominent of our composers and actors. In its January issue the portrait of Prof. Nikola Atanasov will be published, and late — the portraits of Maestro Georgi Atanasov, Petko Stajnov and Pančo Vladigerov, on the occasion of the upcoming Bulgarian concert of the Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra. After that, the above portraits will be published in the major Zagreb magazine »Sv. Cecilija«; its editor Mr Janko Barle is our excellent friend and adherent. In: Musikalen pregled, 6 (1929) 1/2, 12. (bolded by St. G.)

⁸ They are: *Emil Adamič* — *Nova Muzika* (New Music), Ljubljana (1928); *Ivan Kamburov* — *Musikalen život* (Music Life), Sofia (1928); *Miloje Milojević* — *Muzika* (Music), Belgrade (1928); *Mateuš Glinski* — *Muzika* (Music), Warsaw; *Boleslav Bomačka* — *Tempo*, Prague; *Stanislav Krčićka* — Brno, etc. Find more about the relations between them in: Stefanka GEORGIEVA: *Ratnizi za juznoslavjansko musikalno s'trudničestvo — dokumenti k'm istorijata na edna neos'stestvena idea* (Followers of South Slavic Music Co-operation — documents on the history of an unrealised idea), in the collection: *Interbalkanski musikalno-kulturni vzaimootnošenija* (Inter-Balkan Music-cultural Relations), Muzika Viva, Sofia 2000, 144-155.

⁹ It's about the drama *Velizarij* by H. [?] K. [?] Traučsen, translated from Greek and performed in the community centers of different Bulgarian towns. In his notes about the performance published in *Carigradski Vestnik*, 23. 2. 1857, Ilija Canović called it *Velizarieva opera*.

¹⁰ The music newspaper *Kaval* came out at certain periods from 1894-1896 and in 1901-1902. It published articles by Franjo Kuhač, Vjenceslav Novak, compositions by Ivan pl. Zajc, including materials from the Sarajevo newspaper *Nada*, etc. Among the authors the name of Robert Tolinger is often mentioned.

Institute.¹¹ Gaidarov's plans to continue his education at the above music school were frustrated by the Balkan and the First World War during which he was wounded. His native music talent was evaluated highly and in 1920 the local authorities invited him to the school of pedagogy to teach music and conduct the orchestra choir.

At that time Gaidarov was confronted with the pressing need for contemporary choral works and started his unique publishing activities. His home turned into a real music house. The first collection of *Junošeski drugar* was published in 1926 and, as the writer, editor and, at the same time, propagandist of the new publication, he talked about the reasons for that initiative: »In spite of the spiritual crisis and weak interest in music literature 'Junošeski drugar' appears on time to satisfy the needs for it, not only when music is taught but also to contribute to students' artistic upbringing. Regretfully, for the time being, our young people at school cannot be educated in Bulgarian artistic songs since they are going to be written from now on. The richest and inexhaustible sources are foreign works. Some space will be allocated to our works, too. All the composers who wish can contact the editors.«¹²

Gaidarov's invitation drew strong response from the Bulgarian composers and music teachers. Newspaper and magazine editors from Sofia and other bigger Bulgarian towns, including the rector of the Music Academy, Dimit'r Hadzi-georgiev, were also interested in the work of the teacher from Lom. The letters from his partially saved correspondence show that his choral books did reach all regions of Bulgaria.¹³ Young composers from the post-war »second« generation turned their attention to Gaidarov. His collections contain some of the first choral works by **Petko Stajnov** (1896-1977) and **Ljubomir Pipkov** (1904-1974), set up as classical models in Bulgarian music today.¹⁴ **Geo Milev**, **Kiril Hristov**, **Kamen Zidarov**, **Trifon Kunev** and other poets, related to modern trends in new Bulgarian literature, were asked to translate the lyrics of the songs.

As a music journalist, Boris Gaidarov also broadened his professional contacts outside this country, too. In the introductory notes to Collection No 8, he reported

¹¹ One of them — Belčo Belčev, was a correspondent of the Croatian journal *Sveta Cecilija*. See: B. T. Belčev: O razvitku bugarske glazbe (On Development of Bulgarian Music), *Sv. Cecilija*, 18 (1924) 3, 76-77; B. T. Belčev: Pismo iz Bugarske (A Letter from Bulgaria), *Sv. Cecilija*, 16 (1922) 6, 167-168; B. T. Belčev: Pismo iz Sofije (A Letter from Sofia), *Sv. Cecilija*, 18 (1924) 4, 114-115; B. T. Belčev: Pismo iz Sofije (A Letter from Sofia), *Sv. Cecilija*, 29 (1935) 5, 120-121. We owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Sanja Majer-Bobetko for providing this bibliographic data.

¹² Boris GAIDAROV: *Junošeski drugar*, (1926) 5, 3.

¹³ Today Boris Gaidarov's available fund, saved from destruction by Rozalina Spasova, is found in the Territorial State Archives — town of Montana, and in the Historical Museum of his native town Lom, Bulgaria.

¹⁴ Petko Stajnov and Ljubomir Pipkov were among the initiators and founders of the first society of the Bulgarian composers *S'vremenna musika* (Contemporary Music, 1933). After the so-called »socialist revolution« Ljubomir Pipkov was a founder and editor of the journal *Muzika* (Music, 1946), later *B'lgarska musika* (Bulgarian Music, 1949). Academician Petko Stajnov was at the head of the Institute of Musicology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, for many long years. The works of both composers are in the golden fund of Bulgarian music culture.

for the first time that, as a result of his relations with Franjo Šidak, he had established contacts with South Slavic music circles: »*The works of **Dr. Širola, Jakov Gotovac, Prof. Adamič, Lhotka, Manojlović, Lajovic, etc. have already been sent; they are translated and prepared for the next issue***«. ¹⁵ (bolded by St. G.) In the selection for the next issues of *Junošeski drugar* (Nos 9, 10, 11) works by the Bulgarian composers **Aleksand'r Kr'stev, Angel Bukureščliev** (1870-1950), **Pet'r Stefanov** (1899-1961) were presented for the first time together with works by **Gotovac, Slavenski, Širola** etc. In this way the publisher started the realisation of his intentions about »*getting Bulgarian and Yugoslav composers familiar and closer*« and he set »*his own mark on the building of Slavic fraternal unity*«. ¹⁶ Many of the songs published in the collection were immediately included in music textbooks at schools, in the repertory of the Lom girls' choir and other Bulgarian amateur choirs. Reviews about the publication came from Zagreb, too. »*'Junošeski drugar', Boris Gaidarov's well-known collection, was exhibited in the shop window of [...] Rikard Roskamp [Rosskamp!; known as Edition Rirop] in Zagreb. Yugoslav music circles were quite interested in the last issue No 8 of the collection. A very detailed review of this nice collection was published in the January issue of the magazine 'Muzičar'*«. ¹⁷

The musician's publishing record continued for over two decades. It was only at the beginning of the 1940s that he partly succeeded in his attempts to find financial support for his collection from the government, and to establish it as an official publication of the Ministry of Education.

Some materials published in *Gusla* — a newspaper of the Union of National Choirs, *Musikalen život* (Music Life, Sofia, editor Ivan Kamburov) and *Musikalen pregled* (Music Review, Stara Zagora, editor Andrej Bersenev), contain interesting information about Boris Gaidarov's contribution to closer contacts between Bulgarian and Yugoslav musicians. His detailed articles on the achievements in music of our South Slavic neighbours suggest that he was perfectly informed about the historical development of their national music cultures, subject to long oppression by Austro-Hungarian influence. »*It exerted strong pressure on their spiritual development, to the detriment of their national self-confidence. The Croats were the first who became aware of the necessity to withstand such a trend*«, Gaidarov wrote, and pointed out the historical contribution of musicians such as **Vatroslav Lisinski, Franjo Kuhač, Franjo Dugan**, etc. At the same time, he was one of the active figures in the Bulgarian Choral Union who devoted all his efforts and energies to promote the exchange of concerts between the choral unions of the two countries. ¹⁸ His personal correspondence with some famous Croatian musicians in the 1930s contains evidence of this.

¹⁵ Boris GAIDAROV: *Junošeski drugar*, (1927) 8, 3.

¹⁶ Boris GAIDAROV: *Junošeski drugar*, (1928) 9, 3.

¹⁷ ***: *Musikalen pregled*, 4 (1928) 18/19, 1.

¹⁸ See: Appendix II.

