

Kosta P. Manojlović



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KOSTA P. MANOJLOVIĆ (1890–1949) AND THE IDEA OF
SLAVIC AND BALKAN CULTURAL UNIFICATION

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edited by
Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić, Aleksandar Vasić



Institute of Musicology SASA



This collective monograph has been published owing to the financial support of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia

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Belgrade, 2017

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List of Abbreviations

ASCU All-Slav Choral Union
AY Archives of Yugoslavia
CCU Croatian Choral Union
CSA Croatian State Archives
FBCS First Belgrade Choral Society
HAB Historical Archives of Belgrade
HTML Historical Museum of the town of Lom
IMRO Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization
[Kingdom of] SCS Serbs, Croats, Slovenes
SABAS Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
SAM State Archives – Montana
SASA Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
SSCU South-Slav Choral Union

PREFACE

This collective monograph, titled *Kosta P. Manojlović and the Idea of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Unification (1918–1941)*, is the result of research by fourteen scholars from Russia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Portugal, Great Britain, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia, which were partly presented at an international conference organized by the Muzikološki institut SANU [Institute of Musicology SASA] in November 2016.

Kosta P. Manojlović (1890–1946) is one of the most important Serbian musicians and musical intellectuals of the interwar period. His musical activities were diverse and fruitful. As a composer, he was a proponent of the “national style”, which was primarily reflected in choral music. In this domain he left pieces of lasting value, such as *Sever duva* [*The North Wind blows*] for the mixed choir. His melographic and ethnomusicological work dedicated to Serbian musical folklore is of great significance. He was a pioneer of Serbian musical historiography and a prolific critic who collaborated with numerous journals and dailies from Yugoslavia and abroad.

Kosta Manojlović was also a long-standing Choirmaster of the Beogradsko pevačko društvo [Belgrade Choral Society] and the Pevačko društvo “Mokranjac” [Mokranjac Choral Society]. An important part of his activities was devoted to the administration of musical organizations and institutions. For instance, Manojlović was one of the founders and the Secretary-General of the Južnoslovenski pevački savez [South-Slav Choral Union]. Among his most important achievements in this respect was the opening of the Muzička akademija [Music Academy] in Belgrade in 1937, where he served as the first Chancellor.

Research on Kosta Manojlović is scant. In 1990, the Faculty of Music in Belgrade published an anthology titled *U spomen Koste P. Manojlovića, kompozitora i etnomuzikologa* [*Kosta P. Manojlović, composer and ethnomusicologist. In memoriam*], comprised mostly of students’ papers dedicated to the investigation of his various activities. Insights on Manojlović’s contributions can be found in a number of studies by Serbian musicologists and

ethnomusicologists, but a detailed monograph devoted to his life and works has not yet been published, nor has a complete bibliography of his writings. For that reason, scholars from the Institute of Musicology SASA in Belgrade resolved to organize an international conference and to prepare a collective monograph focusing on Manojlović's diverse accomplishments.

Traces of dominant and less influential ideological and political currents of the first half of the 20th century can be observed in Manojlović's work. As such, the editors decided to bring to light the historical and cultural settings in which Manojlović acted, and more thoroughly examine his numerous activities.

This volume is divided into five parts, an introductory section and four thematic units. The introduction comprises one study: Ivana Vesić (Belgrade) and Vesna Peno (Belgrade) have given an overview of Kosta Manojlović's social "networking" and ideological horizons in Yugoslav public and musical spheres from 1919 to 1949, focusing on less well-known facts from his life and the biographies of his fellow composers and musical intellectuals.

The first thematic part, titled *Balkan and Slavic peoples in the first half of the 20th century: Intercultural contacts*, contains three studies. Olga Pashina (Moscow) explores cultural relations between Slavic peoples on the example of the concert tours of Ivan T. Ryabinin, a famous Russian story teller, to Serbia and Bulgaria in 1902. Stefanka Georgieva (Stara Zagora) analyzes the presence of the idea of Slavic cultural unification in Bulgarian musical culture of the interwar period, concentrating on collaborations of various kinds between Yugoslav and Bulgarian musicians, including Kosta P. Manojlović. Ivan Ristić (Kruševac) examines Manojlović's work on Yugoslav-Bulgarian cultural *rapprochement*, taking into consideration the political and cultural relations between the two countries during the 1920s.

The second part, made up of four studies, is titled *The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia between ideology and reality*. As Secretary-General of the South-Slav Choral Union [SSCS] (1924–1932), Kosta Manojlović was faced with the complex issue of creating an internal institutional arrangement of this national organization. Strong disagreements over the Union's structure and authority indicate the marked polarization of views on the national question in the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia. Biljana Milanović (Belgrade) discusses Manojlović's contribution to the foundation and policies of the SSCS, while Nada Bezić (Zagreb) focuses on relations between the Hrvatski pjevački savez [Croatian Choral Union] and the SSCS from 1924 to 1934. Srđan Atanasovski (Belgrade) investigates Kosta Manojlović's research into musical folklore from the perspective of interwar narratives on "Southern Serbia". Ivana Vesić (Belgrade) centers on Manojlović's collaboration with the Balkanski institut [Institute for Balkan Studies] (1934–1941), taking into account his views on the unification of Balkan and Slavic peoples.

The third part, titled *Kosta P. Manojlović and church music*, contains three papers. Vesna Peno (Belgrade) examines Manojlović's role in the construction of theory of Belgrade church chant. Bogdan Đaković (Novi Sad) brings this composer's ecclesiastical choral music into focus, along with his compositional procedures and style. Ivan Moody (Lisbon) considers the approach of Serbian and Bulgarian composers of church music to problems of tradition and modernity in the early 20th century.

Finally, the fourth part is comprised of papers that deal with *Kosta P. Manojlović as choirmaster, critic and pedagogue*. Verica Grmuša (London) explores Manojlović's various activities during his studies of music at Oxford University from 1917 to 1919. Predrag Đoković (Sarajevo) discusses Manojlović's performance and analysis of early music in the interwar years. Aleksandar Vasić (Belgrade) explores Manojlović's achievements in musical criticism, concentrating on his writings published between the two wars in Belgrade's music journals. The final years of Manojlović's life, including his position in newly founded communist Yugoslavia, are surveyed by Ivana Medić (Belgrade).

This monograph is the result of interdisciplinary and multifocal research into Kosta Manojlović's life and works. We hope it will stimulate further investigation into the invaluable contributions of this Serbian composer and intellectual to music production, education and research.

Dr. Vesna Peno

Dr. Ivana Vesić

Dr. Aleksandar Vasić

Belgrade, December 2017

INTRODUCTION

Kosta P. Manojlović: A Portrait of the Artist and Intellectual in Turbulent Times*

IVANA VESIĆ AND VESNA PENO

Although Kosta P. Manojlović was one of the most influential figures in interwar Yugoslav musical life, his numerous efforts initiated at the time and later, during World War II and the first years of the communist Yugoslavia, have not been in the focus of music historians until recently. Apart from attempts at reconstructing his biography and various activities in the local and national public, cultural, and music spheres at a rudimentary level, an in-depth analysis of his general endeavors and views, which were reflected and reinforced in his different undertakings, was mostly lacking. Moreover, a significant portion of Manojlović's work in the national (Yugoslav) and international arenas was left unexamined.

A shift in research into Manojlović's "life and works" first came about with the investigation of musicologist Katarina Tomašević, completed in 2004 and published several years later (see TOMAŠEVIĆ 2009). Owing to Tomašević's study, Manojlović was observed from a broader perspective, with an emphasis on the interplay of local, national, and international esthetical currents in the domain of musical production. This work was followed by a series of explorations by researchers from the Muzikološki institut SANU [Institute of Musicology SASA] in Belgrade, which multiplied and expanded perspectives of both Manojlović's heritage and the legacy of his predecessors, fellow composers, and intellectuals. A major contribution in this respect was made by the systematization, analysis, and digitization of Manojlović's collection at the Etnografski muzej [Ethnographic Museum] in Belgrade, assigned to the Muzikološki institut [Institute of Musicology] in Belgrade in 1964.¹ This collection includes various types of

* This paper is part of research done on the project *Serbian Musical Identities Within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (No. 177004), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

1 A plea for the transfer of this collection, together with the collection of documents of ethnochoreologist Ljubica Janković, from the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade to the Institute of Musicology was sent to executives of the Museum in 1963 (registry no. 309/63). After some time, on April 30th, 1964

documents and wax plate recordings that Manojlović made on numerous field trips, the result of more than a decade of his efforts to classify melographic materials from primary and secondary sources. The cultural and scientific value of this collection became apparent after the completion of a number of projects dedicated to its examination, cataloging, and preservation. One of these initiatives, conducted by Dr. Danka Lajić Mihalović in 2015, was focused on the digitization of catalog cards created by Manojlović during his collaboration with the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade in the 1920s and 1930s.² The other, led by Dr. Rastko Jakovljević in 2013 and 2015–2016, aimed to ensure the preservation of wax plate recordings by converting them to digital sound format.³ The digitization project has entered its final phase,⁴ and the sound material now available to researchers, together with other documents from Manojlović's collection, provides valuable insight into an important part of the interwar

the Museum's Director, Vladimir Živančević, with the support of Museum's Council answered favorably reminding the Institute's administration of that they also required to obtain permission from the Skupština grada Beograda [Assembly of the City of Belgrade]. Finally, on November 18th, 1964, an agreement was signed by the Director of the Institute, Stana Đurić Klajn, and the Acting Director of the Museum, Persida Tomić. According to the agreement, the ethnomusicological and ethnochoreological collections (those of Manojlović and Janković) from the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade were given to the Institute of Musicology free of charge under the following conditions: 1. they were to remain available to the Museum whenever needed (Art. 3); and 2. the Institute of Musicology was to transfer the recordings of musical folklore from wax plates to sound tapes procured by Museum within one year (Art. 4). According to an inventory made by Milica Ilijin of the Institute and Gordana Jovanović of the Museum's before the agreement was signed, there were 144 complete and 15 broken wax plates in the collection, along with many boxes of other valuable material. See Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA, Institute of Musicology's Collection, Reports, Plans and Programs, 1948–1965, box 3.

- 2 The project titled *Zaštita rukopisne zbirke narodnih melodija Koste P. Manojlovića* [Preservation of Kosta P. Manojlović's collection of folk melodies] was completed in 2015 at the Institute of Musicology SASA with the support of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia and the City of Belgrade's Seretariat for Culture. It included the analysis, digitization, and inventorying of 1,210 catalog cards containing folk melodies written down by Kosta P. Manojlović.
- 3 The wax plate digitization project was carried out in several phases. The first phase, completed in 2013, involved the transfer of recordings from previously validated wax plates to a digital format through the use of special software. This was done in cooperation with engineer and sound digitization specialist Franz Lechleitner, a consultant of the Phonogrammarchiv [Sound Archive] of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften [Austrian Academy of Sciences] in Vienna. See Dumnić & Jakovljević 2014: 20–21. The second phase lasted from 2015 until 2016, and entailed the same process as the preceding phase, complemented by the conservation of damaged plates and the cataloguing of the whole collection.
- 4 In 2017, the Institute of Musicology SASA continued its cooperation with the Austrian Academy of Sciences in digitizing and preserving the wax plates. As a result, a CD with digitized wax plate recordings, accompanied by a booklet of essays by experts in the field, is planned to be prepared for publication in 2018 under the supervision of Dr. Marija Dumnić (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade) and Dr. Gerda Lechleitner (Sound Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna) as Editors-in-Chief.

Yugoslav “music ethnography”. Another particularly significant project is the digitization of Manojlović’s collection of field recordings of traditional urban folk songs from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Belgrade created between 1939 and 1941, kept at the Fakultet muzičke umetnosti [Faculty of Music] in Belgrade. This effort was headed by Dr. Sanja Radinović, Associate Professor of Ethnomusicology at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, in collaboration with Milan Milovanović, an expert in sound archiving and conservation.⁵

Manojlović’s collections have thus become more accessible to researchers as technological barriers have been removed, metadata produced, and records systematized. Together with recent findings presented in studies on music in the Kingdom of Serbia and Yugoslavia, this has stimulated new interpretations of Manojlović’s multiple activities in the various social fields of Yugoslavia between the wars and after WWII, as well as investigation of primary sources not taken into consideration in previous research.

In this paper, we will outline Kosta P. Manojlović’s position in the public and music spheres of the interwar period, focusing on some of his many undertakings. To do so, we based our investigations on recent studies dealing with Serbian music from the late 19th century until the end of World War II, along with the data found in the collection of documents of the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from the Arhiv Jugoslavije [Archives of Yugoslavia] and the collection of Petar Krstić and Kosta P. Manojlović kept at the Institute of Musicology SASA. Since Manojlović’s compositional principles and procedures have been thoroughly discussed in published literature (see TOMAŠEVIĆ 2009), we will here concentrate primarily on his public and cultural activities, along with his historiographical and ethnographical research. We will depict the broader context of his work, outlining the intellectual circles he was part of, as well as their ideological grounding and position in the public and political fields of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia.

From wartime émigré to the leading figure of musical life in the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia

Before the outbreak of the Great War, Kosta Manojlović was primarily dedicated to his studies of Orthodox theology and music at the Bogoslovija Svetog Save [St. Sava Seminary] and the Srpska muzička škola [Serbian Music School] in Belgrade. With the Balkan Wars gripping the region, Manojlović was sent to Moscow and then to Munich (1912–1914), there to attend specialized studies.

5 The results of this project were presented in detail at the international conference held in Belgrade on November 28th–29th, 2016. See RADINOVIĆ & MILOVANOVIĆ 2016.

According to some sources, his education abroad was funded by the Srpska pravoslavna crkva [Serbian Orthodox Church] and its Sveti arhijerejski sabor [Holy Synod of Bishops] (see ANONYMOUS 1940: 2). Three years later, he joined a large group of theological students, including Irinej Đorđević, Justin Popović, Pavle Jevtić, Jelisije Andrić, Miloje Milošević, Svetislav Nikić, and Dragić Pešić, who settled in Oxford as wartime émigrés with the help of both British and Serbian voluntary church organizations.⁶ Instead of studying theology Manojlović, decided to pursue a degree in music, which he obtained in 1919 after two years of studies at Oxford University's New College.

Soon after returning to Belgrade, in 1919, Manojlović became a member of various artistic and intellectual circles, gradually gaining prestigious status in Yugoslav musical and cultural life. Later that year, he joined the Grupa umetnika [Group of artists] (1919–1920), together with his former professor and close friend Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), a composer, musical critic, and music scholar as well as numerous poets, writers, literary critics, painters, and sculptors who came to live in Belgrade (cf. VEŠIĆ 2016: 123–124).⁷ Although this informal association, aiming at presenting modernist strivings from diverse artistic disciplines to the Yugoslav public, was short-lived, many of its adherents continued to collaborate in other organizations, institutions, or collective undertakings. For instance, Milojević and Manojlović, together with composer and conductor Stevan Hristić, led the Belgrade branch of the Udruženje jugoslovenskih muzičara [Association of Yugoslav Musicians] (1920–1924),⁸ while Hristić and Manojlović played a prominent role in the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra, founded in 1923.⁹

6 According to ZEC (ed.) 2016: 178.

7 Apart from Milojević and Manojlović, musicians who were part of this association included the composer and conductor Stevan Hristić (1885–1958), and the soprano Ivanka Milojević (1881–1975) (Miloje Milojević's wife).

8 Milojević was the president of the branch, Hristić its vice-president, and Manojlović served as its secretary. See Arhiv Jugoslavije [Archives of Yugoslavia, "AY"], Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY-F66-620-1030, Letter to the Ministry of Education, no. 1, May 20th, 1920, Belgrade.

9 Hristić was a long-standing conductor of the Philharmonic orchestra (1923–1934), whereas Manojlović took part in its administration as secretary (1923–1924). It seems that Hristić's and Manojlović's collaboration went awry shortly after the orchestra was founded. Misunderstandings between members who came from Belgrade's Narodno pozorište [National Theater] and professors of the Music School that appeared in late 1923 culminated in May 1924, when Manojlović was dismissed from his position, while the professors decided to leave the orchestra. Among other things, Manojlović and his colleagues from the Music School saw Hristić's boundless ambition and modest talents as potentially pernicious to the development of the Philharmonic Orchestra. See Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA, Kosta P. Manojlović's Collection, "The truth about the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra. A response to the Orchestra's management" ["Istina o Beogradskoj filharmoniji. Odgovori upravi B. filharmonije"] (typewritten copy), signed by Kosta Manojlović, Jovan Zorko, Jovan Ružička and Vladimir Slatin, December 26th, 1924, in Belgrade.

The similarities between Milojević's and Manojlović's efforts and their mutual affinity were brought to light on many occasions in the 1920s and 1930s. Firstly, Milojević and Manojlović, together with several other devoted students and disciples of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, organized a series of concerts and public lectures dedicated to the promotion of his works and legacy¹⁰ that preceded the ambitiously planned transfer of Mokranjac's remains from Skopje to Belgrade (September 26th–28th) and celebration of Mokranjac Day (September 28th–29th, 1923).¹¹ Secondly, in 1928 they founded the journal *Muzika* [Music], which played a significant part in the propagation of their views on the development of Yugoslav music and its relations to Slavic and Western European musical traditions.¹² Thirdly, both Manojlović and Milojević collaborated with the group of intellectuals gathered around the journal *Nova smena* [New generation] (1938–1939).¹³

It is obvious that Manojlović's high reputation on the musical scene was won with the strong support of Miloje Milojević, especially in the years following his return from Oxford.¹⁴ According to circumstantial evidence, Milojević might

10 The cycle of concerts titled *U spomen Stevanu Mokranjcu (1855–1914)* [In the memory of Stevan Mokranjac (1855–1914)] was prepared by Manojlović, Milojević, Hristić, and Petar Krstić and was planned to take place during late 1922 and early 1923. Each concert was to begin with an opening address, in which Mokranjac's four students and disciples were to present his varied activities and achievements. Manojlović was tasked with outlining Mokranjac's accomplishments in sacred music at the third concert. See *ČETIRI VELIKA KONCERTA 1922*.

11 Mokranjac Day represented the final and most important part of transfer of Mokranjac's remains from Skopje to Belgrade, carefully planned by a specially formed, and state-supported, Odbor za prenos posmrtnih ostataka Stevana St. Mokranjca [Committee for Transferring of the remains of Stevan St. Mokranjac]. The Committee was chaired by distinguished playwright and high-ranking civil servant, Branislav Nušić, while Kosta Manojlović served as one of its members. For this occasion, Manojlović was charged with preparing a book dedicated to Mokranjac, published as *Spomenica Stevanu St. Mokranjcu* [Memorial book to Stevan St. Mokranjac] (Beograd: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1923). Besides a procession to the Saborna crkva Svetog Arhangela Mihaila [Cathedral Church of St. Michael the Archangel] and dedication talks by members of the political, cultural, and ecclesiastical elite, a number of concerts of choral ensembles from all over the Kingdom of SCS were organized as part of this manifestation. See ANONYMOUS 1923: 5; MILANOVIĆ 2017.

12 This will be discussed in detail in the following sub-chapter. On the ideas propagated in the journal, see VASIĆ 2012, 2014.

13 It is important to emphasize that Milojević and Manojlović's close long-term relationship deteriorated around 1939 following Manojlović's dismissal from the position of Chancellor of the Muzička akademija [Music Academy] in Belgrade. This is corroborated by Manojlović's testimonies as preserved in his essay "Muzička akademija" ["Music Academy"] (pp. 22–26), presumably a part of his autobiography, *Prilozi za moju biografiju* [Materials for my Biography], written in 1948. An incomplete copy of the original manuscript, part of a private family collection, is kept at the Institute of Musicology SASA without signature.

14 There are many indications of Milojević's benevolent approach to Manojlović following the latter's return to Belgrade. One of the occasions described in preserved written accounts of Petar Krstić clearly confirms this. In his critical writings on Milojević ("Skandali Miloja Milojevića" ["Scandals of Miloje

have played a crucial role in Manojlović's involvement with some academic circles, particularly the group gathered around the Etnografski muzej [Ethnographic Museum] in Belgrade and its curator and director Borivoje Drobňaković (1890–1961). Actually, Manojlović began working at the Museum as a volunteer curator and head of the Folklorni odsek [Department for Folklore] several years after Milojević wrote to the Ministry of Education asking to be engaged on research into musical folklore at the Ethnographic Museum.¹⁵ After several months of disputes with the head of the Treća beogradska gimnazija [Third Belgrade High School], Milojević was finally placed at the Museum with the support of the Ministry of Education's Umetničko odeljenje [Arts Department].¹⁶ Since Kosta Manojlović's appointment came at the time that Milojević enrolled in post-graduate studies of music history in Czechoslovakia (1924–1925) it is possible that Milojević recommended his former student and friend to the Arts Department, or that he advised Manojlović to contact them. Whether or not Milojević was involved in Manojlović's hiring, this clearly had a great impact on Manojlović's rising position in the academic field in interwar Yugoslavia, contributing to his status of one of the pre-eminent melographers and music ethnographers at the time. Although the Museum lacked the funds to employ its own music expert, since the early 1920s its executives supported research into musical folklore by procuring all the necessary equipment and finances.¹⁷ By drawing on the Museum's funds and its technical and human resources, Manojlović was able to conduct field research and systematically collect, classify, and analyze musical folklore. As an affiliate of this institution, Manojlović could

Milojević"] (1921), Krstić claimed that Manojlović started working at the Music School in Belgrade in 1919 with the help of his friend (Milojević), even though he had not been assigned the appropriate number of classes. When Krstić complained of this to Milojević, he responded that Krstić's worries came only from the fear of being dismissed from the position of head of the school. This fragment shows the respect and trust that Milojević had for his former student. See Archive of Institute of Musicology SASA, Petar Krstić's Personal Collection.

- 15 Milojević wrote to the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of SCS on March 24th, 1920, complaining that, despite his musical education and experience, his standing among his fellow-composers and experts was low. As an example, he mentioned his younger colleagues Petar Konjović and Stevan Hristić, who both earned more than he did, and held more prestigious positions. So as to be given an opportunity to contribute to the improvement of Yugoslav musical culture "with the same enthusiasm as before", Milojević pleaded for a promotion to a symbolically and financially more rewarding post. He proposed to be positioned at the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade since "all over the world" museums such as this "have special departments for music" whose duty it is to "collect, classify, investigate and publish folk melodies and dances as a source for musical nationalism." See AY, Ministry of Education, AY-F66-643-1067.
- 16 See AY, Ministry of Education, AY-F66-643-1067, A letter to the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, no. 611, March 18th, 1922, in Belgrade; Letter to the Department for Secondary Level of Education, no. 2404, October 9th, 1922.
- 17 See AY, Ministry of Education, AY-F66-643-1067, Letter to the Ministry of Education's Arts Department, no. 253, August 14th, 1925, Belgrade.

also collaborate with other experts in the field from the Kingdom of SCS/ Yugoslavia. For instance, a joint investigation was planned in 1924 with Milovan Gavazzi from Zagreb's Ethnographic Museum. At first the Arts Department appointed Vladimir R. Đorđević to represent the Belgrade Museum,¹⁸ but subsequently replaced him with Kosta Manojlović.¹⁹ The expedition was to take place in South Serbia with a phonograph owned by the Zagreb Museum. According to available sources, this field trip was postponed for several reasons: 1) there were insufficient wax plates, 2) a malaria epidemic struck region; 3) there was ample seasonal work in rural areas; 4) it was also planned to include Ludvík Kuba, a Czech artist and also a passionate melographer.²⁰

Although Manojlović missed out on this opportunity to use modern recording apparatus in his investigations in the early 1920s, due to the intercession of Borivoje Drobňaković, the Director of Belgrade's Museum, the circumstances changed starting in 1930. From this year onwards, he was able to use a phonograph in his research, just one of the many perks of his position at the Museum. In addition, Manojlović had the opportunity to publish the results of his research in the Museum's scholarly journal founded in 1926,²¹ in the company of influential ethnologists, ethnographers, anthropologists, and anthropogeographers from Yugoslavia and abroad (see VESIĆ 2016: 134–135).

Choral performance and the organization of choral societies at the national level was yet another important segment of Manojlović's work, one that enabled him to mediate the ideas and programs he keenly supported, as well as to collaborate with diverse intellectual groups from Slavic countries, especially Bulgaria. Besides taking the place of Choirmaster of the Beogradsko pevačko društvo [Belgrade Choral Society] (1920–1931),²² he had an influential position in the national choral society known as the Južnoslovenski pevački savez [South-Slav Choral Union]. As Secretary-General of the Union and chief conductor of Belgrade's oldest and most renowned choir, Manojlović was not only able to put into effect the cultural and musical policies he and his like-minded associates found stimulating for the development of musical life in Yugoslavia and the Slavic and South Slavic "world", but also to get in touch with numerous Slavic musicians and musical experts, especially from Bulgaria. He was among a minority of

18 See AY, Ministry of Education, AY-F66-625-1033, Letter from the General Department, no. 4253, May 14th, 1924, Belgrade.

19 See AY, Ministry of Education, AY-F66-625-1033, Letter to the Arts Department, no. 4975, June 2nd, 1924, Belgrade.

20 See AY, Ministry of Education, AY-F66-643-1072, Letter to the Arts Department, no. 70, June 27th, 1924, Zagreb.

21 *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja* [Bulletin of the Ethnographic Museum].

22 Renamed as the Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo [First Belgrade Choral Society] in 1923.

Yugoslav intellectuals who publicly expressed the need for cultural cooperation with the Bulgarians as early as 1926, and who made efforts to put this strategy into practice.²³ In that year, Manojlović and Dobri Hristov, a renowned Bulgarian composer of the period, worked together on a concert of the First Belgrade Choral Society in Bulgaria at the Hram-pametnik “Sveti Aleksandar Nevski” [St. Alexander Nevsky Cathedral] (Sofia). As a result of the complicated political relations between the two countries, and the unwillingness of Yugoslav officials to risk harsh criticism and protests from conservative circles, the concert was cancelled but Manojlović did not completely abandon this idea. Some years later he successfully took his choir to perform in Sofia and, at the same time, helped the organization of tours by Bulgarian artists, musicians, and ensembles to Yugoslavia and vice versa. More systematic work in this domain started with the foundation of the Jugoslovensko-bugarska liga [Yugoslav-Bulgarian League] (1933–1941), where Manojlović joined the Executive Board and was tasked with cultural exchange between two countries.²⁴ Engagement in the League gave Manojlović a chance to approach Yugoslav-Bulgarian cultural collaboration methodically and to work with Yugoslav intellectuals who held views similar to his. This presumably contributed to the rise of Manojlović’s “symbolic capital” together with his connections with influential Orthodox theologians of the time, such as Irinej Đorđević and Justin Popović, whom he knew from his studies in Oxford, or even before. Still, besides the fact that Manojlović taught at the Pravoslavno-bogoslovski fakultet [Faculty of Orthodox Theology] in Belgrade for a long time (1923–1938) and that he wrote for several important theological journals,²⁵ there are many uncertainties about his relations with theological groups and individual theologians.

Manojlović’s ideological positioning in the Yugoslav music and public spheres (1919–1949)

According to recent studies (MILANOVIĆ 2016), Manojlović was part of a large group of Mokranjac’s former students and disciples who thoroughly influenced the development of art music in the Kingdom of Serbia and Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, as well as musical performance, research, and education.

23 See Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA, Kosta P. Manojlović’s Collection, “My work on Yugoslav-Bulgarian reconciliation” [“Moj rad na jugoslovensko-bugarskom sporazumu”] (typewritten copy), written by Kosta Manojlović, s. a., pp. 1–5.

24 Ibid, pp. 16–22.

25 *Svetosavlje, Hrišćanska misao* [Christian Thought], etc.

This group was identified as the bearer of liberal thought in Serbian and Yugoslav musical and public spheres in the first half of the 20th century; it promoted the need to modernize musical life, systematically engage in musical education of larger parts of the population; institutionalize preservation of and research into musical folklore; create art music embedded in national folk heritage, etc. (VESIĆ 2016: 210–263). Although its members held similar views on Serbian and Yugoslav musical past, present, and future, the liberal faction was not monolithic in its ideological grounding. For instance, there were deep divisions about the appropriation of innovative stylistic features of “modern/new” music at the time, relations with Slavic and Western art music traditions, significance of popular music, interpretation of the national (Serbian and Yugoslav) musical canon, and so on (cf. VESIĆ 2016: 210–263).

As Vesić has pointed out (2016: 305–306), Manojlović’s belonged to the “modernist” position of the liberal faction, where he joined Miloje Milojević and Petar Konjović. Three composers and music experts shared the following views:

- Stevan St. Mokranjac was seen as the father figure of Serbian art music.
- Musical folklore was considered essential for the development of Serbian (and Yugoslav) art music, representing its key distinctive element.
- Serbian art music could take its most authentic forms only if created by composers of Serbian origin who, according to the essentialist, ethno-nationalist concept of national culture, were able to grasp the specific characteristics of Serbian (folk) musical heritage.
- The creation of Slavic musical “commonwealth” was seen as the fertile ground for the flourishing of this music.

Manojlović contributed to the mediation of these views through his various activities including his historiographic writings, ethnographic research, choral performance and Slavic and South-Slavic cultural cooperation. His esteem for Mokranjac not only as a composer, but also as a musical pedagogue, conductor, and expert was clearly manifested in several studies published during the 1920s and 1930s. Manojlović prepared the first monographs dedicated to Mokranjac²⁶ and the Srpska muzička škola [Serbian Music School]²⁷ together with an article that dealt with Mokranjac’s schooling.²⁸ He also redacted Mokranjac’s

26 See footnote 11 above.

27 *Istorijski pogled na postanak, rad i ideje Muzičke škole u Beogradu* [Historical view at the foundation, functioning and ideology of Music School in Belgrade], Beograd: Štamparija “Mercur”, 1924.

28 “Stevan St. Mokranjac i njegove muzičke studije u Münchenu”, *Muzički glasnik* 2, 3, 4 (1938), 17–23; 45–55; 69–74.

unpublished research on Serbian church music known as *Pravoslavno srpsko narodno crkveno pojanje. Opšte pojanje* [Orthodox Serbian Folk Ecclesiastical Singing. General Chant].²⁹

The enthusiasm Manojlović showed for the preservation of his teacher's legacy and its introduction to the Serbian and Yugoslav public was also manifested in his study of musical folklore. In common with other representatives of the liberal faction at the time, Manojlović believed in the specificity of local folk music traditions and the need for its confirmation through melographic and ethnographic research. Although he did not claim so openly, it seems that Manojlović also thought that the authenticity of Serbian and Yugoslav folklore was compromised by the lack of institutionalized research, expansion of commercial musical forms outside urban areas, and spread of musical traditions of other ethnicities and "races" (cf. VESIĆ 2016: 234). This fear of the "colonization" of musical practices in the "Slavic South", which could result in permanent change to its "substance" and the disappearance of its distinctive features, so characteristic of liberally oriented intellectuals, was in Manojlović's case expressed through systematic collection and detailed analysis of musical folklore, mostly from "Southern Serbia". It included examination of the results of melographic work done by his predecessors and contemporaries. An attempt at attaining scientific rigor, both in the classification of previously collected folk material and the investigation of newly found information, was typical of Manojlović,³⁰ while his assumptions and generalizations need to be studied in greater detail.

Manojlović put much effort into promoting and interpreting the idea of Slavic cultural unification, along with Milojević and Konjović, its key proponents. The 1920s saw All-Slavism spread among various circles of intellectuals with dissimilar ideological orientations, with multiple and opposing interpretations proliferating. Although this current of thought had similarities with 19th-century Slavophilism and Pan-Slavism, it represented a specific narrative that was deeply influenced by the transformed geopolitics of post-WWI Europe. Not only did Russia not play crucial role in the thoughts of Slavic intellectuals at the time, but the long-awaited independence of most Slavic peoples inspired diverse conceptions of their shared cultural and political paths in the near future. In addition to being promoted by intellectual groups, All-Slavism was also embraced

29 Stevan St. Mokranjac, *Pravoslavno srpsko narodno crkveno pojanje. Opšte pojanje*, redacted and supplemented by Kosta P. Manojlović, Beograd: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1935.

30 Manojlović's method of classification, developed during his engagement with the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, became the standard in the research of musical folklore within Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Science in Belgrade from the late 1940s until the late 1960s. After more than a decade of its use at the Folklorni odsek [Folklore Department], it was planned to be replaced by a more modern method. See VESIĆ & LAJIĆ MIHAJLOVIĆ 2017.

by the Yugoslav political elite. In the 1920s it became relevant as collaboration with Czechoslovakia gained political significance through the project of the “Little Entente” (from 1920). After the proclamation of the January 6th Dictatorship of 1929, All-Slavism became an important pillar of Yugoslav cultural policy, being elaborated and disseminated through programs and activities of numerous state-supported national associations (cf. VESIĆ 2016: 147–160).

In music, All-Slavism took diverse forms. For Kosta Manojlović, it represented the cornerstone for the development of narrative of South-Slavism which, in practice, incorporated the creation of closer cultural ties between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Although rare among Serbian intellectuals, Manojlović’s fervor for South-Slavism was not untypical in Yugoslav music and public spheres at the time. As pointed out in several studies (see SPASOVA & GEORGIEVA 2011; VESIĆ 2018), there was a great interest for collaboration with Bulgarian musicians among various Croatian and Slovenian musical circles of the interwar period. Notable in this respect was a group of musicians and intellectuals gathered around the journal *Jugoslavenski muzičar/Muzičar* [*Yugoslav musician/Musician*] (1923–1941), especially in the 1920s. Led by Franjo Šidak, the journal’s long-standing owner, as well as one of the most influential members of the *Savez muzičara u Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji* [Association of Musicians in the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia], the group advocated *rapprochement* with Bulgarians through an exchange of knowledge about Yugoslav and Bulgarian art and folk music, artists, and cultural experiences.

The available sources indicate that Manojlović remained faithful to his views until the late 1940s, but he gradually distanced himself from some professional and intellectual circles he had been part of since his return from Oxford. As we have already seen, on the eve of World War II, in 1939, he was no longer on friendly or cordial relations with other proponents of the modernist streak of the liberal faction, above all Miloje Milojević. His detachment became evident in the following year, when he joined newly-established, state-supported Radio Belgrade, along with Stevan Hristić and Svetomir Nastasijević. This group of music experts was part of the broadcaster’s changed management, in which leading roles were given to a number of vocal supporters of proto-Fascist thought in Yugoslavia of the time, such as Stanislav Krakov, former Editor-in-Chief and Managing Director of the Belgrade’s daily *Vreme*, and member of the radical right-wing movement *Jugoslovenski narodni pokret “Zbor”* [Zbor Yugoslav People’s Movement]. In addition, Manojlović’s disentanglement with his formerly like-minded fellows was displayed in his refraining from the activities of the *Udruženje prijatelja slavenske muzike* [Association of Friends of Slavic Music] (1939–1941) that gathered leading liberal and leftist musicians and intellectuals at the time, including Konjović, Milojević, Vojislav Vučković, Mihailo Vukdragović, and others.

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BALKAN AND SLAVIC PEOPLES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY: INTERCULTURAL CONTACTS

From the History of Cultural Relations between the Slavic Peoples: Tours of the Russian Story Teller, I. T. Ryabinin, of Serbia and Bulgaria (1902)

OLGA PASHINA

The epoch of Romanticism in almost all European countries was characterized by the growth of national apperception, strong aspiration for idealization of national history and culture, and formation of national identity, particularly in countries with mutli-ethnic populations. The idea of Pan-Slavism, the notion of ethnic, cultural, and linguistic unity of all Slavic peoples, emerged on that wave. The ideology of Pan-Slavism, as well as Slavophilism in Russia, spurred on the activities of intellectuals and scientists in history, philology, and folklore, urging them to seek for common Slavic origins and, at the same time, restore national languages and cultures. This was particularly important for Slavic peoples subjected to the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary. Slavic scientists and intellectuals turned to folk traditions, legends, and epic stories, bringing back memories of national heroes, and showed particular interest for folk music perceiving it as an embodiment of the national mind. Slavic intelligentsia, including that of Russia, contributed much to the collection and preservation of its culture and language.

By the turn of the 20th century, interest in folk creativity had gained unprecedented momentum in Russia. At that time, a great number of research establishments were involved in collecting materials and studying various aspects of folk life and culture, including the Imperatorskaia Akademiia nauk [Emperor's Academy of Sciences]; the Russkoe geograficheskoe obshchestvo [Russian Geographical Society], where a Pesennaia komissiia [Song Studying Commission] was founded in 1884; the Imperatorskoe obshchestvo liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologii i etnografii [Emperor's Society of Admirers of the Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography], a predecessor of the Muzykal'no-etnograficheskaia komissiia [Musical Ethnographic Commission] established in 1901; university and regional history scientific communities, etc. (DANCHENKOVA 2015: 598).

The discovery of the inexhaustible wealth of Russian musical folklore, in all its variety of genres and local musical and poetical styles, and awareness of its

originality resulted in unprecedented popularity of folk art in the last decades of the 19th century: concerts were given, books of folk songs published, and museum collections of folk music instruments, folk dresses, and hand-made folk articles built up.

Public performances by epic storytellers of the Russian North in capital cities and some regional towns were a key feature of Russian cultural and artistic life in the last third of the 19th century. According to folklore researcher Kirill Vasil'evich Chistov, over a period of four decades starting from about 1870, folk singers and storytellers staged at least 70 to 80 public performances, mainly for residents of Saint Petersburg. They were Trofim Grigoryevich Ryabinin (1801–1885), a peasant from the Olonetsk District, later the father founder of a dynasty of epic storytellers of Zaonezhye, and his son Ivan Trofimovich Ryabinin (1844–1909), also a famous teller of heroic epic songs (CHISTOV 1982: 56).

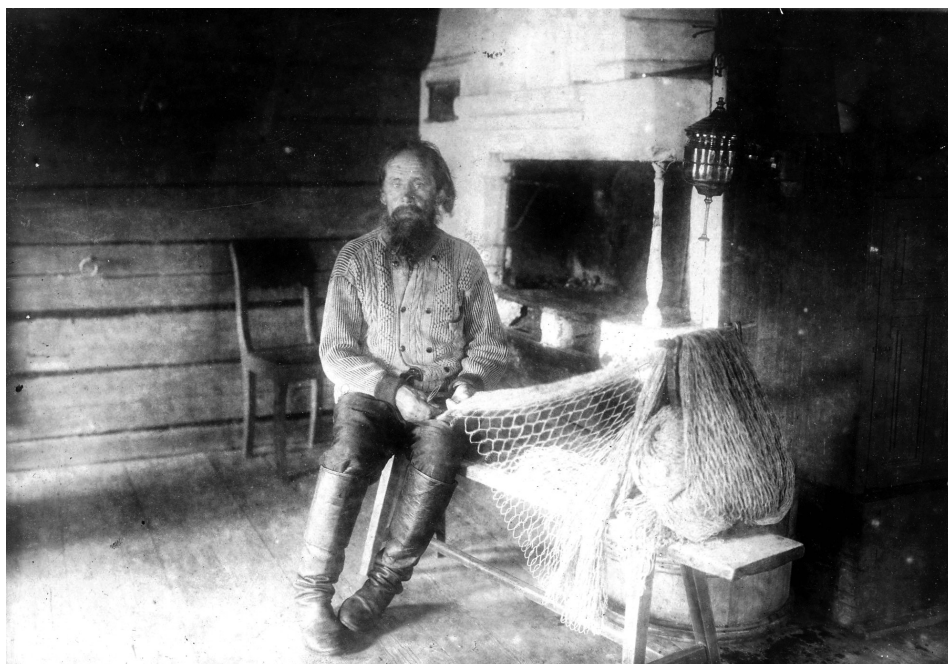


ILLUSTRATION 1. Ivan Ryabinin in his house in the village of Garnitsy. Photo of the early 20th century. Muzei-zapovednik “Kizhi” [Kizhi Museum].