From Boris Gaidarov's Correspondence with Croatian Composers in the 1930s

The documentary materials kept in Boris Gaidarov's archives, on the basis of which we can draw conclusions about his personal and creative contacts with Croatian composers from the period of publishing *Junošeski drugar* (1926-1948), are quite insufficient.¹⁹ Compared to some facts in reviews published in Bulgarian music publications about his activities as a teacher and choir conductor, they suggest to us that only a very small part is available of a rich, but definitely lost stock of documents about the Bulgarian-Croatian music culture relations of the period between the two world wars.

Undoubtedly, Boris Gaidarov's publishing project grew up and developed in the context of the professional relations between the Bulgarian and Croatian branch of the Yugoslav Music Union. In the beginning, Franjo Šidak was once again the promoter of the initiative, and he sent him the first musical compositions by contemporary Croatian composers. It is most likely that Gaidarov, with his help, established his personal contacts with Jakov Gotovac, Boris Papandopulo and Josip Slavenski and, perhaps, with other composers, too. From the letters kept in his archives — only 7 in number — some of the orientations in which the creative exchange between them was carried out can still be »reconstructed«.

The first one represents the idea of the co-operation of Croatian composers in *Junošeski drugar*, its exchange and popularisation among a broader circle of musicians. One of **Jakov Gotovac's** letters to B. Gaidarov contains the addresses of **Antun Dobronić, Krsto Odak, Srećko Kumar, Božidar Širola and Pavao Markovac**, which were undoubtedly used by the Bulgarian publisher. In fact, he published some works by the last two authors in his collection already in 1928 and 1930.²⁰ From information in music publications, we can state with certainty that Gaidarov also established music contacts with Antun Dobronić and Krsto Odak, and that he planned to include some of their works in the ninth collection of *Junošeski drugar*. However, for some unknown reason, the compositions he received from them were never included in the contents of his magazine.²¹ By good fortune, the letter of another Croatian composer — **Boris Papandopulo** — coincides with the time from 1934 to 1936 when, by means of *Junošeski drugar*, his works became generally known to Bulgarian choirs for the first time. This document not only extended the idea of his creative participation as co-author in Gaidarov's collection, but it contained some interesting details as well, expressing interest in Bulgarian music. It is probable that Dobri Hristov's songs, which he received from Gaidarov in Bulgaria, were included in his choir's repertoire.²²

¹⁹ See: Appendix IV.

²⁰ See: Appendix IV.1.

²¹ They comprise *Mož na hribu* (Krsto Odak) and a cycle of 3 songs from *Pjesme ostvarene ljubavi* by Antun Dobronić. Cf. Column »Naši vesti« (Our News), *Musikalen pregled*, 4 (1928) 20, 7.

²² See: Appendix IV.7.

In this way, along with the publishing activities, another line of creative exchange was formed between the Bulgarian and Croatian music cultures — the mutual tours of choirs from the two countries, in which both Boris Gaidarov and the Croatian composers actively co-operated. In the years after the First World War, this music performance practice became particularly popular. In 1929, the *Lipa* Choir from Osijek visited Bulgaria and gave several concerts in Sofia, Plovdiv and Varna. On the other hand, Zagreb's *Ćirilo-Methodov kor*, conducted by Boris Komarevski, was on a tour in Sofia in 1934. In the same year, Jakov Gotovac planned concerts for the *Mladost-Balkan* Choir, as we can conclude from the detailed information in two of his letters to Boris Gaidarov.²³

These epistolary documents reveal the true odyssey of the long-expected tour of the Croatian choir in Bulgaria. The efforts that they both made were frustrated by formal administrative and various political ideological factors. As long ago as in 1932, Boris Gaidarov had announced in certain music publications the forthcoming visit of Zagreb's Academic Choir to Bulgaria and in the following year he introduced the rich music biography of the choir.²⁴ His publications marked the pre-history of the »exciting news«, which Jakov Gotovac reported in his letter: »I can assure you that my choir, 'Mladost-Balkan', will go on a concert tour to Bulgaria in April 1934.«²⁵ Regrettably, this intention was never implemented owing to the intrigues »of some people from the South-Slavic Singing Alliance [Južnoslavenski pjevački savez] in Belgrade«.²⁶

The chronology of these circumstances is completely contrary to other facts from the history of Bulgarian choral art. Right in the mid-930s, a real »invasion« of concerts by Bulgarian performance groups began in Zagreb and other cities of the former Yugoslavia. Choral art proved to be the most dynamic and closest form of music communication to the general public and this was confirmed by a number of cultural events; a lot of choirs gave concerts in Zagreb: *The Male Choir from Plovdiv* (1934), the *Rodina* Choir conducted by Asen Najdenov (1935), the Choir of *Sveta Troica* Cathedral — Ruse, conducted by Ivan Sorokin (1936), the Rail Men Choir — Sofia, conducted by Dobri Hadžijankov (1937), the Rail Men Choir — Ruse, conducted by Marin Nikolov (1938), and the Male Choir of Plovdiv Choral Society, conducted by Ivan Kočetov (1938).²⁷

The concerts of the first two groups immediately drew Jakov Gotovac's attention and this was not by chance — they were among the best Bulgarian choral groups. The impressions made by their repertoires and art of performance, which

²³ See: Appendix IV.2, IV.4.

²⁴ See: Appendix II. 2.4, II. 2.5, II. 2.6. In his letter of 18. 01. 1934 Jakov Gotovac expressed his gratitude to Gaidarov for this (appendix IV.4).

²⁵ See: Appendix IV.2.

²⁶ See: Appendix IV.5.

²⁷ The data is after: Agapija Balareva. *Horovoto izkustvo v B'lgaria ot sredata na XIX vek do 1944* (Choral art in Bulgaria from the middle of the XIX century to 1944), B'lgarska akademija na naukite, Sofia 1992, 214-216.

the Croatian composer shared with Gaidarov, are of particular historical value. In fact, they sound remarkably similar: »*The Bulgarian Male Choir from Plovdiv had undoubted success, but its programme was far from being excellent*« [...]; »*the 'Rodina' choral group, without any compliments, is a first-class, artistic performance group*« [...] *the question of its repertoire is another thing*«.²⁸ Thus, though based on incidental acquaintance with Bulgarian composers' works, Jakov Gotovac's opinion referred to the most topical problem of young music culture in the 1930s: »*Bulgarian choral literature still has not found its true artistic and **national character and form***« [...] *Bulgarian composers' compositions still do not measure up to the **European standard**. I hope and I am sure that the youngest generation of Bulgarian composers will achieve this*«.²⁹ (bolded by St. G.)

Jakov Gotovac's words seem to have the meaning of real prophesy. In 1933, the idea of a national style of music united the second generation of Bulgarian composers in the »Contemporary Music« Society, and the efforts of their common mission gave rise to the first national music masterpieces. One of them is the opera *Car Kalojan* by Pančo Vladigerov (1936), written soon after *Ero s onoga svijeta*, which was performed for the first time in Brno, Czechoslovakia.³⁰ In 1940, Gotovac came to Bulgaria for the first performance of the opera *Ero s onoga svijeta*. During his short stay in Sofia he met some of his Bulgarian colleagues. His photograph with composers and music performers from the Sofia Union of Music dates back to that time.³¹ And, of course, he also met Boris Gaidarov, about which we learn from Jakov Gotovac's postcard sent from Zagreb immediately after his visit to Sofia.³²

From the correspondence between the Bulgarian publisher and the other Croatian composer — **Josip Štolcer Slavenski** — just one document has survived verifying their relations. This is an interesting find containing a message from Slavenski in a brief, almost telegraphic text, about the future performance of his »*Iztočna Simfonija*« [Religiofonija /Simfonija orijenta/ (Religiophony)] on two Yugoslav radio stations. Obviously, he was well familiar with Boris Gaidarov's interests, not only in new choral art but also in contemporary music in general, and undoubtedly, he relied on his contacts with music publishers by means of which the event could become generally known to more Bulgarian musicians.³³

²⁸ The quotations are from letters of Jakov Gotovac, See: Appendix IV.5, IV.6.

²⁹ See the above appendix.

³⁰ In the year 1935, during a concert with the Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra, Pančo Vladigerov introduced himself as a composer, piano player and conductor. He conducted his concert overture *Zemja* and played the solo part of his Second Piano Concert. Reviews about the concert were published in the newspaper *Novosti* of 25. 01. 1935 (author Boris Papandopulo), and in the Zagreb newspaper *Morgenblat* of 24. 01. 1935 (author Milan Majer). His only string quartet op. 34 (1940) bears the dedication: »*To Prof. Milan Graf and his 'Zagreb Quartet'*.« Quotation after: Evgeni Pavlov KLOSTERMANN: *Pančo Vladigerov*, Musika, Sofia 2000, 133-134, 146.

³¹ See: Appendix I.12.

³² See: Appendix I.10, IV.9.

³³ See: Appendix I.8, IV.8.

Josip Slavenski's works, published in the *Junošeski drugar* collection, coincide with the entire period of its publication: the first one was in the book of 1928 while the last one — in the book of 1940. Among them is the outstanding composition *Dve narodni pesni*, a reprint from Schott's Söhne issue, dedicated to the Bulgarian choir *Sofijska Gusla*.³⁴ This hints at another line of relations between Josip Slavenski and the Bulgarian Choral Society in the 1930s. It is quite possible that they were established in 1934 and 1935 when the male choir gave performances in Yugoslavia and live on Radio Belgrade. Well-known facts from the same period once more confirm his contacts with the Bulgarian composer Pančo Vladigerov but, since they are quite scarce, additional research in archive funds is required.³⁵

The surviving letters by the Croatian composers **Jakov Gotovac**, **Boris Papandopulo** and **Josip Štolcer Slavenski** in Boris Gaidarov's epistolary heritage, including another three letters by famous figures of the South-Slavic Singing Alliance — **Kosta Manojlović** (1924), **Emil Adamič** (1936) and **Anton Lajovic** (1945) — undoubtedly show that his publishing activities had actually become the focus of his entire creative activities. They were carried out in a small town on the Danube River, far from the big cultural centres and state music institutions, and this illustrates how the musician's personal initiative went beyond the boundaries of Bulgarian music culture and left a trace in the history of musical culture relations between Bulgaria and Croatia.

³⁴ The *Gusla* Male Choir, Sofia was established in 1930. Asen Dimitrov was its conductor for a long time and it was under his guidance that the style of the choir was formed.

³⁵ The only known fact is that they met at the International Piano and Singing Competition, which is held annually in Vienna. Pančo Vladigerov had been a member of the panel of judges since 1933, and Josip Slavenski joined as a member in 1936. See: Evgeni Pavlov KLOSTERMANN: *Pančo Vladigerov*, 118.

APPENDIXES

I. Letters, photos, postcards, music magazines and scores from Boris Gaidarov's Archives

1. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 18. 03. 1932, Zagreb, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, personal letters, N^o 2039. Published here in the original for the first time (appendix IV. 1).
2. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 13. 11. 1933, Zagreb, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, personal letters, N^o 2042. The letter was published in Bulgarian translation in Rozalina Spasova's book *The One and Only Boris Gaidarov*, Polimona, Montana 2008, 51-52. Published here in the original for the first time (appendix IV. 2).
3. A letter from Zagreb, 24.11.1933, from a sender signed *Mitko*, Ilica 55, Zagreb. Rozalina Spasova's personal archives (in Bulgarian). In Rozalina Spasova's book *The One and Only Boris Gaidarov*, Polimona, Montana 2008, 106, its contents were quoted briefly.
4. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 18. 01. 1934, Zagreb, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, personal letters, N^o 2043. Published here in the original for the first time (appendix IV. 4).
5. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 07. 06. 1934, Zagreb, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, personal letters, N^o 2044. The letter was published in Bulgarian translation in Rozalina Spasova's book *The One and Only Boris Gaidarov*, Polimona, Montana 2008, 52-53. Published here in the original for the first time (appendix IV. 5).
6. A letter from Boris Papandopulo to Boris Gaidarov of 07. 09. 1934, Zagreb, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, personal letters, N^o 248. The letter was published in Bulgarian translation in Rozalina Spasova's book *The One and Only Boris Gaidarov*, Polimona, Montana 2008, 58-59. Published here in the original for the first time (appendix IV. 7).
7. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 20. 11. 1935, Zagreb, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, personal letters, N^o 250. The letter was published in Bulgarian translation in Rozalina Spasova's book *The One and Only Boris Gaidarov*, Polimona, Montana 2008, 54-55. Published here in the original for the first time (appendix IV. 6).
8. A letter from Josip Slavenski to Boris Gaidarov (in French), 30. 01. 1936, Belgrade, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, personal letters, N^o 249. The letter was published in Bulgarian translation in Rozalina Spasova's book *The One and Only Boris Gaidarov*, Polimona, Montana 2008, 48-49. Published here in the original for the first time. That is not a personal but a circular letter (appendix IV. 8).
9. A postcard from Zagreb (Hrvatsko narodno kazalište), 22. 10. 1932, sender: Dimit'r K. [?] Dimitrov, Plitvička 28, Zagreb, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, personal letters, N^o 253 (in Bulgarian).

10. A postcard from Zagreb (Hrvatsko narodno kazalište), 3. 03. 1940, sender: Jakov Gotovac, with the following text: »Dear Mr Gaidarov! I gladly remember and thank you very much for the nice days spent in Sofia«. Yours, Jakov Gotovac [signature]. Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, personal letters, N^o 261. Published here in the original for the first time (appendix IV. 9).

11. A photo of music composers from Bulgaria and Yugoslavia (among them Boris Gaidarov, Aleksand'r Mocev, Dobri Hristov, Josip Slavenski, Emil Adamič and other music composers who have not been recognised), undated, the meeting place-unknown. Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, photos, N^o 226. The picture was published in Rozalina Spasova's book *The One and Only Boris Gaidarov*, Polimona, Montana 2008, 46.

12. A photo of Jakov Gotovac with Bulgarian composers and music composers from the »Contemporary Music« Society, Sofia, 1940 (*Veselin Stojanov, Georgi Zlatev-Čerkin, Konstantin Popov, Stojan Brašovanov, Petko Stajnov, Jakov Gotovac, Ljubomir Pipkov, Asen Najdenov. In the middle As. [?] Popova*). It was published by Kipriana Belivanova in her article *50 godini S'juz na b'lgarskite kompozitori »S'vremenna musika«* (50 years Union of the Bulgarian Composers »Contemporary Music« Society), in: the almanac *Musika, Musika '83* (Music, music '83), Musika, Sofia 1984, 7.

13. A photo of Jakov Gotovac, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, photos, N^o 328.

14. A photo of Josip Slavenski, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, photos, N^o 330.

15. Jakov Gotovac: *Ero s onoga svijeta*, piano score, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund.

16. Jakov Gotovac: *Morana*, piano score, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund.

17. Boris Papandopulo: *Kad igra kolo*, Mešovoti zbor, 1932, in: the Public Record Office, town of Montana, Bulgaria, Fund 593k »Boris Gaidarov«, archival file 21, sheet 3.

18. Boris Papandopulo: *Ljubavne pjesme za muški zbor* op. 46, I. Užička, author's manuscript, 4 pages. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

19. Boris Papandopulo: *Nad grobom ljepote devojke*, op. 39, mešovoti zbor a cappella na tekst narodne poezije, title page, with the author's dedication »To my dear friend Boris Gaidarov«, *Boris Papandopulo, Split*, 13. 02. 1938. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive. A facsimile of this sheet was published in her book *The One and Only Boris Gaidarov*, Polimona, Montana 2008, 59.

20. Josip Slavenski: *Dva hora a capella*, issue 3, a publication of *Južnoslovenski pevački savez* (South-Slavic Singing Alliance), Belgrade, undated, the Public Record Office, town of Montana, Bulgaria, Fund 593 k »Boris Gaidarov«, archive file 21, sheet 13.

21. Josip Slavenski: *Šest narodnih popevaka za mešoviti hor*, issued as a manuscript of the *First Belgrade Singing Society*, with the author's dedication to »Gospodinu Bor. Gaidarovu«, *Belgrade*, 27. 09. 1928. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

22. Josip Slavenski: title page of *Ribarska pesma za dvoglasni muški hor* (+ the guitar or the piano ad libitum, Folk text), autograph »za gospodina Gaidarova, Josip Š. Slavenski«, Beograd, Krunska 75, Jugoslavija, for »Junošeski drugar«. The text was written in Cyrillic and Latin letters. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

23. Krsto Odak: *Mož na hribu*, a fragment, one sheet. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

24. *Sveta Cecilija*, 28 (1934) 6, the Public Record Office, town of Montana, Bulgaria, Fund 593k »Boris Gaidarov«, archive file 21, sheet 120.