A house built by Ivan Ryabinin in 1894 has survived in Garnitsy, Olonetsk District (now the Republic of Karelia).

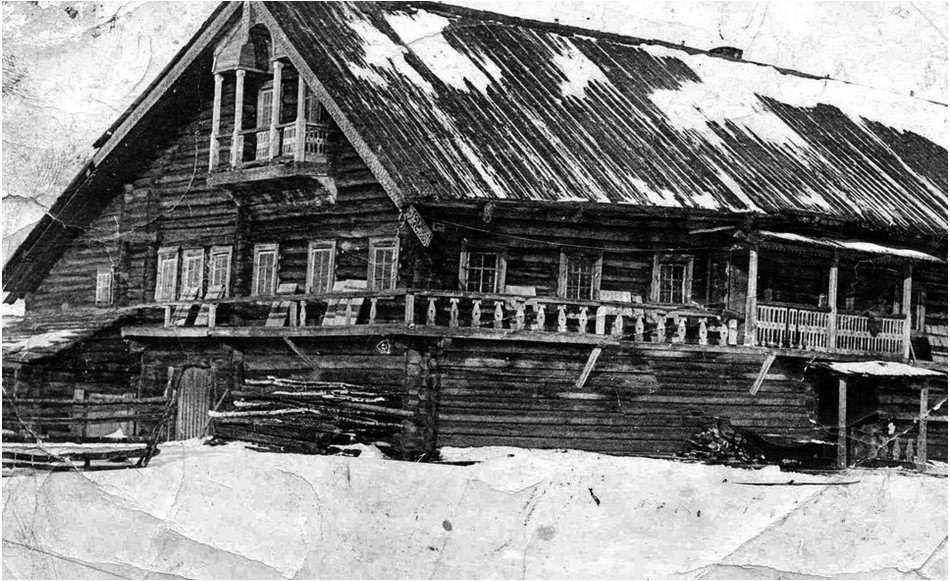


ILLUSTRATION 2. House of Ivan Ryabinin in Garnitsy. Photo of 1914. Kizhi Museum.

His performance of heroic epic songs was recorded for the first time by philologist Fedor Mikhailovich Istomin and musician Georgii Ottonovich Diutsh in 1886 during an expedition of the Russian Geographical Society; this was later published in the collection “*Pesni russkogo naroda*” [“Songs of the Russian people”] (ISTOMIN, DIUTSH 1894: 29–37). Later, in 1893, as agreed with the Russian Geographical Society, Pavel Timofeyevich Vinogradov, teacher at a girls’ school in Petrozavodsk, capital of the Olonetsk District,¹ found Ivan Ryabinin and persuaded the storyteller to return to the Russian capital with him. In January of that year, Ivan Ryabinin alone gave at least twelve performances at the Russian Geographical Society, educational establishments, and private houses of St. Petersburg. His concerts were attended by composers N. A. Rimskiy-Korsakov, M. A. Balakiryev, and A. S. Arenskiy as well as many researchers (ANONYMOUS 1893). Ryabinin’s winter tour of Moscow in 1894 met with the same success.

Under the impression of Ryabinin’s performances, Yevgenii Aleksandrovich Liatskii, a researcher in literature and a folklore collector, wrote the article “*Skazitel’ I. T. Riabinin i ego byliny*” [“The Story Teller I. T. Ryabinin and His Heroic Epic Songs”], which was published in the 1894 issue of *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* [*The Ethnographic Review*] magazine. The author described the story teller as

¹ See the biography of Vinogradov in LOITER & IVANOVA 2010.

a short man, dressed in the *poddevka* [a Russian men's long tight-fitting coat] of an old style... quiet, thoughtful in speech and slow and easy in movement; he left the impression of a calm and reasonable man. An Old Believer, Ivan Ryabinin closely followed the dogma of his religion: he did not either drink wine or smoke, observed all fasting days, feeding on cabbage and *kvass* [Russian non-alcoholic drink] only, and came to a house, where he had been invited to sing, with his own glass in his pocket. At home our singer was a happy family man, and in the fields and in fishery a tireless laborer; his very touching simplicity and equability of mind, which revealed themselves immediately from the first introduction, inevitably evoked sympathy and attention to his plain and scrawny built. (LIATSKII 1994: 110).

In 1894, during the Moscow tour of Ryabinin, Iulii Ivanovich Blok, a member of the Society of Admirers of the Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography, an owner of a shop of phonographs and hectographs², compiled a phonographic recording of heroic epic songs performed by Ivan Ryabinin (LIATSKII 1994: 142), the first ever sound recording of Russian folklore, which miraculously survived the World War II. In 1985, a unique disk, *Byliny Russkogo Severa. Skaziteli Riabininy* [*The Heroic Epic Stories of the Russian North by the Ryabinins Story Tellers*], was produced, bringing together recordings of the three generations of the Ryabinins, story tellers from Zaonezhye: Ivan Trofimovich Ryabinin, Ivan Gerasimovich Ryabinin-Andreyev (1873–1926), and Pyotr Ivanovich Ryabinin-Andreyev (1905–1953). The Ryabinin family's epic tunes have been analyzed in an article by the renowned Russian ethnomusicologist Evgenii Vladimirovich Gippius (GIPPIUS 2013).

In 1902, eight years after Ryabinin's first performances in Petersburg and Moscow, Vinogradov initiated and organized a three-month (March to June) European tour for the story teller. Ryabinin held concerts in Constantinople, Philippopolis (now Plovdiv, Bulgaria), Sofia, Niš, Belgrade, Vienna, Prague, and Warsaw. That tour of the story teller, on which he was accompanied by Vinogradov, produced a great public effect and enjoyed extensive coverage in both foreign and Russian press.

The main source of information about Ryabinin's foreign tour and the reaction of audiences to his performances in South Slavic countries is the book *I. T. Riabinin i moia s nim poezdka* [*I. T. Ryabinin and My Tour with Him*] by P. T. Vinogradov, published in Tomsk in 1906. It included abstracts from articles about the story-teller's appearances published in the foreign

2 A hectograph, also called gelatin duplicator or jellygraph, is a gelatin-based device used to make multiple prints from a single master sheet. Once popular, the hectograph process is now considered obsolete for producing prints on paper.

press. Further information came from publications in the newspaper *Olonetskie gubernskie vedomosti* [*Olonetsk Regional Review*], which followed the triumphant tour of their fellow countryman with great interest. The article “‘Olonetskie gubernskie vedomosti’ o poezdke I. T. Ryabinina po Rossii i stranam zarubezhnoi Evropy v 1902 g.” [“‘The Olonetsk regional review’ newspaper about the tour of I. T. Ryabinin of Russia and foreign European countries in 1902”] by Nikolai Aleksandrovich Korablev, published in *Ryabininskie chteniia* [*Ryabininskiye Readings*], the digest of a 1995 conference (KORABLEV 1997), reviewed those publications, covering the period from March to mid-June 1902. It was established that some of the articles were written by Alexandra Mikhaylovna Solnyshkova, teacher of literature at the Petrozavodskaia zhenskaia gimnaziia [Petrozavodsk Female School], who loved and appreciated folk poetry. Her publications were based on letters that P. T. Vinogradov sent to her from abroad.

The sources reveal that, before his foreign tour, Ryabinin had given several performances in Petersburg. He had been accorded a signal honor: the story teller was invited to the Winter Palace, where he recited heroic epic songs before Tsar Nicholas II and the Imperial family. After the performance, the Tsar presented Ryabinin with the golden Medal for Zeal and a watch decorated with the Russian crest in recognition of the story-teller’s outstanding talent and in view of the special political mission he was about to undertake abroad. Ryabinin thereafter successfully performed in Kiev, Kharkov, and Odessa (VINOGRADOV 1906: 4–5). Bulgarian tourists, students of the Pedagogicheskoe uchilishche v Silistrii [Pedagogical College of Silistria], were in Odessa for Ryabinin’s performances. On April 17th, the newspaper *Odesskii listok* [*Odessa Gazette*] wrote: “The Bulgarian tourists were invited by Ryabinin, the narrator of epics, to attend his performance today free of charge. Two Bulgarian students and Professor Palauzov translated the epic songs into Bulgarian, as Mr. Ryabinin will travel from here directly on to Bulgaria.” (IVANOVA 1989: 116).

Ryabinin’s foreign tour began in the Bulgarian city of Phillipopolis, where the story-teller narrated heroic epic songs in educational establishments. His every performance was preceded with an introduction by Vinogradov (VINOGRADOV 1906: 6). According to the latter’s report, in the evening on April 30th, the faculty of boys’ and girls’ schools threw a picnic for the Russian guests on Bunardzhik Hill. There, Mr. Mechkov, a teacher of history and geography, reciprocated Ryabinin’s performance by singing a heroic epic song about King Marko (Marko Kraljević) (1906: 7). Then the Russian story teller and his companion travelled onward to Sofia. On May 4th, Ryabinin gave a concert, attended by over 700 people, in the Slavianskaia beseda [Slavic Discussions Society], an organization that promoted Slavic solidarity in the face of the

German threat, building up strength in the beginning of the 20th century. One day before, a Sofia newspaper had published lyrics of the epic song *Mikula i Vol'ga* [*Mikula and Vol'ga*], which Ryabinin was to sing at the end of the concert (VINOGRADOV 1906: 7).

Professors Miletić and Šišmanov arranged tickets to Belgrade for the Russian guests. However, when they stopped in Niš, members of a Ruski klub [Russian Club] met Ryabinin and Vinogradov and asked them to stay in Niš for a short while. In the morning of May 6th, Ryabinin sang at a school and, in the evening, performed in a restaurant of the Hotel “Evropa” [European Hotel]. His singing received tumultuous applause and the shouts of “Viva” [“živeo”] and “Honour” [“hvala”] (1906: 8).

On May 8th, Ryabinin performed at the Srpsko kraljevsko narodno pozorište [Serbian Royal National Theater] in Belgrade, where his concert was attended by Serbian royal family and intelligentsia by an invitation of the Srpska kraljevska akademija [Serbian Royal Academy]. The Chairman of the Etnografski odbor [Ethnographic Department], Mihailo Valtrović, opened a ceremonial conference. Then Professor Velić took the floor and read a paper titled “O ruskoj narodnoj epičeskoj poeziji sravnitel'no s serbskoj” [“Comparative analysis of Russian and Serbian folk epic poetry”]. In his response, translated into the Serbian language, Vinogradov told a biography of the rhapsodist and thanked members of the Serbian Royal Academy and the



ILLUSTRATION 3. Pavel Vinogradov, Ivan Ryabinin and Serb Žuvić in Belgrade. Photo 1902. Natsional'nyi arkhiv Respubliki Karéliia [National Archive of the Republic of Karelia], Russia.

audience for the honor offered to them. He also invited a Serbian folk singer to visit Russia and perform Serbian heroic epic songs for the Russian intellectuals. The audience welcomed Ryabinin's singing with applause and shouts of admiration (VINOGRADOV 1906: 8). At the same concert, Žuvić, a Serbian story teller, dressed in national festive costume, sang the heroic epic songs *Marko Kraljević ukida svadbarinu* [King Marko annuls marriage tax] and *Carica Milica i Vladimir vojvoda* [Princess Milica and the duke Vladimir], to the accompaniment of the one-stringed *gusle* (1906: 8–9).

On the following day, Serbian newspaper *Liberal* [*The Liberal*] published an article which stated:

We openly express our warm gratitude to Mr. Vinogradov and the peasant Ryabinin for their efforts, which have given an opportunity to residents of the Serbian capital to hear Russian heroic folk epic songs performed by a Russian peasant. We sincerely wish that such brotherly conferences as the one on May 8th in Belgrade should contribute to closer ties between the two Slavic brother peoples (VINOGRADOV 1906: 9).

On May 9th, Vinogradov received an invitation to lunch with Metropolitan Inokentije, where two other Serbian bishops were present. In his book, Vinogradov left a record about that event. He wrote that at the end of the lunch, at the suggestion of the host, the guests and the hosts together sang Serbian epic songs, which they treated with the deference accorded to sacred items (1906: 9).

The highlight of Ryabinin's tour of Belgrade was a concert in the evening on the May 10th. He performed heroic epic songs in the Stari dvor [Small Palace] before King Aleksandar and Queen Draga of Serbia. In his short speech in the Serbian language, on behalf of all Russians, Vinogradov thanked the royal family for "the honour, given to Russian folk poetry, represented here by the storyteller Ryabinin." At the end of the performance, King Aleksandar awarded the rhapsodist the gold medal for "*Za usluge kraljevom domu*" ["For Service to the Royal Household"] to be worn on the chest (VINOGRADOV 1906: 9–10).

Ryabinin also narrated heroic epic songs in a girls' school in Belgrade at the request of its students. Vinogradov stated that, following Ryabinin's performance, a schoolgirl, Darinka Ivanović, sang *Smrt Majke Jugovića* [Death of the Mother of the Jugovići] and schoolmaster Pašić performed *Kraljević Marko i vila* [King Marko and the Fairy]. Vinogradov explained that both teachers and pupils of Serbian schools knew epic poetry well due to the tradition of performing Serbian epic songs at annual school meetings held on Saint Sava's Day, January 14th (1906: 10).

In his book, Vinogradov also mentioned his correspondence with a teacher of Russian in the female school in Belgrade, Mrs. Gluščević,

following his return to Russia. In January 1903, she wrote to him that the students, who had witnessed Ryabinin's singing, had recalled the melodies of the Russian heroic epic songs and tried to repeat them, but did not know the lyrics. Mrs. Gluščević managed to obtain a book of Russian epic songs from Mr. Yevreinov, Secretary of the Russian Mission in Belgrade. According to Mrs. Gluščević, "the student Milena Georgević learned several songs and succeeded quite well in singing them. The singing teacher, Boža Joksimović, who had managed to record the melody of the heroic epic songs performed by Ryabinin, helped her." To help his Serbian colleagues, Vinogradov approached the Rossiiskaia akademiia nauk [Russian Academy of Sciences] with a request to send a book of texts of heroic epic songs from Onega region to the girls' school in Belgrade, which the Academy did (1906: 10).

On his and Ryabinin's foreign trip, Vinogradov saw that, in South Slavic countries, illiterate peasants, teachers, and clerics knew and sang epic songs equally. He decided to follow the example of the Bulgarian and Serbian intellectuals and learned a few Russian epics. Returning to Russia and parting with Ryabinin, Vinogradov continued his popularization of Russian epic poetry. He began publicly singing epic songs in front of various audiences in a number of Russian cities, such as Petrozavodsk, Tomsk, Blagoveshchensk, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, and Ussuriisk (IVANOVA 1989: 117–120). Vinogradov was not the only Russian intellectual who sang epic songs. A. V. Protasyaeva, wife of the governor of the Olonets region, who attended a lecture by Vinogradov, said that she and her familiar maid also sang Russian epic songs (ANONYMOUS 1905).

Throughout his tour of Southern Slavic countries, Ivan Trofimovich Ryabinin was constantly amazed that he was understood and his songs were appreciated ("razumeiut i stárinki [byliny] ego khvaliat") (VINOGRADOV 1906: 7). The art of the Russian story teller gained the admiration of Bulgarian writer Ivan Vazov and poet Dmitriy Karavelov, the most prominent Slavic scholar Vatroslav Jagić and future President of the Serbian Royal Academy Aleksandar Belić. The triumphant tour of this outstanding expert in Russian folk poetry of Russia and European countries in 1902 was an extraordinary event in the history of both Russian and Southern Slavic cultures.

Ryabinin's tours to Slavic countries showed how the idea of Slavic "brotherhood", cultural unity, and affinity, was keenly supported by the local political and intellectual elite. The enthusiasm for Slavic folklore as well as its music and cultural heritage was manifested openly in influential circles and promoted through various kinds of public activities. This created a specific setting in which many young generations of artists who later

became strong proponents of All-Slavism were raised. Kosta P. Manojlović occupies an important place among their ranks, as do his numerous fellow composers from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

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The Idea of South Slavic Unity among Bulgarian Musicians and Intellectuals in the Interwar Period

STEFANKA GEORGIEVA

The famous Bulgarian musicologist, Ivan Kamburov, one of the most prominent proponents of Slavic cultural unification, wrote the following passage in the preface of his 1940 book *Yugoslavaska muzika* [*Yugoslav Music*]:

In December 1933, I held two lectures in Belgrade at Kolarac People's University. After the second lecture, which was devoted to Bulgarian folk music, an elderly gentleman, a retired general, came up to me and commented: 'Sir, I don't understand music but I came to hear a Bulgarian giving a public speech. I understood everything you said. And now it seems clearer in my view how close we are – Serbs and Bulgarians. (KAMBUROV 1940).

In their memoirs, other contemporaries of his also speak about similar meetings that left lasting marks on their minds. However, at the same time, any attempt at interpreting the topic of Slavic cultural unity in Bulgarian music culture faces the researcher with a paradox: on the one hand, numerous historiographic documents about this issue are known to exist, and, on the other, there is no interest in systematically researching them. Although there are historical documents that confirm the existence of the idea of Slavic cultural unification in Bulgarian music during the interwar period, no thorough investigation of this subject has been conducted. A limited number of publications dating back to the end of the 20th century principally deal with the activities of choral societies and ensembles as the core form of cooperation between Bulgarian and other Slavic musicians.¹ Apart from this, the extensive interaction between composers, conductors and musicologists from Slavic countries, most of whom propagated the concept of Slavic unification, has remained unexplored.

This paper reports on the findings of research into cooperation between Bulgarian and South Slavic musicians during the interwar period done through

1 See BALAREVA 1984, 1991, 1992.

archival resources and the music press. In particular, the role of Kosta P. Manojlović, one of the most influential musicians of interwar Yugoslavia, who developed ties with Bulgarian musicians and music experts, will be examined in detail. The aim is to summarize the forms of interaction between Bulgarian and Yugoslav musicians and music experts, as well as its chronology.