25. *Ćirilometodski vjesnik*, 2 (1934) 3, 29-30, a fragment, *Koncerti. Gostovanje bugarskog hora studenata teološkog fakulteta iz Sofije u Jugoslaviji*. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

26. *Sveta Cecilija*, 29 (1935) 1, 18, a fragment, information about the concert of the Bulgarian composer *Pančo Vladigerov* in Zagreb. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

27. *Ćirilometodski vjesnik*, 5 (1937) 10, 98-99, a fragment, *Iz glazbenog svijeta, Veliki uspjeh hrvatskih kompozitora i muzičara na festivalu u Bugarskoj*. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

28. Magazine *Proljeće. Glazba za mladež*, urednik: Slavko Modrian, Zagreb, 1941/42, a fragment, one sheet, comprising:

N^o 20. *Lijepo ti je* (iz Bosne), zabilježio Milo Cipra

N^o 21. *Jakov Gotovac: Jadranu*

N^o 22. Zlatko Grgošević: *Težačka* (riječ narodne iz Hrv. Zagorja)

Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

II. Documents, Articles and Critical Reviews from / for Boris Gaidarov and His *Junošeski drugar* Collection

1. Boris Gaidarov's Documents

1.1. A fragment from a review [?] by Boris Gaidarov about Jakov Gotovac's opera *Ero s onoga svijeta*, a manuscript, undated. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

No publication of this manuscript of Boris Gaidarov has been found.

1.2. Sofia Opera cast, 1939/1940 season, participating on 28. 02. 1940 in the first performance of *Ero s onoga svijeta* by Jakov Gotovac.

Conductor — Asen Najdenov

Producer — Dragan K'rdžiev

Stage designer and costume designer — Asen Popov

Marko — Pet' r Zolotovič (Pavel Elmazov), **Doma** — Diana Gerganova (Rajna Stojanova), **Dula** — N. [Nadežda?] Karova (Ivanka Miteva), Mića (Ero) — Georgi Belev (Stojan Kolarov), **Sima** — Mihail Ljuckanov (Dimit' r Hristov), **Pastir [Shepherd]** — dramatic actress Z. [?] Šarankova.

A quotation from the programme of the first performance of the opera *Ero s onoga svijeta* by Jakov Gotovac, Sofia, 1939/1940 season, Historical Museum, town of Lom, Bulgaria, »Boris Gaidarov« Fund, documents, N^o 2036. (bolded by St. G.)

1.3. From the Memoirs of Zlata Božkova, a long-term Choir Singer in the Sofia National Opera, about the performance *Ero s onoga svijeta* by Jakov Gotovac.

For the first performance (28. 02. 1940) the actress Diana Gerganova had made up her face and dressed for Doma's part but, quite unexpectedly, she got ill and lost her voice. The situation was saved by the second singer Rajna Stojanova who, at that time, was sitting in a box as a spectator. »Ero s onoga svijeta« appealed to the Bulgarian audience with its melodious Slavic music and fresh popular humour. In Nikolaj Liliev's words K'rdžilov »developed his producer's talent which again finds a particular expression in comic operas and created a bright performance«.

A quotation from: Zlata BOŽKOVA: *Sofijska narodna opera. Memoari* (Sofia National Opera. Memoirs), Nauka i izkustvo, Sofia 1976, 82.

1.4. An Interview of the Journalist Petko Tiholov with Jakov Gotovac

On 28 February 1940 I talked to the prominent **Croatian composer Gotovac** at the Hotel »Bulgaria«, the author of **the opera »Ero s onoga svijeta«**, performed on the stage of the National Opera for the first time.

What are your impressions of the first performance of your opera?

— *I am happy that my opera was so well received by the Sofia audience, which could completely feel and understand it, and when the performance was over, the audience expressed its delight by lengthy applause. I find that, in spite of the ill health of the tenor **Georgi Belev (Ero)**, the performance was brilliant. I was moved by the great love, endeavour and hard work of the singers, the conductor, the orchestra, the choir and the ballet in the brilliant performance of the opera.*

So far, where has »Ero s onoga svijeta« been performed?

— *It has played for five years in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. It was performed 14 times in Germany. The State Opera in Berlin will perform it on the 16th of March, this year and next year it will be performed on the stage of La Scala, Milan. In writing this opera I was inspired by folk motifs from the life of the Croats in Dalmatia. I have no doubt that the audience in Sofia felt it to be so close to them — Slavic.*

Did you manage to establish any contacts with some Bulgarian composers?

— *We became acquainted and close friends with some of them, whose names I knew a long time ago. However, I regret that, because of the short time I had, I could not hear other operas for bigger orchestras, performed by them. I would like stronger relations between the Bulgarian and Croatian composers. I will do all my best to that end.*

How did the audience in Zagreb receive the visiting Bulgarian performers?

— *Most warmly. The audience admired the performance of **Bojka Konstantinova**, **Mimi Balkanska**, **Vladimir Trendafilov**, **Zorka Jordanova** and **Stojan Kolarov**, who is a regular member of Zagreb opera.**

What can you tell me about your reception in Sofia?

— *As a conductor and composer I have visited a lot of places in Europe but I have never been received more warmly and in a more friendly way by colleagues and audiences than in your beautiful capital, which I am visiting for the first time and where I feel at home. I don't know how I could express my gratitude for their attention, warmth and hearty feelings.*

*In the end, Gotovac expressed his satisfaction with the good organization of the King's Symphonic Orchestra and his admiration for its artistic achievements, which are largely due to the conductor Prof. **Saša Popov**.*

From: Petko TIHOLOV: *K'm v'rhovete na izkustvoto* (To the Peaks of The Art) Musika, Sofia 1979, 512-513. (bolded by St. G.)

See: Angel SLADKAROV: *B'lgarsko operetno izkustvo. Memoari* (Bulgarian Operetta Art. Memoirs), Musika, Sofia 1975, 55.

1.5. Jakov Gotovac: Choir from »Ero«, in: Programme of a »Traditional Concert« by Lom Girls' School, 5. 04. 1941, conductor Boris Gaidarov. Rozalina Spasova's personal archive.

1.6. Jakov Gotovac: *Ero s onoga svijeta* (libretto), in: Ivan KAMBUROV: *Kniga za operata. Avtori i proizvegenija* (A book about the opera. Authors and compositions), Sofia 194 [?], 224-225.

2. Articles by Boris Gaidarov about Croatian and Yugoslav Music

2.1. Boris GAIDAROV: *S'vremenna yugoslavaska musika* (Contemporary Yugoslav Music), *Musikalen pregled*, 1 (1930) 7, 4.

It also comprises a brief historical essay on three generations of Croatian composers.

* The questions of the journalist refer to the guest-performances of the Co-operative Operetta Theatre, which gave performances in Zagreb in the 1937/1938 season, in a tour to various Yugoslav cities — Ljubljana, Belgrade etc.

2.2. Boris GAIDAROV: S'vremenna dalmatinska musika (Contemporary Dalmatian Music), *Musikalen život*, 1 (1930) 7, 2-4.

A brief essay about the new generation of Dalmatian composers — Krsto Odak, Krešimir Baranović, Jakov Gotovac.

2.3. Boris GAIDAROV: Propaganda čres horove (Propaganda through Choirs), *Gusla*, 1 (1931) 2, 2.

»Choirs are among the main pillars in developing our music culture«, wrote the author, and he paid attention to their cultural-propaganda activities outside the country by holding up Yugoslav music groups as an example.

2.4. B. G. [Boris Gaidarov]: Mladost-Balkan, *Musikalen život*, 2 (1932) 1, 3.

The **Zagreb Academic Choir** is planning to go on a concert tour around Bulgaria. The choir was founded in 1900 at Zagreb University. The artistic director of the society is the famous composer **Jakov Gotovac**. The manager of the Academic Choir is Dr **Aleksandar Ugrenović, full-time professor at Zagreb University**.

The choir approached the editor of the music collection *Junošeski drugar* — **Boris Gaidarov** — who invited them on a tour to Bulgaria, asking that he send them Bulgarian choral songs for a male choir. (bolded by St. G.)

2.5. ***: Mladost-Balkan, *Gusla*, 2 (1932) 1, 3.

The contents of the material are almost identical to those published in the newspaper *Musikalen život*. The author is probably Boris Gaidarov.

2.6. Boris GAIDAROV: Zagreb Student's »Mladost-Balkan« Choir, *Gusla*, 3 (1933) 1, 3.

The author gives a brief description of the Zagreb choir's artistic biography.

III. Works by Croatian Composers Included in the Periodic Music Collection *Junošeski drugar*, compiled and edited by Boris Gaidarov, a music teacher in the Pedagogical School in the town of Lom, S. M. Stajkov Printing House, Sofia 1924-1948.