The idea of establishing the association of South Slavic musicians came to fruition among Bulgarians at the end of the 19th century, at the time of their first contact with the celebrated Serbian choir, the Beogradsko pevačko društvo [Belgrade Choral Society]² (1895) whose conductor was Stevan Mokranjac, and, later on, with the choral ensemble from Pirot (conductor Janićije Popović) and the Hrvatski tamburaški orkestar [Croatian Tamburitza Orchestra] (1896). The following review was published in the local press:

During the visit by the Serbian singers and Croatian *tamburitza* orchestra players to our city, a very important decision was made: to form an Association of Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian choral societies, i.e. to organize them on a common creative ground with a common statute which ought to regulate their periodical meetings, concerts and excursions. In such a manner that, we, the South Slavs, shall become acquainted better, to become closer and form a permanent bond (ANONYMOUS 1896).³

A Slovenian intellectual, Anton Bezenšek, was one of the founders and the chairman of the first Bulgarian choral society established in Plovdiv. Owing to his personal connections with Slavic musicians in the region, he dedicated himself to popularizing the idea of a unified South Slavic music world, but the achievement of this goal on the Bulgarian part remained limited, consisting as it did of occasional meetings of musicians and experts and the exchange of choral literature.⁴

At the beginning of the 20th century, a similar project was discussed among the members of the Balgarski muzikalen sayuz [Bulgarian Music Union] in an altered political and cultural setting. Probably as a result of a renewed

2 Renamed the Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo [First Belgrade Choral Society] in 1923.

3 See also BALAREVA 1992; VALCHINOVA-CHENDOVA 2014.

4 Anton Toma Bezenšek (1854–1915) was a Slovenian linguist, publicist and graphologist. He graduated from secondary school in Zagreb in 1874, and from 1875–1876 he studied at the universities of Zagreb and Prague. In 1879 he was invited by the Bulgarian government to become the chief stenographer of the National Assembly. From 1885 to 1905, Bezenšek was appointed as a teacher in secondary schools in Plovdiv. In 1906 he returned to Sofia and remained there until his death.

collaboration in different spheres, especially between South Slavic artists, Dimitar Hadzhigeorgiev, Editor-in-Chief of the *Muzikalen vestnik* [*Musical Gazette*], commented: “It was a time when the idea of creating closer musical ties between South Slavs seemed utopian, but, like every progressive thought, it gradually overcame the forces that were suppressing it.” (HADZHIGEORGIEV 1907: 1).⁵ This quote comes from a segment of a program in which Hadzhigeorgiev explained his views on the development of Bulgarian art music, emphasizing “his strong belief that it should follow the path of other Slavic countries.” Moreover, he spoke enthusiastically about organizing a South Slavic musical congregation, as the forerunner of the first South Slavic Music Exhibition which took place in late 1925 with the support of the First Belgrade Choral Society (HADZHIGEORGIEV 1907: 2).

In the changed historical setting of the interwar period, Bulgarian music was influenced by state support of cultural institutions which had previously functioned on a voluntary basis.⁶ This led to their professionalization, and consequently, stimulated the appearance of a handful of music journals, publishing houses and music associations. Discussions in Bulgarian musical press were at the time focused on various aspects of musical life, including musical events in Bulgaria and abroad, as well as the ethical issues of national art music.

During this period, the idea of South Slavic cultural unification reappeared in intellectual and artistic circles. Even though diplomatic relations between Balkan countries deteriorated after the Balkan wars and World War I, it surprisingly retained its prominence in the political discourse of the Balkan intellectual elite. Moreover, the idea of Slavic cultural unification spread in various Slavic countries outside the Balkans.

My research into Bulgarian music periodicals of the interwar period revealed the significance of Slavic cultural cooperation, which offered me an opportunity to reconstruct its development in chronological order. To that end, I thoroughly analyzed the journal *Muzikalen pregled* [*Music Review*], which was published by the Stara Zagora branch of the Sayuz na profesionalnite muzikanti v Balgariya [Bulgarian Union of Professional Musicians] (1923–1929)

5 Dimitar Hadzhigeorgiev (1873–1932) was a composer and music professor, as well as the Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Muzikalen vestnik* [*Musical Gazette*], which appeared in Sofia between 1904 and 1928 (with interruptions), and also served as Director of the Darzhavna muzikalna akademiya [State Academy of Music] in Sofia (1921–1931). He wrote one of the first Bulgarian operas (1911), together with a number of orchestral and choral works, children’s songs, music textbooks, and *Istoriya na muzikata* [*History of Music*], with a section dedicated to Bulgarian music (1921).

6 These include the State Academy of Music in Sofia (1921), Narodna opera [People’s Opera] in Sofia (1921), Akademichen simfonichen orkestar [Academic Symphony Orchestra] (1928) (transformed into the Tsarski simfonichen orkestar [Royal Symphonic Orchestra] from 1936 to 1944).

(GEORGIEVA 1997). For its Editor-in-Chief, Andrei Petrovich Bersenev, the promotion of the idea of South Slavic collaboration was not only one of the journal's main goals, it was his personal mission, which was manifested in his many editorial notes and articles.⁷

This tendency was openly expressed for the first time in the correspondence between Bersenev and Franjo Šidak, the Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Jugoslavenski muzičar* [*Yugoslav Musician*]. In his letter, Šidak offered a program for cooperation between the two journals and their correspondents. Among other things, he asked for a

continuous exchange of publications and reports about the musical life of two fraternal countries, placed next to one another, but without sufficient mutual knowledge; publishing of detailed studies and reviews on the national music of the two countries – an area long neglected – including not only the study of the folk music of the Serbs, Croats and Bulgarians, but of other Slavic countries as well (ANONYMOUS 1926a: 1).

The response of the Editorial Board of the *Music Review*, probably written by A. P. Bersenev, was positive, as suggested in an editorial note entitled “Muzikalna Balgariya i Jugoslaviya” [“Musical Bulgaria and Yugoslavia”]. It contains the following insights: “Real cooperation is needed between the neighbors in the field of music. In the course of time it will create this unity between them which will encourage a fraternal relationship and reduce the possibility of new conflicts.” (ANONYMOUS 1926a: 2). Two quotes reveal the framework of cooperation between the journals. One of their missions was to put a new school of composing on the European music map. In this regard, an essay titled “Yugoslavaska muzika” [“Yugoslav music”], written by Lucijan Marija Škerjanc [Skeryants] (Ljubljana), was published in the following issue of the *Music Review* (ANONYMOUS 1926c).

However, this undertaking is also noteworthy for other reasons. A number of publications between 1926 and 1929 show how keenly Šidak's and Bersenev's initiative was received in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sofia, Brno, Prague, and Warsaw. Among their supporters were the founders of music journals that

7 Andrei Petrovich Bersenev (a character from *On the Eve*, by Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev) was the pen name of Georgi Stoyanovich (1891–1941). This judge, educated in Paris, served as Editor-in-Chief of the periodical *Music Review* (1923–1929). He wrote more than 250 music reviews and articles, including: “Modernizam ili nacionalno napravlenie v muzikata” [“Modernism or national direction in our Music”] (1925), “Balgarska narodna muzika” [“Bulgarian folk music”] (1926), “Balgarskoto izkustvo i zapadniya modernizam” [“Bulgarian art and Western modernism”] (1928), etc. Some of his papers were printed in full in a number of issues of the *Jugoslavenski muzičar* [*Yugoslav Musician*] (1926–1927) (renamed the *Muzičar* [*Musician*] in 1928) and the *Musician* (1928–1929).

appeared during the interwar period, such as Miloje Milojević, Kosta P. Manojlović, Rikard Švarc, Editors-in-Chief of the journal *Muzika* [Music] (1928); Franjo Šidak, *Yugoslav Musician/Musician* (1923–1941); Emil Adamič, *Nova muzika* [New music] (1928); Ivan Kamburov, *Muzikalen život* [Musical Life] (1928); Mateusz Gliński, *Muzika* [Music]; Boleslav Vomàčka, *Tempo*, Stanislav Krstička, *Brno*, and others. Over a four-year period, members of editorial boards of the leading Bulgarian music periodicals developed close contacts with many Slavic musicians, most of whom were strong supporters of the idea of Slavic musical cooperation (GEORGIEVA 2000).

Collaboration with the Belgrade journal *Musician* began from its very foundation, as borne out by the following report:

Musician is a new magazine published in Belgrade. It has been founded and is edited by distinguished composers and critics, such as Dr. Miloje Milojević, Kosta P. Manojlović and Rikard Švarc. The Editorial Board has received the first issue. We are assured that this journal will be influential in the field of music in Yugoslavia. (ANONYMOUS 1928b).

A series of reports published in subsequent issues prove the establishment of collaboration between the two editorial boards. Bersenev received published scores of the South Slav Choral Union from Manojlović and distributed them to Bulgarian musicians; the choral pieces of Konjović, Slavenski, Gotovac, Širola and others were reviewed (DIMITROV 1928). Miloje Milojević was portrayed as “a supporter of the concept of Slavic cultural unification” and a proponent of the “foundation of an All-Slavic Society for Contemporary Music [Sveslovensko udruženje za savremenu muziku]” (ANONYMOUS 1928c).

Milojević’s initiative attracted Bersenev’s attention. He thought of it “not as utopia or a romantic dream, but as a real necessity for the future of Slavic music.” It was extensively commented upon in his paper “Balgariya i yuzhno-slavyanskoto muzikalno razbiratelstvo” [“Bulgaria and South Slavic music collaboration”], which was presented at the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Music Union. Here the critic uttered the following symbolic phrase: “First of all, the Chinese Wall which was artificially built between us and our Slavic neighbors, and also between ourselves and the West, should be torn down once and for all” (BERSENEV 1963).

However, despite the active exchange of music literature between the two editorial boards, there is no other information that could bring to light the details of Bersenev’s cooperation with the Belgrade’s journal, as well as of his All-Slavic activism. Unfortunately, only few records about Bersenev’s personal and professional life have been preserved (some books, gramophone records, and manuscripts), and his successors have kept these from the public. Also, his

numerous articles on Bulgarian music published in Yugoslav journals have not been studied in detail. Their analysis would probably contribute to a more precise historical reconstruction of the development of All-Slavism among both Bulgarian and other Slavic intellectuals and musicians of the time.

The idea of South Slavic musical cooperation was revived between 1926 and 1928, primarily among leaders of Bulgarian choral societies. This period saw the establishment of the Sayuz na narodnite horove [Union of People's Choirs] in Bulgaria (1926), which initiated various national and international activities.⁸ Besides, there is evidence of collaboration between Kosta P. Manojlović and Dobri Hristov, one of the most important figures in Bulgarian music of the time. Moreover, it seems that their personal interaction later on encouraged the cooperation of the national choral organizations whose eminent representatives they were. This is indicated in one of Manojlović's letters, a fragment of which was quoted by Dobri Hristov in an article about the Belgrade Choral Society. It was published in the newspaper *Slovo* [*The Word*] on March 12th, 1926, and contained the following proclamation to Bulgarian choral activists: "We are coming first to bridge the gap and then to establish close ties between the fraternal countries through cultural initiatives" (HRISTOV 1970a).

Two letters, dating from April 5th, 1928 and June 3rd, 1929, are formal in character. The first, signed by Kosta P. Manojlović⁹ (see ILLUSTRATION 1 and 2a, 2b), mentions an important event, Hristov's election as an honorary member of the First Belgrade Choral Society, in an act of esteem for the Bulgarian composer, "valued and respected for his works" and his activities "in the expansion of South Slav brotherhood and unity."¹⁰ Dobri Hristov's reply, actually a short draft, is not dated. In it he confirms he will be present at the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the First Belgrade Choral Society and remarks: "Let's hope that fraternal hearts will be warmed by songs of peace, happiness and solidarity of all Slavic nations."¹¹ A photograph of Manojlović' family and a Christmas card confirm the cordial relations between Hristov and his Yugoslav colleague (see ILLUSTRATION 3).¹²

8 Renamed the Balgarski pevcheski sayuz [Bulgarian Choral Union] in 1936.

9 These were written on the letterhead of the First Belgrade Choral Society and bear a reference number and the seal of the South Slav Choral Union. Nauchen arhiv na Balgarskata akademiya na naukite [Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, "SABAS"], Dobri Hristov, 16k, List 1, Archive Unit 592.

10 Quoted in the letter of the First Belgrade Choral Society of April 5th, 1928 addressed to Mr. Dobri Hristov, Composer, Sofia. SABAS, Dobri Hristov, 16k, List 1, Archive Unit 592, Sheet 1.

11 Quoted in Dobri Hristov's letter to the First Belgrade Choral Society. SABAS, Dobri Hristov, 16k, List 1, Archive Unit 592, Sheet 1, undated

12 Kosta P. Manojlović signed the card and the photograph between June 30th, 1928 and May 1st, 1932.

This correspondence preceded Kosta P. Manojlović's visit to Bulgaria in June 1928, which was motivated by two occasions: the donation of funds collected by Serbian musicians to the Bulgarian people who had suffered through a devastating earthquake earlier that year, as well as the invitation to Bulgarian choral performers to join the Južnoslovenski pevački savez [South Slav Choral Union]. It was publicly announced at the First Congress of the Bulgarian Choral Union (1928) and discussed in detail in the journal *Rodna pesen* [Native Song]. Undoubtedly, Mr. Manojlović's offer was "warmly welcomed on behalf of the national choirs in Bulgaria since it promoted the improvement of collaboration between South Slav choral organizations." (ANONYMOUS 1928a).

The majority of Bulgarian music journals praised this "very important initiative", emphasizing the necessity of the "prominent Serbian composer to get familiar with influential persons and institutions from our musical life." (ANONYMOUS 1928e). However, the initiative was received with caution by the Executive Board of the newly established Bulgarian Choral Union, and was not discussed until the following year. The following decision was made at the 2nd Annual Congress, held from 17 to 19 August, 1929: "Since the National Executive Board found out that there are two choral unions [in Yugoslavia], one in Belgrade, and the other in Zagreb, we came to the conclusion that the invitation should not be accepted for now." (ANONYMOUS 1930).

Was the disunity of the Yugoslav choral movement the only motive for this stance of the Bulgarian choral performers? The archives of the Bulgarian Choral Union have not been thoroughly studied, which has restricted the interpretation of the resolution cited above. Nevertheless, they show a passive attitude towards the Obshtoslavyanski horov sayuz [All-Slav Choral Union], whose Congress in Prague was attended only by one Bulgarian delegate, Dobri Hristov. In his own words, the reason for this was the "lack of firmly developed choral organization in our country." (HRISTOV 1970b).¹³

Meanwhile, regardless of the reserved attitude of the Union, which put aside "the wonderful initiative" of Manojlović, choral ensembles from Bulgaria and Yugoslavia embarked on a lively exchange of concert tours in the 1930s. Another Bulgarian musician, Boris Gaidarov (1892–1950), played a significant part in this revival of bilateral musical cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.¹⁴

These are found in Dobri Hristov's preserved documents, which confirms he had contact with the Serbian composer. SABAS, Dobri Hristov, 16k, List 1, Archive Unit 593, 3 sheets.

13 The newspaper *Rodna pesen* [Homeland Song] published an article by K. P. Manojlović about this issue, titled "Obshtoslavyanski horov sayuz" ["All-Slav Choral Union"] (MANOJLOVIĆ 1933).

14 Gaidarov spent his life in the town of Lom, where he studied music at the local teacher training college under the tutorship of Aleksandar Krastev, Belcho Belchev, and Milan Mitov, all graduates of the Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod [Croatian Music Institute]. His willingness to continue his education at the

Gaidarov was confronted with the lack of contemporary choral literature, which inspired him to start a unique publishing activity. His home was turned into a real music publishing house. In 1924, he published the first two books of the collection *Yunosheski drugar* [*Junior's Comrade*]. In one of the subsequent issues of his magazine, Gaidarov pointed to the motives that led him to this undertaking: "Regretfully, for the time being, our youth cannot be brought up with Bulgarian art songs because they are to be written in the future. [...] The best available source for performing are the works of foreign origin. Composers willing to contribute can contact the editorial office." (GAIDAROV 1926).¹⁵

His invitation was met with enthusiasm not only from music teachers, but also from young Bulgarian composers. The initiative quickly exceeded its original goals. Undoubtedly, it was encouraged by the Statute of the Bulgarian Choral Union, but Gaidarov's personal contacts with Yugoslav musicians and composers, as well as with Yugoslav choral societies, had a crucial role.

In the eighth issue of his music collection, containing the songs of Mokranjac, Zajc and Gotovac, he left an editor's note where he reported that, thanks to Franjo Šidak, he came in contact with many South Slav musicians: "I have received the works of Dr. Širola, Jakov Gotovac, Professor Adamič, Lhotka, Manojlović, Lajovic and others. They have been translated and prepared for the next issue. This collection will encompass choral songs written by some of the most notable Yugoslav composers, mostly Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian songs." (GAIDAROV 1927).

Probably as the expression of an urge for better cooperation in the field of music, the ninth book of the collection appeared in 1928, the year in which Manojlović visited Bulgaria to suggest his "wonderful initiative" to the Bulgarian Choral Union and invite the Sofijska Gusla choir [Gusla Choir of Sofia] to give concerts in Belgrade.¹⁶ In addition to works by Bulgarian composers, the publication also contained compositions by Adamič, Slavenski, Manojlović, Širola and Lajovic.

With it, Gaidarov started to realize his ambitions to "get familiar and establish closer ties between Bulgarian and Yugoslav composers" and set the "cornerstone of Slavic fraternal unity", forming his own "small" South Slav Union (GAIDAROV 1928). Many of the songs of Yugoslav composers published in this and the following books were immediately included in the repertoire of

same school of music ended with the commencement of the Balkan Wars and, later, the First World War. In 1920, he became a music teacher and a choral conductor.

15 *Yunosheski drugar* was published from 1924 to 1948. Initially in notebook format, it grew to become a vocal score. During 24 years, Boris Gaidarov published 32 music collections with about 450 songs.

16 The Sofijska Gusla Choir is a Bulgarian male choir established in 1924 in Sofia at the initiative of Dobri Hristov.

Bulgarian amateur choirs. Comments on the edition including the published songs regularly appeared in Bulgarian and South Slav music press.

Boris Gaidarov's personal archive, preserved by Rosalina Spasova, one of his students from the Pedagogičesko učilište [School of Pedagogy], contains a part of his correspondence with famous Yugoslav composers related to his publishing activities.¹⁷ There are eight letters in total, five from Jakov Gotovac, one from Josip Štolcer Slavenski, one from Boris Papandopulo, and one from Kosta P. Manojlović. Nevertheless, they constitute invaluable evidence of the creative exchange between musicians of two countries. The volume of information found in the letters indicates that here we have at our disposal only a small part of an unfortunately irretrievable abundance of documents about his personal collaboration with Yugoslav musicians in the interwar period.¹⁸

For instance, one of Jakov Gotovac's letters to Boris Gaidarov gives the addresses of Croatian composers Antun Dobronić, Krsto Odak, Srećko Kumar, Božidar Širola, and Pavao Markovac, probably as the Bulgarian publisher had intended to print some of their works. His collections from 1928 and 1930 indicate possible contacts with Širola and Markovac, as their works are published in them. Another letter discusses the visit of Gotovac's choral ensemble to Bulgaria, as well as preparations for a performance of his opera *Ero s onoga svijeta* [*Ero from the Other World*]. Communication between the two continued until the publication of the last issue of *Junior's Comrade*. They met in person in 1940 when Gotovac visited Bulgaria on the occasion of the Sofia premiere of *Ero s onoga svijeta*.

Only one postcard-sized document survives from the correspondence between Gaidarov and composer Josip Štolcer Slavenski. In it, Slavenski informs Gaidarov, in telegraphic French, of the forthcoming début performance of his *Religiofonija* [*Religiophony*] on two Yugoslav radio stations. He obviously knew about Gaidarov's interest in contemporary music and his contacts with the local music press, and probably expected that Gaidarov would spread the news to Bulgarian musicians. Josip Slavenski's choral works appeared in both early and the last interwar book of the *Junior's Comrade*, in 1928 and 1940. Among them are *Dve narodni pesni* [*Two folk songs*], a reprint from Schott's Söhne Mainz publication, dedicated to the Bulgarian Gusla Choir of Sofia.¹⁹ This detail suggests Slavenski's connections with the choir in the 1930s, probably established during the choir's concert tour of Yugoslavia.

17 She is an author of several articles and the only existing biographical essay on Boris Gaidarov. See SPASOVA 2008.

18 Since most of these letters have been published, they are commented on in brief in this article. See SPASOVA & GEORGIEVA 2011.

19 Sofijska Gusla is the predecessor of the choir Rodina [Fatherland] from Sofia.

The letter of the Croatian composer Boris Papandopulo was written in 1934 when some of his works were published for the first time in the *Junior's Comrade*. Gaidarov's archive contains many of Papandopulo's compositions, bearing autographs and dedications. When, some years ago, a list of these documents was published in a study in the journal *Arti Musices*, it turned out that the manuscript of the song *Užička* [From Užice] was the unknown first part of the cycle *Ljubavne pjesme* [Love Songs], which researchers had long been attempting to find (SPASOVA & GEORGIEVA 2011: 16).