1. **Jakov Gotovac: Žalba za teletu** [*Jadovanka za teletom* (Lament for a Calf)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, № 8, 1927.
2. **Ivan Zajc: Tiha noć** [*Tiha noć* (Quiet Night)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, № 8, 1927.

3. **Josip Štolcer Slavenski: Pesenta na slepija** [*Slepačka narodna* (The Song of the Blind)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 9, 1928.
4. **Božidar Širola: Mila zornice rumena** [*Zorja moja* (Nice Glowing Dawn)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 9, 1928.
5. **Pavao Markovac: Skr'bná preznošč** [*Noći tamna (?)*; *Tavna noći (?)* (Sad Night)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 10, 1930.
6. **Josip Štolcer Slavenski: Kljukarki** [*Rugalica* (Mocking)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 10, 1930.
7. **Jakov Gotovac: Snošči mi Erbes v selo pristigna** [*Naišo Erbez* (Last Night Erbes Arrived in the Village)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 11, 1931.
8. **Jakov Gotovac: Pod ljuljaka** [*Pod jorgovanom* (Under the Lilac)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 13, 1933.
9. **Josip Slavenski: Dve narodni pesni** (Two Folk Songs): **A. Grad Gradili** [*Grad gradile* (They Built a Town)]; **B. Djado i mečkite** [*Dedo i mečkite* (Grandpa and the Bears)] (with copyrights of Edition Schott's Söhne Mainz), in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 13, 1933.
10. **Josip Štolcer Slavenski: Ribarska pesen** [*Ribarska pesma* (Fisherman's Song)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 14, 1933.
11. **Jakov Gotovac: Ergenska žalba** [*Momački jadi* (Bachelor's Complaints)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 14, 1933.
12. **Jakov Gotovac: Oblog** [*Oklada* (A Bet)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 14, 1933.
13. **Josip Štolcer Slavenski: Dve narodni pesni** [*Dve narodne* (Two Folk Songs)], (dedicated to the Bulgarian choir »Sofijska gusla«, a reprint from a publication of Schott's Söhne), in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 15, 1934.
14. **Boris Papandopulo: Hajde da tropnem horce kr'šno** [*Ajd' u kolo!* (Let's Play a Lively *Horo*)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 15, 1934.
15. **Boris Papandopulo: Hodja brodja** [*Bosanska/Slavonska* (I Walk and Roam); N^o 4 from *Ljubavne pjesme* (Love Songs) op. 46)] in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 17, Lom 1935.
16. **Boris Papandopulo: Dafino vino** [*Dafino, vino crveno* (Dafino's Wine)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 17, 1935.

17. **Boris Papandopulo: Svatbarska pesen** [*Svatovska* (Wedding Song)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 19, 1936.
18. **Jakov Gotovac: Na Jadrana** [*Jadranu* (For the Adriatic Sea)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 20, 1937.
19. **Jakov Gotovac: Pesen na žitonoscite** [*Pjesma žitonoša* (Grain Carriers' Song)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 21, 1938.
20. **Zlatko Grgošević: Oj male, čudo stana** [?(Oh, Dear Mother, a Miracle Happened)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 21, 1938.
21. **Jakov Gotovac: Vardar** [*Na Vardaru* (Vardar)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 21, 1938.
22. **Jakov Gotovac: O živo moe** [*O, klasje moje* (Oh, My Wheat)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 23, 1940.
23. **Fran Lhotka: Ščo čini starija djado?** [?(What Is the Old Man Doing)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 23, 1940.
24. **Josip Štolcer Slavenski: Digajte se planini** [*Zagorska pesma/Mek'nite se vi gore/Dižite se, planine* (Go Up Mountains)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 24, 1940.
25. **Jakov Gotovac: Tri narodni pesni ot Dalmacia** (*Three Folk Songs from Dalmatia*): **A. O, širno mi more** [*O, more duboko* (Oh, My Wide Sea)]; **B. Marjane, Marjane** (Oh, Marjan, Marjan); **C. Šetba šeta** [*Tanac* (Walking)],* in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 26, 1942.

* *Šetba šeta*, i. e. *Tanac* (Dance) is not a folk song from Dalmatia but the third composition in *Primorska suita* (A Suite from Primorje) by Jakov Gotovac. (editor's note)
26. **Jakov Gotovac: Žalba za teletom** [*Jadovanka za teletom* (Lament for a Calf)], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 27, 1934.
27. **Jakov Gotovac: Hubava si tatkovino** [Gotovac's harmonisation of Josip Runjanin's *Lijepa naša domovino* (Our Lovely Homeland), that is, the Croatian national anthem], in: »Junošeski drugar«, N^o 27, 1934.

Translation from Bulgarian: *Hristina Zdravčeva*

IV. Copies of Letters from Jakov Gotovac, Boris Papandopulo and Josip Štolcer Slavenski to Boris Gaidarov

1. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 18. 03. 1932, Zagreb.

Zagreb, 18. marta 1932.

Vrlo poštovani g. Gajdarov!

Primio sam poslate brojeve Vašeg muzičkog lista "JUNOŠESKI DRUGAR" i to za gg. Dobronića, Kumara, Odaka, Markovca i dr. Širolu, ali zadnji broj t. j. Nr. 13. niste poslali za mene lično, a baš u tom broju donijeli ste moj muški hor "Pod jorgovanom", na čemu Vam srdačno zahvaljujem. Zato Vas najljepše molim, da bi mi taj Nr. 13. također i meni poslali.

Kako gori naznačene zagrebačke muzičare vrlo rijetko susrećem, to za buduće brojeve, koje im eventualno želite poslati, šaljem njihove adrese:

prof. ANTUN DOBRONIĆ, Muzička akademija,
Gundulićeva 6.

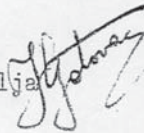
prof. KRSTO ODAK, Muzička akademija,
Gundulićeva 6.

prof. SREĆKO KUMAR, Muzička škola "Lisinski"
Masarikova 10.

dr. PAVAO MARKOVAC, Bosanska 29/I.

dr. BOŽIDAR ŠIROLA, Haulikova 4.

Neobično bi me interesiralo znati kako muzički krugovi u Bugarskoj primaju djela jugoslavenskih autora i da li se te horske kompozicije izvađaju od bugarskih horova, pak ako imate vremena informirajte me o ovome.

Srdačno Vas pozdravlja


2. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 13. 11. 1933, Zagreb.

JAKOV GOTOVAC
 Z A G R E B
 Narodno kazalište

ZAGREB, 13 novembra 1933.

Vrlopoštovani gosp. G a j d a r o v !

Tek danas Vam odgovaram na Vaše posljednje pismo, jer mi prije nije bilo moguće. Gosp. Dimitrov posjetio me je tek prošle sedmice, i uručio mi Vaš lijepi dar od dvije flašice ružinog ulja. - Najsrdačnija Vam hvala na tom sjećanju i pažnji! -

A sada da i ja Vas obveselim sa jednom ugodnom vijesti! - Naše ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova ovih dana riješilo je povoljno našu molbu kojom smo molili dozvolu za priredbu jedne koncertne turneje kroz bratsku Bugarsku, i prema tome, dragi gosp. Gajdarov, mogu Vam pozitivno javiti da će moj hor: J. A. K. "Mladost-Balkan" pod mojim vodstvom uputiti se na koncertnu turneju kroz Bugarsku u mjesecu aprilu 1934 god. - Već sada smo započeli sa predradnjama za taj naš put. Moji su pjevači oduševljeni, i ne znam kako da Vam opišem svoje iskreno zadovoljstvo i svih članova hora kad su primili tu vijest o turneji kroz Bugarsku.

Obraćam se na Vas molbom da bi mi javili slijedeće radi uputstva:

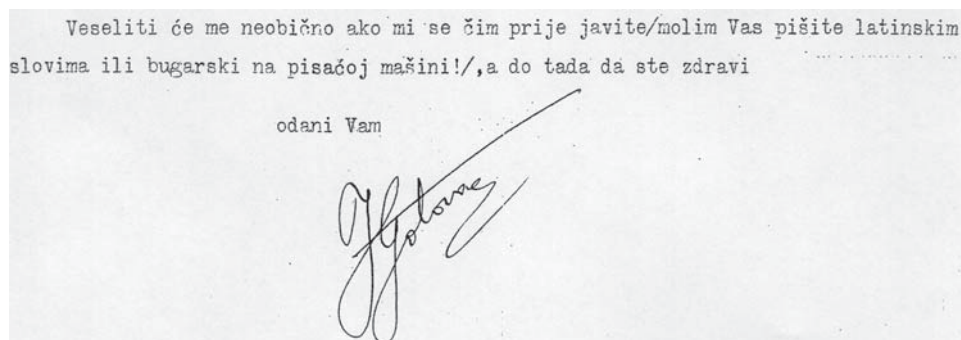
- 1./ Postoji li savez bugarskih pjevačkih društava i koja je adresa?
- 2./ Na koga da se za priredbu koncerata obratimo u Sofiji, i koja su pjevačka društva u Sofiji?
- 3./ Koja glavnija mjesta Bugarske nam preporučate da posjetimo, i koji pravac puta da uzmemo?
- 4./ Da li u glavnijim mjestima, gdje bi priredili koncerte, postoji vojna muzika i bili mogli reflektirati na 6 muzičara za pratnju moje kompozicije "KOLEDA" t. j. 1 Es-klarinet, 2 B-klarinet, 2 fagota, 1 timpani?