Only one letter was preserved from the correspondence between Kosta P. Manojlović and Boris Gaidarov. It was sent in 1931 and contained materials prepared for publication in Gaidarov's music collection. Until then, only one of his songs had been printed as part of a collection, while three songs were released in the following two years. A number of Manojlović's compositions with the author's dedications are preserved in Gaidarov's personal archive, some of which contain handwritten notes in the scores.²⁰

Among these are the following of Manojlović's songs, published in the *Junior's Comrade* before and after 1931:

1. K. Manojlović [К. Манојлович]. *Sedna toma na pendzhera* (1928)
2. K. Manojlović [К. Манојлович]. *Zela Neda malo mozha* (1933)
3. K. Manojlović [К. Манојлович]. *Prispivna pesen* (1935)
4. K. Manojlović [К. Манојлович]. *Sever duha (po albanska narodna pesen)* (1935).

Some Manojlović's songs with dedications to Gaidarov have also been preserved:

1. Kosta P. Manojlović [Коста П. Манојловић]. *Kosa crna m' čelo krasi*, Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo, vol. 1, 1933.
2. Kosta P. Manojlović [Коста П. Манојловић]. *Haide duall cupat/Pošle mome; As aman o syr'I zi/Oh, oko crno aman*, Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo, 1933.
3. Kosta P. Manojlović [Коста П. Манојловић]. *Rumena*, Pevačko društvo "Mokranjac", Beograd, 1938.
4. K. P. Manojlović [Коста П. Манојловић]. *Božićna noć (koledni obred). Mešoviti hor*, undated.²¹

20 Boris Gaidarov's archive is kept in the Istoricheski muzei v grad Lom [Historical Museum of the town of Lom, "HMTL"] and in the Darzhaven arhiv – Montana [State Archives – Montana, "SAM"]. See SAM, Boris Gaidarov, 593k.

21 Songs 1 and 2 come from the Boris Gaidarov folder (HMTL, inventory number 270, 264). The next,

In Manojlović's letter (see ILLUSTRATION 4) we find the following suggestions:

[...] If you include the songs in your collections, please publish them with the titles I have given and don't remove even one line from the lyrics since they reflect folk singing precisely. Any modification of that kind would spoil the synthesis. You can also publish my song *Božićna noć* [*Christmas Night*] if you want to. The lyrics are of religious character and you can eliminate only the lines that mention 'Serbs'. However, the song is not chauvinistic and the name of Serbia should be heard in Bulgaria for in Belgrade purely Bulgarian songs are being performed and Bulgarian actors have been giving concerts for three years now. [...] People from your circle should also look with fervor to the future of Slavic community and their native lands! This is the only way that glorious days will lie ahead for us!

Thank you with all my heart, Yours,
Kosta P. Manojlović²²

It seems that the Serbian composer discretely alluded to one of the problems that stood in the path of intercultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia: public response and press censorship. It is therefore necessary to discuss the influence of the political relations of two countries in the interwar period on musical cooperation. This topic was not considered in Bulgarian music press, mostly owing to its specific professional orientation: for instance, Bersenev's newspaper was defined as "purely musical" (ANONYMOUS 1923), while the Bulgarian Choral Union was constituted "as a patriotic organization [...] [of] cultural and educational, social, non-party [...]" character, as clearly stated in its Statute (ANONYMOUS 1927).

By contrast, journals such as *Slavyanski glas* [*Slavic Voice*], *Slavyanski vesti* [*Slavic News*] and *Slavyanska beseda* [*Slavic Oratory*], also non-partisan, regularly published discussions about the cultural and political connections between the two states. In my opinion, of particular interest are those which refer to "the modern concept of Slavic reciprocity", regarded as "a stage towards achieving European reciprocity and close relations of the nations" after the Great War (BOBCEV 1925).

numbers 3 and 4, are from folder 593k, Boris Gaidarov, preserved in the State Archives – Montana (List 1, Archive Unit 25, sheets 1, 11).

22 Fragment of Kosta P. Manojlović's letter to B. Gaidarov from December 25th, 1931. HMTL, Boris Gaidarov, inventory number 301, sheet 1. A Bulgarian translation of the letter is given in SPASOVA 2008: 56–57.

Collaboration in music and culture ran counter to the political currents of the time. Thus, despite the various obstacles and confrontations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia that periodically arose, strong connections were created in these fields. As a result, an “invasion” of choral ensembles took place in both countries. The art of choral singing proved to be the most suitable medium for communication to broader audiences in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Culmination was reached in the mid-1930s, when the newly established Jugoslovensko-bugarska liga [Yugoslav-Bulgarian League] in Belgrade and the Balgaro-yugoslavsko druzhestvo [Bulgarian-Yugoslav Society] in Sofia came to agreement on “the mutual acquaintance and spread of the respective national culture in both countries.” The agreement preceded the signing, in 1937, of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian Treaty of Eternal Friendship (ANONYMOUS 1937).

The exchange of choral ensembles was intensive at the time. Part of it was organized by the Bulgarian Choral Union, but most choral activities were initiated at the local level, often as the results of musicians’ personal undertakings. Boris Gaidarov’s case is only one of many examples in this context. An important figure in this process that ought to be mentioned was the Slovenian composer and conductor Emil Adamič, who organized the most remarkable concert tour in Bulgaria that included both Yugoslav and Bulgarian musicians. It encompassed the greatest Bulgarian urban centers, such as Vidin, Lom, Ruse (on the Danube), Varna, Burgas (on the Black Sea), Veliko Tarnovo, Trakia (ancient Bulgarian capitals), Plovdiv, Stara Zagora, and of course, Sofia.²³

The first visit of Emil Adamič to Bulgaria in August 1928 almost coincided with that of Manojlović. His purpose was to acquaint himself better “with [...] music and musicians” from Bulgaria. According to detailed reports of his visit in the *Music Review*, he spent some time in the town of Lom, and, in the company of Gaidarov, visited Varna, Stara Zagora, and Sofia (ANONYMOUS 1928d).²⁴ Soon after, the press announced the concerts of the Glasbena Matica choir and a choir of Slovenian teachers, which were to take place in the following year. However, these concerts did not happen until 1934 and 1935, when the Učiteljski pevski zbor [Teachers’ Choir] from Ljubljana finally visited Bulgaria (conducted by Milan Pertot).

23 During this concert tour in Bulgaria, Emil Adamič established contacts with Bulgarian musicians, as evidenced by his correspondence with Georgi Tabakov, a conductor of the Naroden Hor, choir from Burgas. See GRAMATIKOVA 2000.

24 The photograph was published under the following caption: “This photograph shows the dear guest in Stara Zagora in front of the monument in the city’s garden, surrounded by local musicians and amateurs.”

A photograph of Bulgarian and Yugoslav musicians is kept in Boris Gaidarov's archive (see ILLUSTRATION 5).²⁵ Only some of them can be recognized: Adamič, Gaidarov, Dimo Kazasov, the chairman of the Bulgarian-Yugoslav Society, and, probably, Josip Štolcer Slavenski. It is undated, but it may have been taken in Sofia in 1934 during Adamič's last visit to Bulgaria. The place is also not specified, but could be the Bulgarian capital.

One of those present was the Bulgarian musicologist Ivan Kamburov.²⁶ At the time, he published his *Ilyustrovan muzikalen rechnik* [*Illustrated Musical Dictionary*], a unique project in the history of Bulgarian musicology. An important portion of this work is dedicated to the systematization of the history of European music, including the music of South Slav countries and regions (KAMBUROV 1933). Regrettably, only a very small part of Kamburov's archive has been preserved. Some of the documents reveal his special interest in the music of the South Slavs. These include biographies of Yugoslav composers written in Serbian, an unpublished manuscript entitled *Savremenna yugoslavska muzika – osnovni napravleniya i nai-vazhni predstaviteli* [*Contemporary Yugoslav music: basic directions and key representatives*], and other documents that preceded the writing and publication of his books on Yugoslav and Croatian music history.²⁷

Kamburov's introduction to *Yugoslavska muzika. Skitsi i profili na imeniti yugoslavski kompozitori* [*Yugoslav Music. Sketches and profiles of famous Yugoslav composers*] contains some interesting insights:

during my several visits to Yugoslavia, I became acquainted with the main representatives of Yugoslav musical culture in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. I became attached to the works of a considerable number of Yugoslav musicians, both past and present. For me it is a pleasant duty to express the warmest gratitude to all who cooperated in this process, especially to Mr. Kosta Manojlović, a keen supporter of Bulgarian-Yugoslav cultural cooperation. (KAMBUROV 1940).²⁸

25 HMTL, Boris Gaidarov, inventory number 226. Photograph of Bulgarian and Yugoslav musicians, undated.

26 Ivan Kamburov (1883–1955) studied at the Leipzig Conservatory with M. Reger and A. Schering from 1905 to 1909. In 1922 he pursued specialist studies in Austria and Germany. He is the author of a number of studies and books on the history of Bulgarian, Russian, and Czech music.

27 Tsentralen darzhaven arhiv [Central State Archives], Ivan Kamburov, 355к, List 1, Archive Unit 45, Unpublished article. This folder also contains other materials: Archive Unit 62: Biographical information about Yugoslav composers (in Serbian), Archive Unit 63: Information from Boris Gaidarov about works performed by Yugoslav composers in Bulgaria.

28 About the book on Croatian music, see BOBETKO 2015.

Interest in both musical cultures was mutual, as illustrated in an excerpt from K. P. Manojlović's essay "Muzika i njen razvoj u Bugarskoj" ["Music and its development in Bulgaria"]. It is based on his research of Bulgarian authors, including Kamburov's books: "This review," wrote the Serbian composer, "would not have been possible if these sources had not been available." In conclusion, he mentioned the names of Hadzhigeorgiev and Bersenev, Dobri Hristov, the "great activity" of Gaidarov, too – in fact, all the Bulgarian musicians included in my study (MANOJLOVIĆ 1933).

This chronological arrangement of historical data outlines only fragments of the development of the idea of cultural reciprocity between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and further bilateral research is needed. This kind of research would be valuable, in my opinion, to contribute to an objective examination of relations between musicians from this part of Europe and an understanding of the complexly intertwined narratives that surrounded its expansion.

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APPENDIX

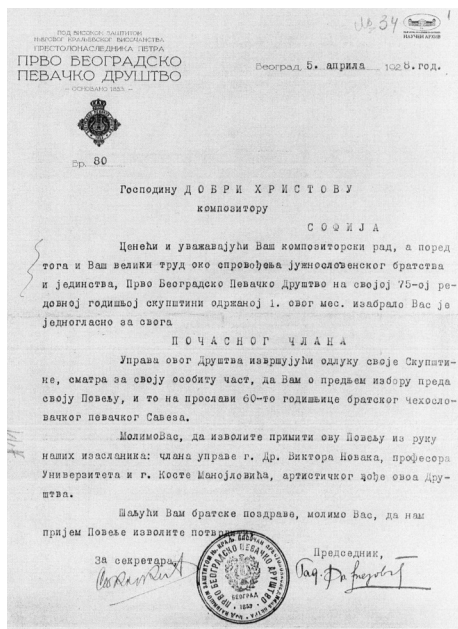


ILLUSTRATION 1. A letter from the First Belgrade Choral Society to Dobri Hristov, April 5th, 1928. SABAS, Dobri Hristov, 16k, List 1, Archive Unit 592, Sheet 1.

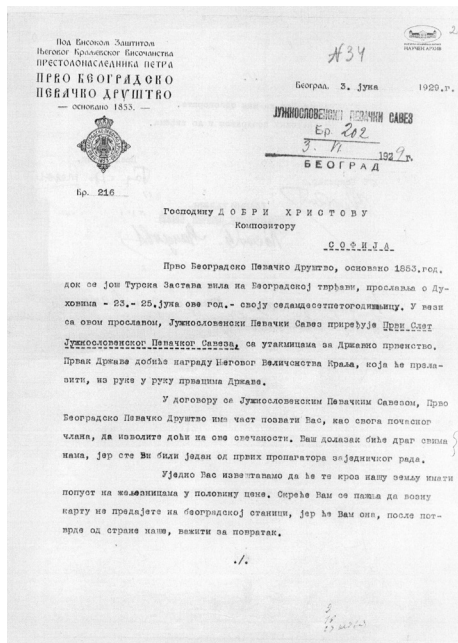


ILLUSTRATION 2a. A letter from the First Belgrade Choral Society to Dobri Hristov, June 3rd, 1929. SABAS, Dobri Hristov, 16k, List 1, Archive Unit 592, Sheet 1.

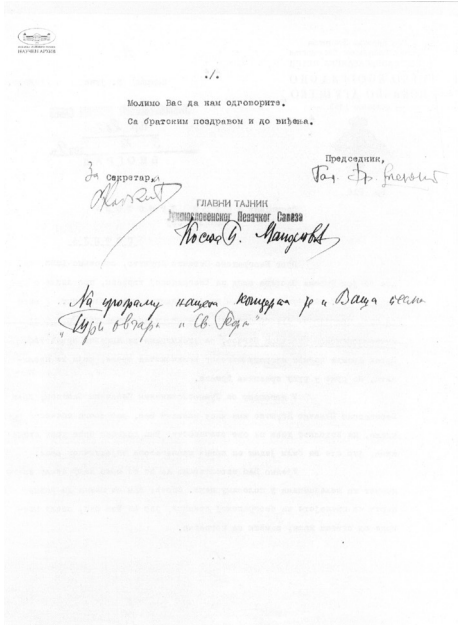


ILLUSTRATION 2b. A letter from the First Belgrade Choral Society to Dobri Hristov, June 3rd, 1929. SABAS, Dobri Hristov, 16k, List 1, Archive Unit 592, Sheet 2.

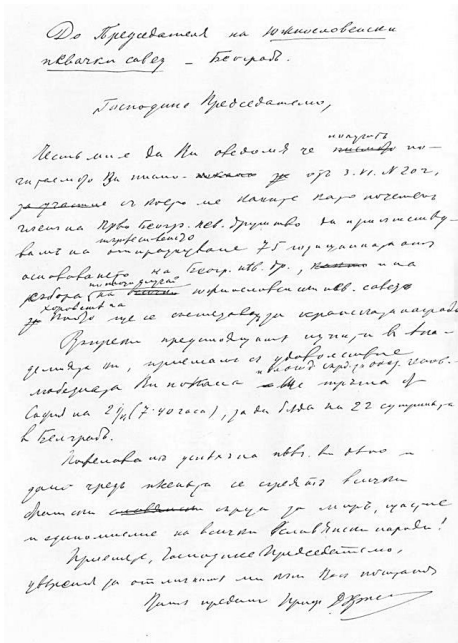


ILLUSTRATION 3. Dobri Hristov's letter draft to the First Belgrade Choral Society. SABAS, Dobri Hristov, 16k, List 1, Archive Unit 592, Sheet 3, undated.

Between Idealism and Political Reality:
Kosta P. Manojlović, South Slavic Unity and Yugoslav-
Bulgarian Relations in the 1920s

IVAN RISTIĆ

The aim of the paper is to present the general political and social context and setting in which Kosta P. Manojlović expressed his views about the unification of South Slavs. Any idea has a value that can only be understood in its historical context. Ideas arise, evolve, and disappear under conditions that are determined by broader social, political, economic, or geo-political processes. Ideas always indicate the spiritual and intellectual aspirations of the generation or historical age that brought them into being.

In general, ideas should neither be underestimated nor overestimated, because, unless backed by real political power that can put them into effect, ideas can remain just “dead letters” without serious influence. Academic and ideological discourse has often been harnessed to serve the politics of the day, legitimize political interests or ruling political paradigms, and justify political aspirations.

Given the inter-connected nature of ideological and political factors, we structured the paper as follows: 1) the first part is dedicated to an examination of ideas on South Slavic unification in a broader political context, with special emphasis on examples of Serbo-Bulgarian cooperation, and the basic characteristics of political relations between the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Bulgaria in the 1920s; and 2) the second section is based on an analysis of cultural cooperation between the two countries, and the views of Kosta P. Mihajlović on Bulgaria and Serbo-Bulgarian and Yugoslav-Bulgarian cooperation in the context of the idea of South Slavic unification.

The Political Context of the Idea of South Slav unification with
a focus on Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations after
World War I

Some historians distinguish between “Yugoslav” and “South Slavic” unification: the first concept pertains to the idea of unifying South Slavs in the Habsburg monarchy with the Principality and, later, Kingdom of Serbia, which

was achieved in 1918; the second concept implies the idea of uniting of all South Slavs: Serbs, Croats, Slovenians and Bulgarians (see OBRADOVIĆ 2010: 19–21). This distinction is a result of the different concepts of South Slavic unity that existed from the middle of the 19th century until the World War II.

The ideas South Slavic unification were tightly linked with those of Balkan unity, the Balkan Federation, the Danube Federation, and similar projects that emerged during the political crisis in the Habsburg Monarchy in the 1860s. The opening of the so-called “Eastern Question” in the 1870s (the political approach by European nations to the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, including the issue of its possessions in the Balkans), also influenced the development of these ideas (STAVRIANOS 1964: 66–123; ĐORĐEVIĆ 1995: 75–91). The idea of South Slavic unity was closely connected with the idea of Panslavism, which was propagated by political and cultural circles in the Russian Empire. Panslavism had strong supporters among the South Slavs, especially among Serbs and Bulgarians, because of strong political, religious, and cultural relations with Russia (BOZHILOV ET AL. 1993: 387–412; JOVANOVIĆ 2012: 79–154).

The discourse on South Slavic unity was especially characteristic of the period of liberation of Balkan nations from foreign rule. For example, one of the most influential Serbian political activists, 19th century political theorist Svetozar Marković,¹ spoke of the necessity of liberating Serbs from “Turkish slavery” by synchronizing the Serbian struggle for the creation of a nation-state with similar efforts of other Balkan peoples, primarily the Bulgarians. He proposed solving the “Serbian Question” in a federation of culturally close Balkan nations. Marković was an opponent of the idea of “unification of all Serbs”, because, in his view, if the Serbs wished to create their own unique state, they would have to confront the Bulgarians, Croats, and other Balkan nations. Marković’s concept of “Balkan revolution” and “Balkan Federation” also implied a need for internal transformation of Balkan societies (political liberalization, social equality, and modernization) (BJELETIĆ 1997: 89–115). One of Marković’s younger associates, Nikola Pašić,² later one of the most important Balkan statesmen, long advocated the idea of a Serbian-Bulgarian alliance. But, after the Second Balkan War, Pašić rejected all similar ideas or projects. For Pašić, before the Balkan Wars, Serbian-Bulgarian relations represented the “backbone” of Balkan integration (RISTIĆ 2012: 87–109).

The most important results in achieving a Serbian-Bulgarian alliance came about during the reign of Prince Mihailo Obrenović,³ when an agreement was

1 Svetozar Marković (1846–1875), publicist, political writer, and theorist of socialism.

2 Nikola Pašić (1845–1926), politician, statesman, leader of the Narodna radikalna stranka [National Radical Party], and Serbian and Yugoslav Prime Minister in multiple governments.

3 Mihailo Obrenović (1823–1868), Prince of Serbia (1839–1842, 1860–1868).

signed with Bulgarian émigrés in Romania (1868) that also envisaged Serbian aid to the Bulgarian Liberation Movement and the creation of the Serbian-Bulgarian “Yugoslav Empire” under the Obrenović dynasty (STOJANČEVIĆ 1988: 206–216).

The creation of a “Greater Bulgaria” (under the Treaty of San Stefano) after the Russian victory the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, and following decision made at the Berlin Congress (1878), dashed the high hopes for a Serbian-Bulgarian alliance. World War I and the role of Bulgaria in the defeat of Serbia only increased the resentment, disparagement, and negative stereotypes about Bulgarians (or Serbs, in the Bulgarian case) (STAVRIANOS 2005: 375–394; MILOSAVLJEVIĆ 2002: 232–251; TODOROV 2000).

Serbs and Bulgarians entered the 1920s with a victorious Kingdom of Serbia, which had accomplished its main war aim, the creation of Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and a defeated and humiliated Bulgaria, a renegade of the “Slavic world”, portrayed as a “traitor” to the idea of a South Slavic Alliance, on the other. After the terrible war, anyone who spoke about South Slavic unity, which would imply acceptance of Bulgarians, encountered a wall of prejudice, hatred, and public resistance.

Academic discourse supported this state of affairs. Leading intellectuals (such as Tihomir Đorđević⁴ and Bogdan Popović⁵) expounded on the “treacherous policy” and “cruelty” of the Bulgarians as products of their supposed “immorality”, a trait of their “national character”. (ĐORĐEVIĆ 1929; POPOVIĆ 1919). The press overflowed with representations of Bulgarians as “barbarians”, “Asian-Tartar torturers”, etc. (see RISTIĆ 2017: 616–631). For the writer and journalist Dragiša Vasić,⁶ Bulgarians were the “worst people in the world” and “beasts” (VASIĆ 1990: 20–21). The famous writer Bora Stanković⁷ described Bulgarians as “the excrement of the human race” (STANKOVIĆ 2000: 291). In his famous study of South Slavic psychological characteristics, the renowned geographer and a founding father of anthropogeography, Jovan Cvijić, suggested that economic conditions and poor social status under Ottoman rule had developed Bulgarian “egotism”. Cvijić also claimed that Bulgarians respected “only force” (CVIJIĆ 2006: 299–313). These examples show the views that dominated public and academic discourse about Bulgarians in the 1920s.

Political relations between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Bulgaria complemented the negative attitudes dominant in the public and

4 Tihomir Đorđević (1868–1944), ethnologist and cultural historian, academician, professor of Belgrade University.

5 Bogdan Popović (1864–1944), literary critic, academician, and professor of Belgrade University.

6 Dragiša Vasić (1885–1945), publicist, writer, journalist, and politician.

7 Borisav Stanković (1876–1927).

academic fields. There were constant political tensions. The most problematic issue was the so-called “*komitadji* question”⁸, which produced political confrontations. The paramilitary and revolutionary anti-Yugoslav organization, the *Vatreshna makedonska revolyutsionna organizatsiya* [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, or IMRO], which fought for the separation of so-called Vardar Macedonia from Yugoslavia and its unification with Bulgaria, had camps located in Bulgarian territory. The IMRO’s armed paramilitary companies would enter Yugoslav territory from Bulgaria, and Yugoslav authorities considered the Bulgarian government responsible for the IMRO’s operations (TASIĆ 2002: 92–107).

Under such political conditions, cultural cooperation was almost impossible; it was spontaneous and limited to individual efforts. In the 1920s, Serbs and Bulgarians, despite linguistic, religious and geographical similarities, were strangers to each other’s culture. In June 1928, the prominent Belgrade daily *Politika* wrote: “[...] so little do we know of Bulgarians in the fields of science, literature, and art.” (ANONYMOUS 1928: 6). Veljko Petrović,⁹ writing in the same newspaper, claimed that “nine of ten Serbian writers have almost no idea of what is being written, or who is writing, in Bulgaria.” (PETROVIĆ 1927).

In the rare moments when cultural and intellectual cooperation was intensified, it was mainly under the influence of the change in foreign policies of the two states. The best example is public discourse about the necessity of cultural rapprochement with Bulgaria starting in early 1926. Yugoslav-Bulgarian political relations had considerably improved since late 1925 (RISTIĆ 2017: 320–328), which resulted in the strengthening of cultural ties. In April 1926, the *Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo* [First Belgrade Choral Society]¹⁰ (led by Kosta P. Manojlović) began to prepare for Easter concerts in Sofia, a sort of cultural and diplomatic mission. In the Bulgarian capital a welcoming committee was formed, composed by state officials, including ministers and prominent cultural activists. The performance was officially cancelled because Macedonian organizations had threatened demonstrations in Sofia over the Easter holidays (RISTIĆ 2017: 654). However, high politics was the real reason: at the same time, the Bulgarian government refused an Arbitration Pact offered by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Momčilo Ninčić,¹¹ as the main requirement was for Bulgaria to stop helping the IMRO. After this refusal, Ninčić threatened to

8 From *komitadji*, also *komite*, members of Macedonian paramilitary forces who saw themselves as fighters for the liberation of Macedonians under Yugoslav and Greek rule.

9 Veljko Petrović (1884–1967), writer, playwright, academician, Director of the *Narodno pozorište* [National Theater] in Belgrade, president of the *Matica Srpska* in Novi Sad.

10 Known as the *Beogradsko pevačko društvo* [Belgrade Choral Society] from 1853 to 1923.

11 Momčilo Ninčić (1876–1949), Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs (1922–1924, 1924–1926).

cut off all activities aiming to improve cultural cooperation between the two countries. Cultural cooperation was, therefore, just a tactical move in the course of day-to-day politics. In particular, in the second half of the 1920s, cultural cooperation was seen as a precondition for political cooperation, as a “bridge” that would first connect “the two South Slavic banks” and overcome the deep chasms between two nations (RISTIĆ 2013: 80–84).

Kosta P. Manojlović’s Attitudes about Yugoslav-Bulgarian Reconciliation

Kosta P. Manojlović was one of the rare idealists who were fascinated with the idea of South Slavic unification. He was primarily oriented towards the future, but clearly understood the tragic conflicts between the two countries. He found it unquestionable that Bulgarians were an organic part of the large South Slav family. His sincere enthusiasm was manifested at the most difficult times for the Bulgarians. After a major earthquake in southern Bulgaria in April 1928, public appeals could be heard across Yugoslavia for help to “the brothers in trouble.” The Jugoslovenski narodni odbor za pomoć žrtvama u Bugarskoj [Yugoslav National Committee for Help to Victims in Bulgaria] was established to collect money for the Bulgarian people. On behalf of the Committee, Manojlović delivered the money to the Bulgarians. He shared his impressions about this event with readers of *Politika*, and these articles can be considered a personal manifesto in which he expressed his views on the Serbian-Bulgarian and Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations and the need for unity and alliance. At the outset, Manojlović says that, when he arrived in Sofia, he felt that he came to a place “which is ours, but we know so little about it” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928a: 6). He also noted that it should be “freely admitted that there have been mistakes on both sides and that it is the last moment to consign all this to oblivion.” Manojlović proposes the reconsideration of the consequences of conflicts between Serbs and Bulgarians and the drawing of conclusions which will help the creation of “a great future of the South Slavs [...]” (1928a: 6). In the 1920s, to publicly state that mistakes had been committed by both sides was an extremely brave gesture, as the mutual accusations and one-sided interpretations of the common past were dominant in political and public arena.

In Sofia, Manojlović gained the impression that a new phase of mutual trust had been established, and he appealed for going beyond “Platonic conversations and statements [...]” and putting the new-found understanding to practical use.

In the Bulgarian capital Manojlović met Stoyan Danev,¹² previously an adherent of the idea of Serbian-Bulgarian collaboration, and at the time Chairman of the Bulgarian Red Cross. Conversation with Danev gave Manojlović a huge fillip: of it, he writes that “we entered into an era of mutual trust when all the problems can be discussed in a brotherly and sincere fashion.” Manojlović recalls the first visit of the Belgrade Choral Society to Plovdiv in 1895, the first cultural outreach after the unfortunate Serbian-Bulgarian War (1885). He recalls the welcome he received and the speech of Ivan Geshov,¹³ who said that, regardless of the conflicts, “no force or politics can destroy the eternal fraternal love between the Serbs and the Bulgarians” and that the day would come when “united Serbian and Bulgarian bayonets” would defy Europe. Manojlović concludes that the day foretold by Geshov decades ago “is coming” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928a: 6). In the following article, Manojlović speaks about the role of the church and the need for the Serbian Orthodox Church to recognize the Bulgarian Church. He concludes that Orthodoxy is very important for the future of the South Slavs (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928b: 10).

Conclusion

Kosta P. Manojlović’s enthusiasm for Yugoslav-Bulgarian unity based on the idea of South-Slavism (Yugoslavism) was probably in part the result of his personal religious and patriotic convictions. However, his enthusiasm was not realistic. Political interests and power struggles opposed to his views affected the political processes of the day. Interests of security and preservation of the post-war political order, which isolated Bulgaria politically, as well as the geopolitical strategies of the Great Powers, marginalized the impact of the activities of the few progressive intellectuals whose ideals were gainsaid by the cold reality of the time.

12 Stoyan Danev [Стоян Петров Данев] (1858–1949), Bulgarian politician and statesman, Prime Minister in a number of Bulgarian Governments.

13 Ivan Geshov [Иван Евстратиев Гешов] (1849–1924), Bulgarian politician and statesman, Prime Minister of Bulgaria (1911–1913).

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THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES/ YUGOSLAVIA BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND REALITY

The Contribution of Kosta P. Manojlović to the Foundation and Functioning of the Južnoslovenski pevački savez [South-Slav Choral Union]^{*}

BILJANA MILANOVIĆ

The South-Slav Choral Union [SSCU] (1924–1941) was the largest musical organization in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [SCS], later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It was founded with the intention of working for the social, ethnic, and cultural unification of the various areas of the newly formed state by bringing together choral societies and practicing choral singing. The aspiration of the Union was to extend its membership to Bulgarian choirs in the near future and to become a significant factor in creating South-Slavic and Slavic music in the broader European context through its activities in the Sveslovenski pevački savez [All-Slav Choral Union, “ASCU”].

The Union was joined by choirs not only from the major musical centers of the country, which included some with long traditions and substantial artistic reputations, but also by ensembles from smaller cities, including some village choral societies. Such membership was a convenient platform for connecting musical amateurism, professionalism, and high artism. A number of members of the artistic and intellectual elite active in the field of choral singing were characterized as the main ideologues and pillars of the Union and its artistic program and organizational structure. Usually acting as leaders of prominent choral societies, they occupied important positions in professional and administrative bodies of the SSCU and/or its districts. There is no doubt that Kosta P. Manojlović played the most important role among them. He was the key figure in establishing the Union, and, later, in its operation, especially during the first decade of its existence, when he served as its Secretary-General (1924–1932).

Numerous activities that Manojlović undertook and developed at the SSCU fall into the unexplored areas of the work of this artist. At the same time, there has to date been no extensive research into the Union itself.¹ For a detailed study

* This paper is part of research done on the project *Serbian Musical Identities Within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (No. 177004), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

1 Older musicological literature does not recognize the importance of the SSCU. Disproportionately

in that context, it is necessary to take into account an extensive review of historical documentation of the SSCU.² As a separate archival unit, this collection includes extremely rich and diverse materials: from rulebooks and other documents of the Union, the inventory of the Muzički muzej [Musical Museum] and the Library, manuscripts and printed materials prepared for annual congresses, minutes of meetings and reports of the Artistički odbor [Artistic Committee], correspondence with individuals and government institutions, choral societies and other musical organizations, to memorandums circulated within the SSCU, information on choral societies, concert programs, and photographs.³ It allows the reader to continuously track all aspects of this organization throughout its existence, as well to place its work within the context of socio-political and cultural history. Other primary sources are much narrower and less useful, and permit only partial exploration of the activities of the Union.⁴

My paper resulted from the idea to initiate detailed research into the largest choral organization in the interwar Yugoslavia and to shed light on Manojlović's involvement in it. Therefore, I have focused on the first years of the Union's operation, which had not been covered by previous research. My goal is to analyze and contextualize a number of activities that were part of the remit of the SSCU's first Secretary and ask questions about Manojlović's impact on the character and, in particular, ideology of the Union. In view of this context, to highlight the main theses in examining the complex position from which

little attention was paid to this organization, both in works about choral societies (e.g. PEJOVIĆ 1986: 23) and in the most comprehensive study of Manojlović (MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1990: 50–51, 75). The first contribution to the study of the Union was made in the field of historical science (DIMIĆ 1996: 312–325). The SSCU has only recently incited the interest of musicological studies, particularly as part of research into certain institutions or themes associated with the SSCU's activities (PETROVIĆ, ĐAKOVIĆ & MARKOVIĆ 2004; MILANOVIĆ 2010, 2011; VASIĆ 2012, 2014, 2016).

- 2 Istorijski arhiv Beograda [Historical Archives of Belgrade, "HAB"], South-Slav Choral Union 1924–1941 [SSCU], HAB-1090/1–35.
- 3 The archive materials are tentatively divided into different sections and contain three archival books and 32 boxes (HAB, SSCU, 1090/1–3, 4–35). There is no inventory of the materials contained within, which significantly complicates data collection, systematization, and processing.
- 4 There are separate documents about the SSCU in different funds of the Archives of Yugoslavia, and some of these sources were used in research into the organization (DIMIĆ 1996: 312–325). A part of the material on the SSCU was stored in the archives of the Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo [First Belgrade Choral Society] (PETROVIĆ, ĐAKOVIĆ & MARKOVIĆ 2004: 81–84, 86–92, 100, 102), which, unfortunately, has long been unavailable for investigation. A number of musical magazines acted as the SSCU's mouthpieces at different times: *Muzika* [Music] (1928–1929), *Glasnik Muzičkog društva "Stanković"* [Gazette of the Stanković Musical Society]/*Muzički glasnik* [Musical Gazette] (1929–1934), and then by *Vesnik Južnoslovenskog pevačkog saveza* [Gazette of the South-Slav Choral Union] (1935–1936, 1938) as the association's only independent newsletter. The texts on the Union that those newspapers published have been researched a number of times (MILANOVIĆ 2011; VASIĆ 2012, 2014, 2016). Those magazines were also used as sources that included annual reports, resolutions, membership notifications, and other information released by the Union: together, these publications constitute substantial material for research into the activities of the SSCU (MILANOVIĆ 2011).

Manojlović worked, I need to emphasize a number of key features of the SSCU that made it specific and affected its internal dynamics, but that also caused problems in its functioning.

One of the main features of the Union was the ideology of integral Yugoslavism, which was continuously and permanently advocated by the organization, and influenced the composition of its membership from the very beginning. The founders of the SSCU were the Savez srpskih pevačkih društava [Union of Serbian Choral Societies] from Belgrade, the Zveza slovenskih pevskih zborov [Union of Slovenian Choral Societies] from Ljubljana, and three Croatian choral ensembles from Zagreb (Lisinski), Dubrovnik (Dubrava) and Sušak (Jeka sa Jadrana [Echo from Jadran]) which did not belong to any unions. Their representatives signed the SSCU's *Pravila* [Rulebook] adopted at the founding congress of the organization in Ljubljana on April 6th, 1924.⁵ Although the Union was open to all choral societies in the Kingdom of SCS, it consisted of primarily Serbian and Slovenian ensembles, even at its later stages. Its membership never included a significant proportion of Croatian choirs, as most of them were part of the Hrvatski pjevački savez [Croatian Choral Union, "CCU"], which rejected the SSCU's ideology and did not want to join. Representatives of national minorities also reacted very poorly to membership invitations, since they identified more closely with the cultures of their respective mother nations than with the idea of integral Yugoslavism, persistently propagated by the Union. Given the constant desire of the SSCU to become the umbrella institution for all choirs at the state level, when researching the organization's ideological dimensions it is particularly important to examine the thesis of integral Yugoslavism as an obstacle to its activities and the major tasks that the Union set itself.

Another very important particularity of the SSCU is related to the inertia with which its internal structure changed. Its internal organization remained almost the same from the Union's establishment until 1929. Its operation focused on the so-called Assembly of Delegates, or Congress, which was a plenary body composed of representatives of the Union's choral societies, and met once a year, at a location of its own choosing. The Assembly decided on all the affairs of the Union, from issues of the budget and approval of final accounts, to enacting the work program for the coming year, to resolving disputes between members and interpreting and amending the SSCU's rules. It formulated its conclusions and decisions in the form of resolutions. The

5 On behalf of the Slovenian side, the document was signed by Matej Hubad, President and Anton Švigelj, Vice-President of the Slovenian Union, Viktor Novak signed for the three Croatian choirs, and Kosta P. Manojlović set down his signature for the Union of Serbian Choral Societies (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, *Pravila Južnoslovenskog pevačkog saveza* [Rulebook of the South-Slav Choral Union], Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1924).

Congress was chaired by the President and the Vice-President who were elected from the delegates in attendance. The rules did not envisage the administration of the Union, which would have had a regulated power-sharing structure, but only one representative, a Secretary-General, was elected every year. He executed the decisions of the Assembly of Delegates, and was at the service of all the choral societies of the SSCU throughout the year.

Such an organization had many disadvantages. The SSCU rested on the shoulders of the Secretary-General, the sole responsible officer, who in certain situations had to make decisions that affected the operation of the entire Union. At the same time, the absence of separate administrative, executive, and supervisory bodies, which would have been responsible for particular affairs and for the operation of ensembles in lower administrative subdivisions of the state, made the members more passive and adversely affected how they communicated with one another, which greatly contributed to the Union's ineffectiveness.

Representatives of some societies acknowledged these problems, so almost every annual congress was an opportunity to propose improvements to the SSCU's organization. Particularly, there were discussions about administratively dividing the Union into choral districts, and this complex issue was resolved only slowly and in a number of stages, which lasted throughout the existence of the SSCU. This issue stimulated lively discussion as early as at the first two delegates' assemblies.⁶ Some members, especially Slovenian choirs, had a need for a stronger local connection. A choral district, as a link between choral societies, presented an opportunity for lectures, courses, and mutual consultations, as well as assistance to choirs in small towns and guidance for artistic programs; the assumption was that all those activities should have been done at the local level "in the spirit of the SSCU and while building national art for the whole country." It was also realized that districts could provide relief to the Secretary-General, who rarely had the financial (and other) means and opportunity to visit members of the Union and directly influence the activities of choirs in, various, and often remote, parts of the country. At the same time, most choral societies considered that it was not necessary to make choral districts mandatory because doing so called for substantial material, professional and other resources and much effort, and it was voted that districts of the Union were to be constituted where possible and necessary.⁷ At first, only

6 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, Circular letters of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, September 15th, 1925; February 17th, 1926; September 1st, 1926; HAB-1090/4, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, October 5th, 1926; HAB-1090/18, Stenographic Record of the 2nd Assembly of Delegates held on October 3rd, 1926; K[osta]. P. Manojlović, Report of the Secretary-General submitted to the Second Assembly of Delegates on October 3rd, 1926 in Novi Sad.

7 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, Stenographic Record; HAB-1090/4, Amendments to the Rulebook of the SSCU adopted at the 2nd Assembly of Delegates of the S.S.C. Union on October 3rd, 1926 in Novi Sad;

the Ljubljana District was founded, although there were desires and intentions for district organizations to be set up in other areas, too.⁸ This sluggishness in establishing some administrative artistic areas persisted even after the SSCU was reorganized in 1929 and mandatory districts were introduced, together with a planned territorial division of the Union along those lines.⁹

Of all the aspects of the work of the Union, the example of the slow constitution of its districts best shows how the SSCU was beset by problems caused by complex political, administrative, economic, social, and cultural circumstances in the Yugoslav state between the two World Wars, and also bear out just how difficult and slow it was to bring into line the unequal musical traditions, musical and educational circumstances, opportunities, and needs in the territories that found themselves within the borders of the common state. However, what is important here is the fact that the establishment of the Union in such a large territory represented a completely new experience, and therefore a novelty for all the members and representatives of the SSCU, including Manojlović himself. The SSCU's first years were the initial period of consolidation, as well as a time in which choral societies became acquainted with one another. It was only the 1929 reorganization that marked the establishment of a solid base for the rational division of management, administration, and oversight of the SSCU, embodied in the formation of the Union's Administration as its governing body, and the Artistic and Supervisory Boards as subsidiary entities.¹⁰ Since the Secretary-General was one of the eleven members of the Union's Administration, and shared a huge range of heterogeneous activities with them, it must be pointed out that Manojlović's position was highly demanding and extremely unenviable.