To bi bile moje prve molbe za uputstvo koje bi trebao, a biti ću i buduće tako slobodan da Vas više puta umolim za koju informaciju. Neke naše novine već su donijele vijesti i razgovor sa mnom o ovoj našoj koncertnoj turneji, pak bi Vas već sada molio da nešto napišete o ovome za koju novinu u Sofiji.

Za Vašu muziku u školi šaljem Vam moj marš "Naš Jadrán", a prvom prilikom ću Vam poslati Kolo-poskočnicu iz opere "MORANA", aranžiranu za Blech-muziku.

Na programu naše turneje staviti ću i neke bugarske kompozicije od onih koje ste mi poslali.

./.



* »*Mister Dimitrov*« is obviously Gaidarov's friend who visited Jakov Gotovac in Zagreb and recounted the meeting to him in a letter of 24. 11. 1933.

** About the tour of the *Mladost-Balkan* Choir in Bulgaria, planned for April, 1934.

*** The compositions that Gotovac sent to Gaidarov were for the brass orchestra of the girls' high school. It was typical to have such brass bands in the Bulgarian schools in the years after the Liberation of the country from the Ottoman yoke. This practice still exists today, though it is not so popular.

3. A letter from Zagreb, 24. 11. 1933, by a sender signed »Mitko«.

* See Appendix I.3.

4. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 18. 01. 1934, Zagreb.

JAKOV Gotovac
Z A G R E B
.....
Narodno kazalište

ZAGREB, 18. januara 1934.

Dragi gosp. G. Gaidarov!

Hvala Vam na Vašim ljubaznim informacijama u Vašem zadnjem pismu. Ja sam upravni odbor J.A.K. "Mladost-Balkan" izvjestio o Vašim korisnim savjetima i dao im sve potrebite adrese za Sofiju koje ste mi Vi poslali.

Veoma mi je žao što Vam ne mogu ispuniti želju da bi Vam poslao jednu novu horsku kompoziciju za Vaš br. 15 muzičkog lista "Junošenski drugar". Ja sam sada toliko opterećen dnevnim radom da nemam ni jedne minute vremena za kompoziciju. A ukoliko ga nadjem moram da se bavim dovršivanjem svoje druge opere. Možda drugom prilikom.

Mnogo srdačnih pozdrava

Vaš
J. Gotovac

5. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 07. 06. 1934, Zagreb.

JAKOV GOTOVAC
 Z A G R E B
 Narodno kazalište

ZAGREB, 7 juna 1934.

Dragi Gosp. G a j d a r o v !

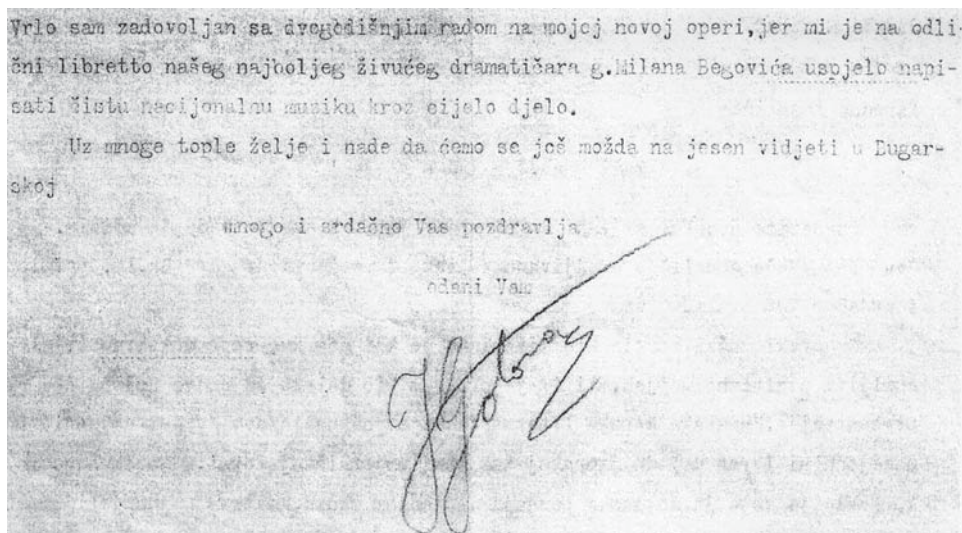
Oprostite što Vam se tako dugo ne javljam, pak evo to sada da učinim. -
 Dva broja Vašega odlično uređivanoga lista "Junošeski drugar" Br.15. primio sam
 i srdašno Vam hvala.

Bugarski muški hor iz Plovdiva imao je kod nas kao reproduktivno tijelo ne-
 sumljivi pozitivni uspjeh, ali im je program bio daleko od prave umjetničke ra-
 prezentacije. Bugarska horska literatura nije još našla svoj pravi umjetnički i
 nacionalni izraz u jednoj pravoj vokalnoj umjetničkoj formi. Od onih horskih
 kompozicija koje ja do danas poznajem, po mojem ukusu, smatram najuspješijom stvar
 muški hor "Garinata majka" od Dobri Hristova.

Turneja jugoslovenskog akademskog hora "Mladost-Balkan" kroz Bugarsku, ko-
 ju sam ja bio projektirao i spremao još pred 5-6 godina imala je u ovoj sezoni
 žalostni rezultat. - Intrigom nekih ljudi u južnoslavenskom savezu u Beogradu, a p
 gotovo intrigom glavnog sekretara saveza, neozbiljnog i neodgovornog "mladića" G.
 Milenka Živkovića, koji ^{na} devet naših oficijelnih dopisa nije uopće ni odgovarao, -
 morali smo, jer su nas druga društva prestigla, našu namjeravanu turneju odložiti
ti za drugu sezonu, u čvrstoj odluci da namjeravanu turneju kroz Bugarsku ipak
održimo. -

Međutim "Mladost-Balkan" odlazi, upravo danas, sa manjim jednim horom ponov-
 vno sa luksusnom ladjom S/S "Kraljica Marija" na turneju po Sredozemnom moru, i
 u Grčku i Tursku. Mjesto mene ovoga puta ide kao horovodja moj stariji kolega iz
 teatra g. Oskar Jozefović, jer sam ja ovih dana mnogo zaposlen u teatru spremanje
 nove jedne domaće opere, koju ću izvesti 16 o. maj. To je folkloristička opera iz
 života Medjumurja od našeg kompozitora g. Krste Čadeka *pod naslovom "Dorica plava"*. -

Inače je moj život potpunoma koncentrisan radom oko moje nove opere "Bro sa
 onoga" svijeta, koju sam nedavno napokon kompozitorski dovršio i sada počinjem s
 instrumentacijom. - Moja nova opera već je primljena za iduću sezonu u Brnu, Zagr-
 bu, Beogradu, a izgleda da će premijera biti najprije u Brnu, kao i kod "Morane".



* »The Bulgarian male choir from Plovdiv«, about the visit of which Jakov Gotovac wrote, is probably a singing group from Plovdiv Singing Society. No information about this visit can be found in A. Balareva's book. See: Agapija BALAREVA: *Horovoto iskustvo v B'lgaria ot sredata na XIX vek do 1944* (Choral Art in Bulgaria from the Middle of the XIX Century to 1944), B'lgarska academia na naukite, Sofia 1992, 214-216.

6. A letter from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 20. 11. 1935, Zagreb.

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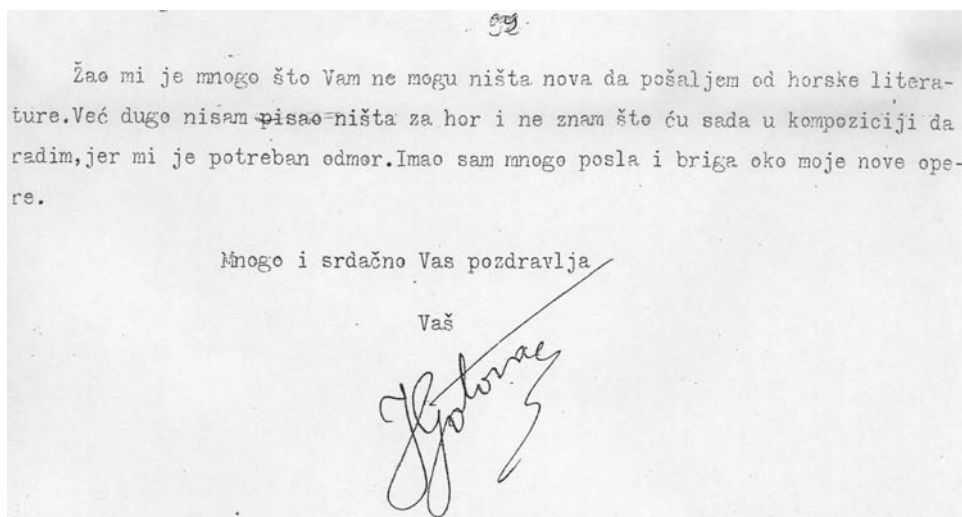
JAKOV GOTOVAC
Z A G R E B
Narodno kazalište

ZAGREB, 20 novembra 1935.

Dragi gosp. Gajdarov,

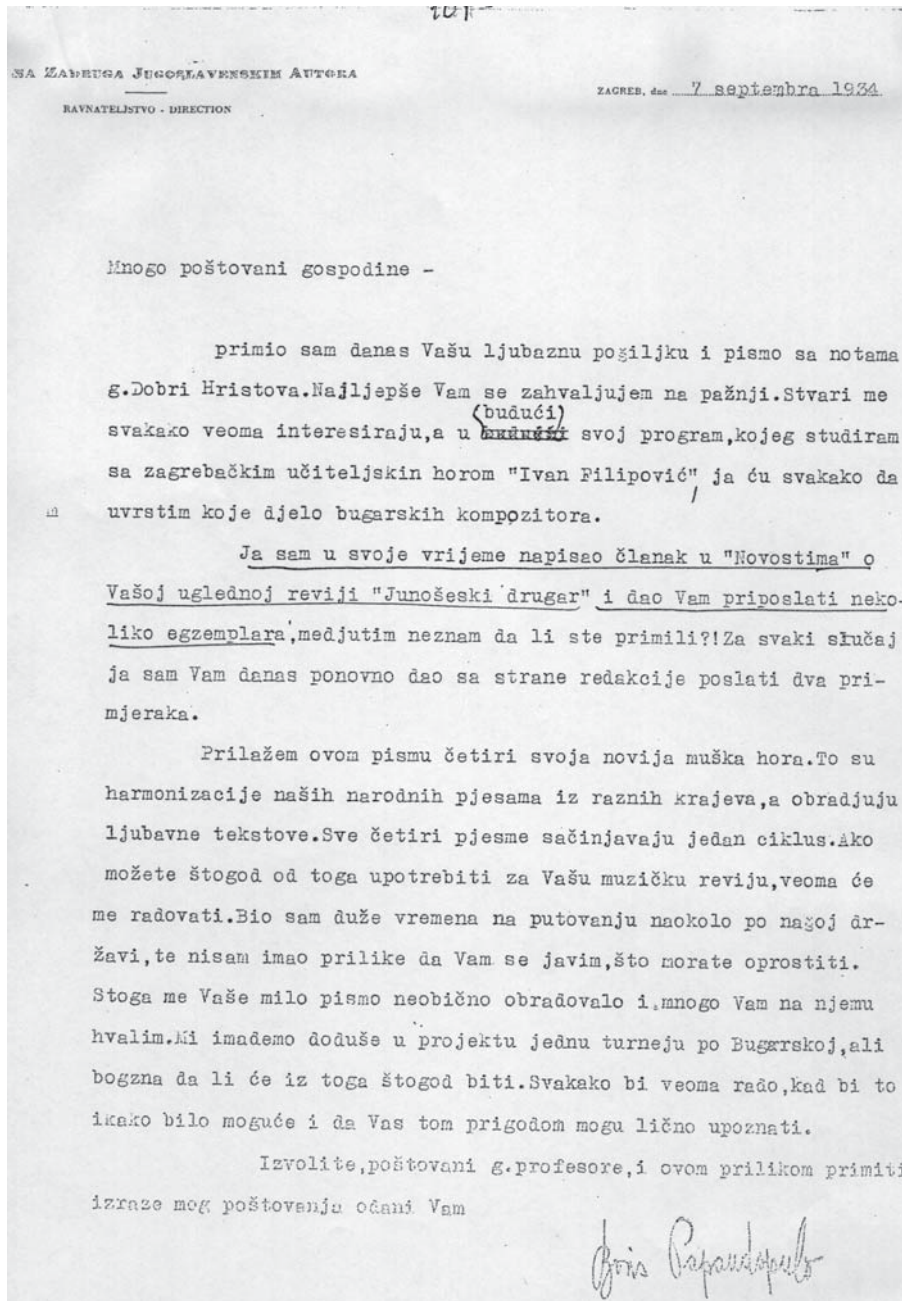
srdačna Vam hvala na sjećanju i evo Vam odmah odgovaram na Vaše pismo. Neobično me veseli da je sofijski hor "RODINA" bio zadovoljan sa prijemom u Zagrebu, ⁵ ako zagrebačka muzička publika ne veli mnogo horsku muziku, mogu Vam zajamčiti da nijedan sezonski horski koncert nije imao već dugo i dugo vremena toliki posjet kao "Rodina". Nema sumnje da je tome doprinijele i političke simpatiziranje Hrvata prema Bugarima. - Pjevački hor "Rodine" je, bez ikakvih komplimenata, prvorazredno umjetnički reproduktivno tijelo u stilu i tehnici ruskih horova, i zagrebačka muzička kritika i publika je potpuno bila zadovoljna sa koncertiranjem "Rodine". Drugo je pitanje literatura, koju je "Rodina" pjevala! - Kompozicije bugarskih kompozitora nemaju onaj umjetnički stupanj, kojeg bi trebale imati da mogu zastupati bugarsku muziku jednim evropskim mjericom. Nadam se i uvjeren sam da će najmlađija generacija bugarskih kompozitora i to stvoriti! -

Moja nova opera "ERO S ONOGA SVIJETA", komična opera u tri čina na tekst našeg odličnog dramatičara Milana Begovića, doživila je svoju prvu izvedbu 2. novembra u zagrebačkoj operi. Uspjeh je ^{bio} velik i jednodušan kod ukupne muzičke krige bez razlike i kod oduševljene publike. Glavnu partiju pjeva naš najbolji jugoslovenski dramatski tenor g. Marie Šimenc. Ovu će moju operu prenašati iz Zagreba radiofonskim putem u utorak, dne 26 novembra o.g. sve jugoslovenske i sve čehoslovačke radio-stanice/Praha e.t.c./. Početak je prenosa po srednje-evropskom vremenu u 20 sati. - Ja bih Vam bio neobično i mnogo zahvalan, ako bi dali u sofijskim ^(narodnim) novinama odmah vijest o ovom prenesu i tako upozorili bugarske muzičare i radio-slušaoce na ovaj prenos moje opere. Držim da Prahu čujete u Bugarskoj dobro.



* The founder and conductor of the Sofia *Rodina* Choir was **Asen Najdenov** (1899-1995) until the year 1937. He studied composition and theory with Josef Marx in Vienna and later on, as a student at Leipzig Conservatory, he started studying conducting, too. In the year 1930 he specialized at the Salzburg Mozarteum in the conductor's course of Bernard Paumgartner, Bruno Walter and Klemens Kraus. At that time, he was appointed conductor of the Sofia Opera. In the year 1940, he conducted the performance of Gotovac's opera *Eros onoga svijeta*.