HAB-1090/19, *Pravilnik župe Jugoslovenskega Pevačkoga Saveza* [Rulebook of the Districts of the South-Slav Choral Union], Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1926.

- 8 Discussions focused on the need for a Maribor District and districts in Vojvodina as early as at the 2nd Assembly of Delegates (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, Stenographic Record). However, only the district of Ljubljana, led by Matej Hubad, showed a willingness to organize and engage in practical work. The Ljubljana District had drafted the Rulebook, which was adopted at the same Assembly for the entire SSCU.
- 9 The SSCU's reorganization was planned at the 5th Assembly of Delegates in 1929, which divided the Union into 26 territorial districts (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/19, *Minutes of the 5th Assembly of Delegates of the South-Slav Choral Union held on September 28th–29th 1929 in Skopje*; HAB-1090/5, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, November 25th, 1929; HAB-1090/34, *District Map of the SSCU*). By the time the 8th Assembly of Delegates was held on May 14th–16th, 1932, several districts had been organized, with their headquarters in Novi Sad, Sombor, Skopje, Zagreb, Vukovar, Pančevo, Niš, Šabac, Kragujevac, Sarajevo, Maribor, and Banja Luka, which, together with the Ljubljana District, constituted only one-half half of the planned administrative units (ANONYMOUS 1930b, 1931, 1932a). Their creation proceeded slowly, despite changes to rules governing the number and size of districts. This, however, is a separate subject for future research.
- 10 *PRAVILA JUŽNOSLOVENSKOG PEVAČKOG SAVEZA* [RULEBOOK OF THE SOUTH-SLAV CHORAL UNION], Beograd: Državna štamparija, 1929.

Manojlović's contribution to the continuity of the SSCU's work

Although there were problems in the SSCU, as well as objections to the work of the Secretary, Manojlović was re-elected to the same position year after year. He also held the position of Secretary-General in the subsequently created Union Administration, and retired voluntarily, together with other members of that body who conditionally accepted re-election at 8th Congress of the SSCU in 1932, only after it was agreed to hold an extraordinary Congress that year and elect a new Administration.¹¹

During the first years of the SSCU, Manojlović's duties were numerous. In addition to taking care of the treasury, current archives, and correspondence, someone had to take pioneering steps in the founding of the Musical Museum and Library, organize a borrowing library of choral scores and keep records of it, work on the printing of score editions, prepare and publish enactments of the Union, ensure the execution of the SSCU's official decisions, and, finally, report on those and all other aspects and results of the Union's work to the annual Delegates' Assemblies in detail.

Manojlović continuously directed a part of his activities to petitioning government authorities for better status of the SSCU and improving the financial situation of the Union's members. On many occasions, he approached the Ministry of Education, the Chairman and Finance Committee of the National Assembly, Members of Parliament, and other authorities, asking for financial assistance for the Union from the annual budget, and allocation of funds to the SSCU's member choral societies and deserving individuals. He also intervened for rail fare subsidies for traveling to the Union's congresses and visiting choir performances, as well as for state tax exemptions for concerts, as the poor finances of the choirs often meant the concerts earned less than they cost.

Manojlović frequently reported conclusions from the SSCU's annual Congresses on the need for Union members to join in lobbying for financial aid and tax exemptions, so that the SSCU could also enjoy benefits already available to sports, youth, and educational associations. He lamented the influence of party politics and "tribal" political divisions on artistic issues and contributed

11 Manojlović was elected Secretary-General at the founding Congress of the SSCU. He was re-elected at the 1st Assembly of Delegates in Sarajevo (October 25th, 1925), the 2nd, in Novi Sad (October 2nd–4th, 1926), the 3rd, in Zagreb (December 8th–10th, 1927), the 4th, in Belgrade (December 1–2, 1928), the 5th in Skoplje (September 28th–29th, 1929), the 6th, in Kotor (June 8th–9th, 1930), the 7th, in Sombor (May 31st–June 2nd, 1931), and the 8th, in Ljubljana (May 14th–16th 1932). The new Union's Administration was elected at the 1st Extraordinary Congress in Belgrade (October 9th, 1932), when Mihailo Vukdragović, the former first Head Choirmaster of the SSCU, replaced Manojlović.

to the Union's protest against an allegedly ill-advised decision by the Minister of Education, Stjepan Radić, to finance the Croatian Choral Union.¹² In those first years of the SSCU, assistance was not only irregular but also extremely limited. For the few results achieved in that domain, Manojlović most often thanked the Umetničko odeljenje Ministarstva prosvete [Ministry of Education's Arts Department], which had understanding for the SSCU, supported it, informed it about possible financial benefits, and helped it with reduced rail fares.¹³ Those were the beginnings of the SSCU's constant pressure on the various state institutions, which the Union's Administration continued to exert in the later stages, where the organization fought inadequate legal regulations and sluggish administration. However, in contrast to its early years, the SSCU received annual state aid after the proclamation of the January 6th Dictatorship in 1929, which was definitely helped by the ideological affinity of this association with the new regime.¹⁴

Manojlović tried to improve the attitude towards the SSCU within the organization itself, a long-term process that his successors and other

12 Radić allocated 20,000 dinars to the CCU in the last monthly budget for 1925. Manojlović then asked the Parliamentary Finance Committee to grant the same amount as assistance to the SSCU. Several MPs seconded his motion, but to no avail. Then, instead of the original sum as shown in the printed budget proposal, Radić allocated double the amount, 40,000 dinars, to the CCU. Manojlović pointed out in the report of the SSCU Congress that the case "is too self-explanatory to be explained" and that "it is regrettable that MPs, who keep referring to 'agreement' and 'unity', turn a deaf ear to an appeal of a Union" whose members make those words "become reality". Then, in the resolution of the Congress, it was noted that delegates protested against the minister's decision, whose actions had helped "a separatist idea that runs counter to our spiritual and national unity" (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, K[osta] P. Manojlović, Report of the Secretary-General submitted to the 2nd Assembly of Delegates; HAB-1090/4; Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, October 5th, 1926).

13 From the 1928–29 budget, the Arts Department provided assistance to choral societies from Ljubljana (3,000 dinars), the Jewish choral society Lira [Lyre] of Sarajevo (5,000), the choirs Mladost [Youth] of Zagreb (6,000), Mokranjac of Skopje (3,000) and Jeka [Echo] of Sušak (3,000). The SSCU received only 3,000 dinars (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/19, Report of Kosta Manojlović to the 4th Assembly of Delegates of the SSCU). The SSCU had not hitherto obtained any annual financial assistance except at the time of its founding, when it received 20,000 dinars from the state. There is extensive documentation on various financial matters, privileges, taxes, and royal patronage in relation to different societies and the Union (e.g. HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/4, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, December 19th, 1927; HAB-1090/27, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, December 15th, 1928; HAB-1090/4, Transcript of the Decision of the Ministry of Finance of the Kingdom of SCS, Directorate General of Taxes, No. 118.820/26, February 14th, 1927; HAB-1090/4, Ljubljana District of the SSCU to the Secretary-General of the SSCU, September 21st, 1927; HAB-1090/4, Jugoslavensko akademsko pjevačko muzičko društvo "Mladost" [Mladost Yugoslav Academic Choral Musical Society] of Zagreb to the General Secretariat of the SSCU, March 21st, 1926; HAB-1090/5, The Office of Court Protocol to the SSCU, May 31st, 1929).

14 On the financing of the SSCU, problems with state, provincial, municipal, and copyright-related taxes, see MILANOVIĆ 2011. Archival documentation abounds in data that allows more detailed research into these topics (e.g. HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/1–2, Minutes of Sessions of the Main Administration of the SSCU).

representatives of the Union's Administration also continued to deal with. He used almost every speech to SSCU members as an opportunity to remind them to pay their annual dues to the Union and honor their commitments by either paying for or returning the Union's editions, and to send information about choral societies, work reports, and concert programs. Its members' poor finances, which made it impossible for the Union to rely on its planned cost calculations, were only a part of the problem. Societies were irresponsible in their dealings with the SSCU: it was difficult even to determine the exact number of its members due to their failure to respond to the Secretary's pleas.¹⁵

The difficult conditions in which the SSCU worked, especially during the first years after its establishment, significantly limited and slowed down its planned artistic activities. However, results were still achieved. The establishment of the Musical Museum with a library, the organization of the Prva jugoslovenska muzička izložba [First Yugoslav Musical Exhibition], the establishment of the Union's Library, publication of an edition of choral works, and organization of the Union's first choral competition and regional and district festivals laid the foundation for the SSCU's basic musical activities.

At the beginning of his tenure as the SSCU's Secretary, Manojlović served as Conductor of the Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo [First Belgrade Choral Society, "FBCS"]. This position allowed him to rely on the help of his home choir institution, which was itself one of the main advocates of the founding of the SSCU and a major supporter of its earliest activities. This was particularly apparent in 1926, when the FBCS was chaired by Viktor Novak, one of the founding members of the SSCU, and later the president of the Union's Administration.¹⁶ The first public presentation of the SSCU was pushed through the project of Museum and the Yugoslav Music Exhibition, organized together with the FBCS.

The First Yugoslav Music Exhibition (April 11th–18th, 1926) presented a total of 1,380 exhibits, musical editions, and manuscripts given to Manojlović for that occasion by composers, bookstores, and various musical and other institutions from Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sofia, Velika Kikinda, and Ložišće

15 Manojlović made an effort to create a list of all choral societies in the Kingdom, comprising over 400 societies. During the first years of the Union's work, it was estimated that the SSCU had between 250 and 300 members. There was no record of membership. The exact number could not be determined, as there were societies that never responded to invitations of the Secretary-General.

16 The activities of the FBCS in the SSCU lasted until 1934, when the choral society was riven by fractional strife and seceded from the Union. At that time, Manojlović and a group of singers left the FBCS and founded the Pevačko društvo "Mokranjac" [Mokranjac Choral Society], remaining faithful to membership in the SSCU. The FBCS rejoined the SSCU in 1938 (PETROVIĆ, ĐAKOVIĆ & MARKOVIĆ 2004: 92, 100).

on the island of Brač.¹⁷ Manojlović also corresponded with a number of individuals about sending and exhibiting musical artefacts (see ILLUSTRATIONS 1 and 2).¹⁸ Some of the exhibits, 330 original manuscripts and 650 printed editions, were donated to the Musical Museum, founded by the FBCS in cooperation with the SSCU. The Museum was intended to eventually become an independent national institution, in which all manuscripts of domestic composers and printed musical publications would be kept, with its founders taking care of the collection until such time.¹⁹ This independent national institution was never founded, but the Museum's library became a significant repository of score editions for the SSCU members themselves, who were able to borrow choral compositions from it.²⁰ In this role it would soon be supplanted by the Library of the Union, which began to receive choral editions of the SSCU in that very same year.²¹

Musical editions of the Union were the most important contributions to the continuity of the SSCU's work. A total of 28 volumes of works for mixed, male, and female choir by Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian authors were published by the end of Manojlović's term in office in the Union's Administration (1932).²² Manojlović himself took part in the selection of the first 14 volumes, and they were published by the end of 1927, the first scores printed on the modern printing press in the Muzičko odeljenje Državne štamparije [Musical Notation Department of the State Publishing Company].²³ This edition was continued after the reorganization of the SSCU, when the

17 The exhibition catalog lists musical editions and manuscripts (nos. 1–1006), additional compositions by South Slavic authors (nos. 1–81), and 33 memorials of societies, 110 concert programs, and 9 musical newspapers, as well as exhibited documents (nos. 1–141) from the Yugoslav Musicology and Theater Museum of Đura Nazor (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/34, *Catalogue of the First Yugoslav Music Exhibition*, Oficirski dom in Belgrade, April 11th–18th, 1926). A FBCS concert was held during the exhibition (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/34, First Concert of Yugoslav Choral Music, FBCS, Concert Program, Belgrade, June 1929).

18 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/4, Petar Konjović from Zagreb to Kosta Manojlović, March 29th, 1926; Božidar Širola from Zagreb to Kosta Manojlović, April 2nd, 3rd and 6th, 1926.

19 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/29, Musical Museum and Library (Internal Rules), Belgrade, March 25th, 1927.

20 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, K[osta] P. Manojlović, Report of the Secretary-General submitted to the 2nd Assembly of Delegates

21 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, *Pravila muzičke biblioteke Južnoslovenskog pevačkog saveza [Rules of Musical Library of the South-Slav Choral Union]*, February 20th, 1926.

22 Among them were works by Emil Adamič, Jakov Gotovac, Petar Konjović, Stevan Mokranjac, Josip Slavenski, Antun Dobronić, Ivan Matetić Ronjgov, Marij Kogoj, Stevan Hristić, Božidar Širola, Kosta Manojlović, Pera Ž. Ilić, Josif Marinković, Miloje Milojević, and Marko Tajčević.

23 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, K[osta] P. Manojlović, Report of the Secretary-General submitted to the 2nd Assembly of Delegates; HAB-1090/4, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, April 26th, 1927.

Artistic Committee was made responsible for selecting the pieces. Manojlović worked with the Committee on artistic issues of the SSCU.²⁴

Manojlović's devotion to printing music sheets is evidenced by his work during the first year he was in charge of project, before the reorganization of the Union. At that time, he was occupied with other, quite diverse editorial obligations. He contacted composers to send in their works, and corresponded about fees for published items (see ILLUSTRATION 3).²⁵ He was concerned not only with the printing of scores, but also with calculating and paying expenses, and distributing and keeping records of copies sent, collected, and donated. He was fastidious in pursuing this work, because it was difficult to settle debts. Sheet music sold poorly in consignment bookstores, and a large part of the Union's membership did not buy printed editions even though they were made available to them at privileged prices.²⁶

Manojlović, however, never lost either enthusiasm for his work or belief in the cultural and national mission of the SSCU. Along with publishing editions, he laid the groundwork for the Union's competitions, which he considered the climax of the artistic and organizational efforts of the choir association. As early as at the 3rd Assembly of Delegates, his proposal for a Rulebook for those events was adopted. Soon afterwards, the SSCU also began to consider holding such an event to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the FBCS.²⁷ For several months before the competition was to take place (in Belgrade, on June 23rd and 24th, 1929), Manojlović applied himself to the organization of the event and to ironing out the precise details of the competition, of which he notified the SSCU's members.²⁸ A program for three competition categories was selected,

24 See, for example, HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/28, Minutes of the 1st session the Artistic Committee of the SSCU held on May 18th, 1930; Minutes of sessions of the Artistic Committee in 1934; Minutes of sessions of the Artistic Committee in 1935.

25 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, Miloje Milojević to the General Secretariat of the SSCU, September 29th, 1926; HAB-1090/4, Krsto Odak from Zagreb to Kosta Manojlović, December 8th, 1927; HAB-1090/5, Ivan Matetić-Rognjov from Zagreb to Kosta Manojlović, April 27th, 1928; Pera Ž. Ilić from Skopje to Kosta Manojlović, December 5th, 1928; Antun Dobronić from Zagreb to the Main Administration of the SSCU, November 24th, 1928; Antun Dobronić from Zagreb to Kosta Manojlović, November 24th, 1928; Marij Kogoj from Ljubljana to Kosta Manojlović, January 1st, 1929; HAB-1090/28, Marij Kogoj from Ljubljana to Kosta Manojlović, July 20th, 1927.

26 For example, in Manojlović's records, the situation at the end of 1928 was as follows: 5,270 dinars had been collected from members, accounting for only 118 of the 270 parcels sent; scores priced at only 1,920.50 dinars had been sold by consignment bookstores in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Skopje (while the value of the publications supplied had been 18,673.50 dinars), publications valued at 6,310 dinars had been donated, and the bill with the State Publishing Company for the first 12 volumes was 25,377.79 dinars (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/19, Report of Kosta Manojlović to the 4th Assembly of Delegates of the SSCU).

27 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/4, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, December 19th, 1927; HAB-1090/5, *Pravilnik za utakmicu pevačkih društava članova Južnoslovenskog pevačkog saveza [Rulebook for Competition of Choral Society Members of the SSCU]*, May 4th, 1929.

28 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Circular letters of Kosta Manojlović to members of the South-Slav Choral

with pieces by Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian authors, which had mostly been published in the editions of the Union.²⁹ Societies were sent a revised Rulebook for the competition together with information about how to register, how entries would be scored, the composition of the jury, and the prizes. Finally, a separate regulation was drafted concerning the Golden Lyre, the first prize to be awarded by the King.³⁰

The SSCU competition festival was planned as a large-scale event, for which 64 choral societies with about 2,000 performers applied, but, in the end, it took place on a much more modest scale, with participation by 11 choirs with about 600 performers (MANOJLOVIĆ 1930). Nevertheless, the event increased the visibility of the SSCU to the general public. It was a separate event in a series of ceremonies that were part of the FBCS's jubilee celebration, and, as such, attracted major coverage in the daily press,³¹ which also wrote about the Union's other activities. Manojlović and Leon Surzyński, President of the ASCU and representative of Polish choir performers, traveled with the Yugoslav choral association Jeka sa Jadrana to Kragujevac, Skopje and Niš, where that ensemble had a concert tour immediately after the end of the Belgrade choir competition (June 25th–30th). By the end of the year, two other events were organized, the First Southern Serbian festival and competition in Skopje (September 28th, 1929) and the Provincial Union's competition in Stari Bečej (October 6th, 1929), where Manojlović served on the jury.³²

As the Secretary-General of the SSCU, Manojlović participated in the organization of guest appearances and the reception of Union's ensembles in Belgrade, attended celebrations of a number of choral societies, and often held speeches on such occasions (see ILLUSTRATION 4). His engagement, which

Union, May 10th, 1929; May 15th, 1929; June 10th, 1929.

29 One compulsory piece was determined, depending on whether a mixed, male or a female choir performed: I category – Slavenski: *De si bila* [*Where were you*] (mixed); Milojević: *Triptih* [*Triptych*] (male); Lajovic: *Žabe* [*Frogs*] (female); II category – Manojlović: *Božićna noć* [*Christmas Night*] (mixed); Kogoj: *Narodna* [*A Folk Song*] (male); Mokranjac: *Devojka viče* [*The Shouting Girl*] (female); Category III – Adamić: *Zazibalka* [*Zazibalka*] (mixed); Gotovac: *Domaćine, gospodine, koledo* [*Host, Lord, Koledo*] (male); Bandur: *Tri dečje pesme* [*Three Children's Songs*] (female). The other composition that was judged was freely chosen by contestants. For the non-competition part of the event, common songs were envisaged – Hristić: *Svjati Bože* [*Holy God*] and Mokranjac: *X Rukovet* [*10th Garland*].

30 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/5, Statute for the First Annual Prize of the SSCU, a gift of his Highness Alexander I, the King of Yugoslavia, donated to the 1st Union's choir competition in Belgrade on June 24th, 1929.