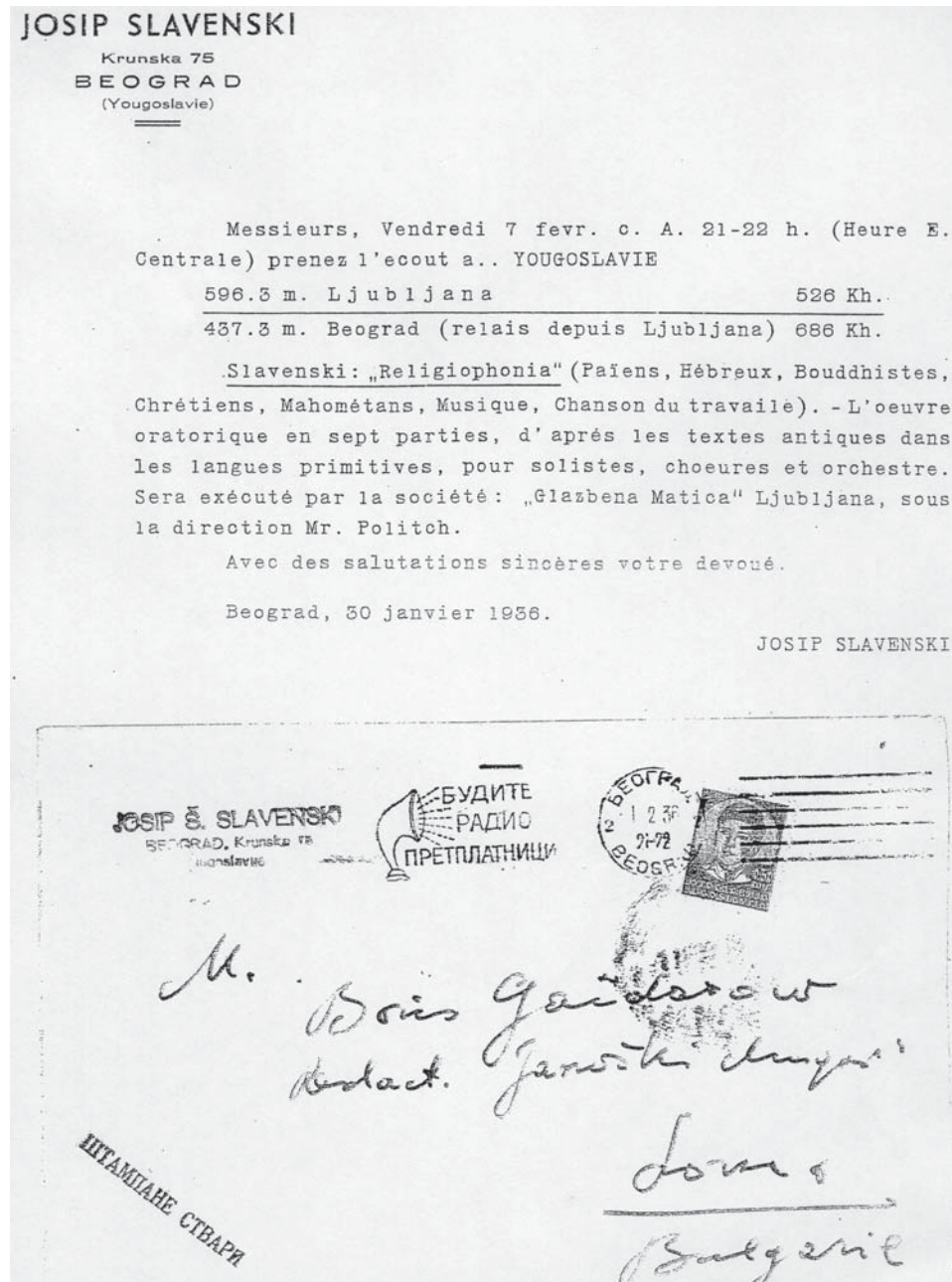
7. A letter from Boris Papandopulo to Boris Gaidarov of 07. 09. 1934, Zagreb.



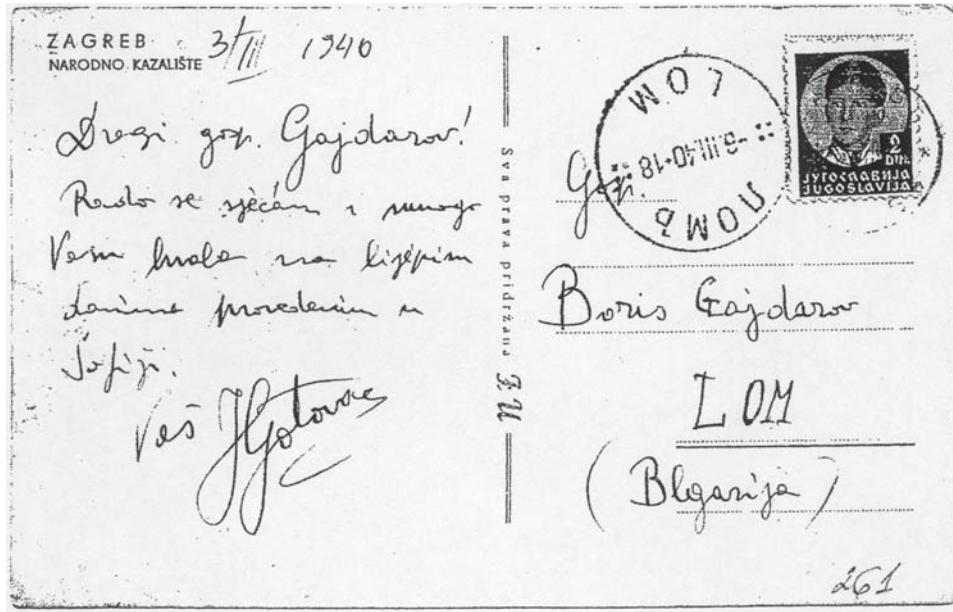
* The fourth song from the cycle *Ljubavne pjesme* (Love songs), op. 46 by Boris Papandopulo was published in *Junoški drugar* in the year 1935. See Appendix III.16.

** So far, no information has been found in the Bulgarian music publications and in music-scholarly research about a tour of the Zagreb Teacher's choir *Ivan Filipović* to Bulgaria. Boris Papandopulo visited Sofia in the year 1937 as a participant in the concert of Croatian composers. See: *Iz glazbenog svijeta, Veliki uspjeh hrvatskih kompozitora i muzičara na festivalu u Bugarskoj*, in: *Ćirilometodski vjesnik*, 5 (1937) 10, 98-99.

8. A letter from Josip Slavenski to Boris Gaidarov of 30. 01. 1936, Belgrade.



9. A postcard from Jakov Gotovac to Boris Gaidarov of 03. 03. 1940, Zagreb.



Sažetak

NEPOZNATA PISMA JAKOVA GOTOVCA, BORISA PAPANDOPULA I JOSIPA
ŠTOLCERA SLAVENSKOG U ARHIVU BORISA GAJDAROVA

(IZ POVIJESTI BUGARSKO-HRVATSKIH GLAZBENIH VEZA OD 20-IH
DO 40-IH GODINA 20. STOLJEĆA)

Ovaj je članak zasnovan na djelomično sačuvanoj korespondenciji bugarskog urednika i učitelja glazbe Borisa Gajdarova s hrvatskim skladateljima Jakovom Gotovcem, Borisom Papandopulom i Josipom Slavenskim, te se njime pokušavaju rekonstruirati njihovi dugovječni profesionalni kontakti. U žarištu ove kreativne razmjene bila je glazbena periodička edicija *Junošeski drugar*, što ga je Gajdarov objavljivao u razdoblju 1926.-1948., a koji je sadržavao i skladbe onodobnih hrvatskih skladatelja. Znatan dio tih djela našao je svoje mjesto na repertoarima bugarskih zborskih društava u razdoblju od 20-ih do 40-ih godina 20. stoljeća.

Predstavljene su i druge inicijative B. Gajdarova, kojima je nastojao uspostaviti bliže kontakte među glazbenicima dviju zemalja. Među njima najdinamičniji i najbliži oblik glazbene komunikacije s publikom bila je potpora razmjeni koncerata pjevačkih društava. Zahvaljujući naporima profesionalnih glazbenih udruženja i pojedinih glazbenika, poput Gotovca, Papandopula i dr., otvorile su se mogućnosti međusobnog upoznavanja glazbenih djela bugarskih i hrvatskih skladatelja. Vrhunac ovih nastojanja bila je izvedba Gotovčeve opere *Ero s onoga svijeta* u Sofiji 1940. godine.

Izdavačka djelatnost Borisa Gajdarova tek je dio širokog spektra kreativnih kontakata između bugarskih i hrvatskih glazbenika, koji pokazuju da takve inicijative mogu poteći iz malih sredina, kakva je bila Lom na Dunavu, gdje je Gajdarov djelovao cijelog života, te da mogu ostaviti traga u povijesti glazbeno-kulturnih odnosa.