31 ANONYMOUS 1929a, b, c; KRSTIĆ 1929; MILOJEVIĆ 1929a, b, c; ŠPANIĆ 1929.

32 ANTIĆ 1929; ANONYMOUS 1929d; MILOJEVIĆ 1929d; HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the South-Slav Choral Union, July 3rd, 1929; HAB-1090/5, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the South-Slav Choral Union, November 25th, 1929; ANONYMOUS 1929e; HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/34 Concert Programme of the Jeka sa Jadrana Yugoslav Choral Society in Kragujevac, Niš and Skopje [June 25th–30th, 1929].

included acquaintance and communication with a large number of choral societies, contributed to introducing the Belgrade audience to ensembles from different parts of the country and promoted SSCU member choirs.³³

Working to design the main activities of the SSCU, Manojlović attempted to insert ideological and programmatic features into the artistic work of that organization. The publication of scores, set out as a task of the SSCU at the First Assembly of Delegates in 1925, was an important factor in that context. Printing of music was supposed to provide the basis for the creation of a national choral repertoire, to mark its high aesthetic intentions and direct the concert work of Union's choral societies. Bearing in mind those aspects, Manojlović strove for balanced representation of works by Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian authors, emphasizing contemporary choral creativity based on inspiration derived from folk idioms. At first, he chose compositions challenging for the performer, later focusing on technically simpler pieces that were more suitable for most SSCU member ensembles. The publications, therefore, indicated a desire to use appropriate sheet music to promote members' interest and influence their national consciousness and artistic competence.

The same approach was taken in the selection of compulsory pieces for festival competitions. Unlike the 1929 competition in Belgrade, which included works covering a broad interpretative and technical range, compulsory compositions for the competition at the festival in Skopje reflected the more modest performing abilities of choirs from the south of the country.³⁴ At the same time, the Belgrade repertoire had a much more pronounced Yugoslav dimension, which was also emphasized by the make-up of the Evaluation Committee. However, this intended Yugoslav character was not revealed in the national and ethnic diversity of guest ensembles: despite wishes and plans, only Serbian choral societies participated in the competition (see ILLUSTRATION 5).³⁵

33 Dozens of the Union's choral societies were guests in Belgrade during Manojlović's mandate, including Lisinski, Kolo, Filipović, Srpsko pevačko društvo [Serbian Choral Society] (Zagreb), Žensko muzičko udruženje [Women's Musical Society] (Novi Sad), Njegoš (Cetinje), Učiteljski pevski zbor [Teacher's Choir], Mladinski pevski zbor [Youth's Choir] (Ljubljana), Binički (Tetovo), Lira (Sarajevo) etc. Two speeches by the Secretary-General are kept in the archive: HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/4, Speech of Kosta Manojlović on the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Mladost Yugoslav Academic Choral Musical Society in Zagreb on April 17th, 1926; K[osta] Manojlović, Speech held on the celebration day of Vila Choral Society in Prijedor in 1927.

34 The following compositions were selected: for I category – Hristić, *Jesen* [Autumn]; Marinković: *Junački poklič* [The Heroic Call]; For II – Milojević: *Leptir i ruža* [A Butterfly and a Rose]; Gotovac: *Domaćine, gospodine, koledo* [Host, Lord, Koledo].

35 The composition of the Evaluation Committee consisted of: Stanislav Binički (Chair), Petar Krstić, Viktor Novak, Krešimir Baranović, Petar Bingulac, Josip Slavenski, Lovro Matačić, Anton Lajovic, as well as Ivan Brezovšek, who had to leave the competition without evaluating all the ensembles. Nine choirs competed. The Women's Music Society of Novi Sad (conductor Svetolik Pašćan) won the title of Union Champion (See HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/5, Minutes of the session of the Evaluation Committee

The complex circumstances in which the SSCU worked often made it impossible for its official ideology to be realized in artistic practice. Manojlović not only insisted on it, but also played a major role in defining the ideological direction of the Union. That aspect of his work deserves to be dealt with as a special issue in the context of his role in the founding and work of the SSCU.

Manojlović as an ideologue of the SSCU

As early as at the First Assembly of the SSCU Delegates, it was confirmed by acclamation that the Union worked on “integral South Slavic musical thought, which is only a precursor of the integral unity of the Slavic South,” rejecting “every tribal and local background” and striving for the formation of “a unique South Slavic musical ideology [...] and unique South Slavic national consciousness!”³⁶ That ideology included aspects of integral Yugoslavism, but in addition to Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, it initially comprised Bulgarians as well. Manojlović particularly insisted on a broader mapping of the Yugoslav concept, imagining culture as a precondition for the formation not only of the nation, but also of the state. In his notions, the SSCU was supposed to function as an artistic testing ground of future national unity and a signpost for the construction of a “Greater Yugoslavia”. These ideas of his also influenced the naming of the choral organization, on which he wrote on several occasions, stressing the following:

Today, Yugoslavia means the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, while Bulgarians are to be understood as Yugoslavs as well. By force of today’s political circumstances, the Union is called South-Slavic, so that Bulgarians can join too. When an integral Yugoslavia is created, then the name Yugoslav will correspond to the true state of affairs.³⁷

Manojlović worked on establishing cooperation with Bulgarian musicians. The first Yugoslav exhibition, where he presented works by 20 Bulgarian

held on June 24th, 1929. Present: Messrs. Staša Binički, Petar Krstić, Dr V. Novak, Kreša Baranović, Petar Bingulac, Josip Slavenski, Lovro Matačić, Anton Lajovic, Belgrade).

36 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, February 17th, 1926.

37 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/19, Report of Kosta Manojlović to the 4th Assembly of Delegates of the SSCU. According to Manojlović’s claims, at the founding Congress of the SSCU, he himself demanded, on behalf of Serbs, that the Union be designated as South Slavic (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, K[osta] P. Manojlović, Report of the Secretary-General submitted to the 2nd Assembly of Delegates). However, Viktor Novak’s data should also be added here, according to which King Alexander suggested the name the SSCU (NOVAK 1934).

composers, was billed as “the first act of bringing the South Slavic tribes together after the war.”³⁸ He stayed in Sofia at the beginning of July 1928 and in mid-March 1930, when he had direct contacts with the Balgarski pevcheski sayuz [Bulgarian Choral Union] and the leading figures of Bulgarian musical life. He believed those connections should be identified and developed to fulfill the goal of creating a unified Yugoslav Choral Union in the near future.³⁹ He also communicated with prominent Bulgarian musicians.⁴⁰ After all, his Bulgarian counterparts shared similar views, as evidenced by the message Dobri Hristov sent him on the occasion of the First Yugoslav Exhibition:

We hope that the beginning of the spiritual community on the ground of the most supreme art – music, will echo deeply in the hearts of our political leaders, to welcome that beautiful day of the creation of a united and powerful Yugoslav state.⁴¹

Other aspects of the SSCU's ideology coincided with integral Yugoslavism, which, at the time of the January 6th Dictatorship, became the officially proclaimed state ideology. The Union continuously advocated the overcoming of ethnic peculiarities and formation of a homogeneous Yugoslav culture and nation, and that unitarian line marked both its artistic aspirations and the structure of the organization itself. The annual Assemblies of Delegates reaffirmed these views of an “indivisible people” and a “unique Union,” and it was decided accordingly that repertoires and concert programs were to be “compiled in the spirit of a unique Yugoslav music ideology.” In this context, Manojlović emphasized the unchangeable character of the SSCU's ideological standpoint. He stressed that, at its founding Assembly, representatives of Serbian and Slovenian singers unanimously accepted the abolition of their existing “tribal” unions, and that delegates' declarations in the annual meetings always confirmed their determination for one, common and indivisible choir organization.⁴²

38 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, K[osta] P. Manojlović, Report of the Secretary-General submitted to the 2nd Assembly of Delegates.

39 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/19, Report of Kosta Manojlović to the 4th Assembly of Delegates of the SSCU; ANONYMOUS 1930a. The Bulgarian newspaper *Muzikalen pregled* [Musical Review] published information about the exhibition, about the first 14 musical editions of the SSCU that were presented in three sequels, as well as about Manojlović's stay in Sofia (ANONYMOUS 1926, 1928a; DIMITROV 1928a, b, c; ANONYMOUS 1928b).

40 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/4, Boris Gaidarov from Lom to Kosta Manojlović, March 1st, 1926; N[ikolai] Iv. Nikolaev from Sofia to Kosta Manojlović, April 21st, 1926; HAB-1090/5, Kosta Manojlović in the name of the SSCU to Dobri Hristov, June 14th, 1929.

41 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/4, Dobri Hristov from Sofia to Kosta Manojlović, April 3rd, 1926.

42 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/19, Report of Kosta Manojlović to the 4th Assembly of Delegates of the

The SSCU's insistence on national unity have been continuous, but the mapping of the Union was eventually modified, which aligned it with the boundaries of the existing state. Those changes were clearly visible in the resolution of the 5th Assembly of the SSCU delegates, which included a plea to the Royal Government to support the Union "with all its means, convinced that helping a single organization in our country helps affirm artistic unity, but also the unity of the nation and state, in our great homeland."⁴³ The catchphrase "one nation, one state, one Union" was also coined at that time, and eventually became the SSCU's informal motto (ANONYMOUS 1930b: 87).

The formation of narratives close to the ideology of the regime was the result of a number of interrelated factors. On the one hand, it was part of the strategy that sought and found a way for greater visibility and better positioning of the SSCU with state authorities. On the other hand, due to complex political circumstances that spilled over into musical culture, it was tacitly acknowledged that the concept of the national choir union with Bulgarians was quite unrealistic. There were no prospects of creating a joint choral organization even at the level of the existing Yugoslav state, as there was a distinct ideological discrepancy between the SSCU and the CCU, which were unwilling to cooperate with each other.⁴⁴ Finally, full harmonization of the ideology of the SSCU with integral Yugoslavism was in line with the idea of only single choral associations of Slavic states being able to join the ASCU, as confirmed during the formation of that international organization. Manojlović advocated the same idea. As one of the SSCU's official delegates at congresses and meetings of the ASCU in Prague (April 4th, 1928), Poznań (May 18th–21st, 1929) and Ljubljana (May 14th, 1932), he hoped that the Croatian Union, which was conditionally admitted to the ASCU, would agree to shut down and join the SSCU.⁴⁵

SSCU; HAB-1090/27, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, July 3rd, 1929.

43 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/5, Circular letter of Kosta Manojlović to members of the SSCU, November 25th, 1929. See also: VUKDRAGOVIĆ 1929: 128.

44 Manojlović wrote with vigorous idealism that he hoped that the question of "the Integral SSCU [...] will be solved", but "only after the creation of a *coherent* union in our country [...], because, it is clear that, as long as we do not gather all the forces in our country, we cannot expect that those living outside the borders of our *present state* will join us." (MANOJLOVIĆ 1930: 6).

45 At a meeting in Prague (1928), the CCU was given a six-year term for self-liquidation "in order for Yugoslavia to be presented in the All-Slav Choral Union as one unique choral association, organized according to the principle of national and state unity of free Slavic states." (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Minutes of the Meeting of delegates of the ASCU, held on May 14th, 1932 in Ljubljana in Hubad's Hall of Glazbena Matica from 4:00–6:00 p.m.; ANONYMOUS 1932b: 173–174). However, even before this deadline expired, at a meeting in Prague (June 1st, 1933), the administration of the ASCU was formed without a representative of the CCU. Manojlović was elected a member of the Management Board, while Vladimir Ravnihar, also a representative of the SSCU, was elected as one of the Vice-Presidents. The ASCU Rules were also adopted at that time: they referenced the above-mentioned principle of indivisibility of state unions (MANOJLOVIĆ 1933).

Even as early as preparations for the founding of the SSCU were taking place, the CCU was not inclined to join the choral organization at the state level. The attitude of that Union culminated in the Rezolucija [Resolution] adopted in January 1924, which emphasized the view that “Croatians are a separate people with their own culture and musical tradition,” that they were in favor of independence for their union, but that they were ready “to fraternally and jointly work on the development and flourishing of Slavic vocal musical art with other choral Unions in all Slavic countries.” There was room for Slavism in those narratives, but not Yugoslavism. There were, as with the SSCU, direct political influences, as reflected in the statement that the Union would not join fusion with Serbian singers “until the Croatian national question in this country is resolved.”⁴⁶

Both organizations emphasized the need to regulate relations between Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian choirs, but they uncompromisingly adhered to their concepts and wished to abolish their respective rival. The SSCU persistently invited the CCU to join it, which also implied a policy of persuading of the correctness of Yugoslavism. At the same time, citing their Resolution, the leaders of the Croatian organization often circumvented direct and official communication with the Yugoslav-oriented Union. They perceived it as a threat to their ethnic name and so tried to ignore its very existence.⁴⁷ These circumstances, contributed to a mood of mutual intolerance, and not even the later proposal of the Croatian side for a Jugoslovenska pevačka liga [Yugoslav Choral Alliance] altered this relationship. The Alliance was supposed to

46 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Resolution [Resolution of the Annual Meeting of the CCU in Zagreb on January 20th, 1924]. Printed copies of the Resolution were sent to national choral associations in Belgrade and Ljubljana. The line “with the Union of Serbian Choral Societies”, was supplemented, in handwriting, by the words “Slovene Chor. Soc. too”, but only on the copy sent to Belgrade. Manojlović became aware of the existence of that difference ahead of the founding Congress of the SSCU in Ljubljana, commenting on it as of an unfair action on the part of the CCU (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/5, Kosta Manojlović to Anton Švigelj, March 12th, 1929). Later, however, the same Resolution was published in the journal *Sv. Cecilija* [*St. Cecilia*], in the same version as had been sent to Belgrade, but Manojlović did not mention it (ANONYMOUS 1924).

47 One example of this was the invitation by the CCU to Serbian choral societies to reestablish their national union. The circular letter on this issue was sent bypassing the SSCU, so the call was an indirect appeal for the abolition of the Yugoslav-oriented choral organization. The FBCS, representing the SSCU’s positions, joined this correspondence, stating that Serbian societies had confidence in the SSCU and would remain a part of it. The FBCS subsequently received letters of support, and 20 preserved letters testify that Serbian choral societies, as well as some Croatian and Slovenian ensembles, stood up in defense of the SSCU. The CCU responded to the FBCS, defending its standpoint, and that response was sent to all choral societies in the Kingdom of SCS, the associations of Czech and Polish choral societies, the Pevska zveza [Choral Union] in Ljubljana, but not the SSCU (HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Circular letter of the FBCS to the CCU and the members of the SSCU, May 16th, 1926; HAB-1090/27, Circular letter of the CCU to the FBCS, August 1st, 1926); aforementioned 20 letters are kept at HAB (HAB-1090/27).

comprise two Unions so as to be considered representative abroad, while maintaining the *status quo* with regard to their independence inside Yugoslavia, which the SSCU did not accept.⁴⁸

As the SSCU's Secretary-General, Manojlović criticized the actions and attitudes of the Croatian organization. He reminded the SSCU's member societies of the decisions of the annual congresses, at all times maintaining strict ideological consistency. His rhetoric deepened divisions between the CCU and SSCU, also constructing value judgement in that context. He emphasized that members of the SSCU were "more conscious" than those of the Croatian Union, which, according to him, remained in the past, and did not depart from the obsolete "line of trialism". He considered that the issue of a single union would be resolved when new generations of Croatian singers appeared, "who [...] will change their mentality and, only then, come to the knowledge that we in the SSCU reached as early as in 1918."⁴⁹

Manojlović also raised the question of ideology in his dealings with Slovenian choral societies within the SSCU itself. As Secretary-General, he was not inclined to continually reorganize the Union, which Slovenian delegates mostly insisted on. In his first secretarial reports, as well as in correspondence with delegates from Ljubljana and Maribor, he was critical of the Slovenian societies, claiming that they did not meet their obligations to pay membership dues and purchase the Union's publications, although their requests were always met by changes to the Union's rules. He found not only financial reasons for this criticism, but also those of a national and ideological nature, and he was confirmed in his doubts when Zorko Prelovec signed a circular letter in 1926 as "Choirmaster of the Union of Slovenian Choral Societies", which had been abolished at the founding of the SSCU. Manojlović strove to openly and clearly raise the question: "Do we all agree that the establishment of the SSC Union abolished the former Serbian and the Slovenian Union and that the

48 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Minutes of the Extraordinary Main Assembly of the CCU, held on March 16th, 1930 at 9:00 a.m. in the Kolo Croatian Choral Society's Halls; CCU to Kosta P. Manojlović, April 14th, 1930; SSCU to CCU, January 17th, 1930. The Alliance was an obvious attempt by the CCU to resolve its unenviable position in the ASCU, and this proposal was made at a time when that organization was beset by various difficulties. There were many pressing problems: fractional infighting within the CCU; the opacity of Nikola Faller's administration, which had not informed the membership of relations with the SSCU and conditional membership of the Croatian organization in the ASCU; intimidation of cooperation with the SSCU; and police surveillance of the CCU, which, together, brought into question the work and survival of the CCU. (For more details on the issue, see the documentation cited above, and HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Nikola Faller from Zagreb to Viktor Novak and Kosta Manojlović, January 31st, 1930; SSCU to CCU, February 22nd, 1930; Rudolf Herceg, "How are Croatian singers holding up?"; Kolo Croatian Choral Society from Zagreb to the SSCU, January 23rd, 1930; Ernst [Krajanski] from Varaždin to Viktor Novak, February 3rd, 1930).

49 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, K[osta]. P. Manojlović, Report of the Secretary-General submitted to the 2nd Assembly of Delegates.

creation of districts, in the regions that want it, should not mean the creation of a Union for itself?”⁵⁰ In his letter to Anton Švigelj, he was even sharper, saying that he even preferred “the open attitude of Croats [...] than the attitude of Slovenian societies, which accepted Yugoslavism by acclamation [...] only to immediately step back [...] retreating into narrow tribal borders.” He wanted to resolve the relationship, because “it would be a sin,” he emphasized, “for Serbs to remain in the Union as the only supporters of Yugoslavism.”⁵¹

The Slovenian side was less concerned with ideals and more with the practical needs of choral singing. Representatives of Hubad’s district from Ljubljana reacted to the dysfunction in the SSCU and the work program of the Secretary-General. They emphasized that “the devolution of administration to provincial organizations” is necessary for the successful work of “those societies that have approximately similar conditions in terms of cultural traditions and local needs,” and that “the great fear of ‘tribal separatism’ is shallow.” They were against the CCU’s ideology, believing it was based on “political motives.” They emphasized their affection for the Union and assured Manojlović that they were not “against the great ideas of cultural rapprochement and the ultimate cultural union,” but that they felt violent and quick reorientation was a form of cultural dictatorship.⁵²

Following the reorganization of the SSCU, Slovenian choirs met their obligations more conscientiously. The annual secretarial reports, which included detailed information about their work, testified that two Slovenian districts were among the most active units of the Union, and that moderated Manojlović’s criticism. It is also worth mentioning that the programmatic orientation of Slovenian choirs continued to be based on support for their local repertoire, which did not correspond to the envisaged artistic aims of the SSCU. In that context, however, Manojlović failed to voice any suspicion or react, as he was wont to, to “tribal separatism”. Moreover, as General Secretary he was an active participant in events that featured the Slovenian choral tradition alone.⁵³

Unresolved relationships and conflicts between the SSCU and the CCU and, consequently, problems related to the organization of the All-Slav Choral Union, as well as differences in opinion within the SSCU, make this

50 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/18, K[osta]. P. Manojlović, Report of the Secretary-General submitted to the 2nd Assembly of Delegates.

51 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/5, Kosta P. Manojlović to Anton Švigelj, March 12th, 1929.

52 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/19, Ljubljana District of the SSCU to the Secretary-General of the SSCU, November 27th, 1928.

53 In his capacity as Secretary-General, Manojlović served on the jury in the choir contest of Hubad’s District (April 3rd, 1932) for the Drava Province competition, and was also a member of the Evaluation Committee in that competition (May 16th, 1932), where the choirs performed almost exclusively works by Slovenian authors (ANONYMOUS 1932a: 110–111; ANONYMOUS 1932b: 190–192).

issue a complex one that requires separate research. Several conclusions can be drawn from Manojlović's contribution to the establishment and functioning of Yugoslav-oriented organization, which he built and represented for years.

Manojlović influenced the shaping of the SSCU's ideology, which he ardently and consistently advocated in his narratives on all issues of the work of the Union. He considered Yugoslavism an advanced idea, but he expressed exclusivity and ideological dogmatism in his refusal of differing views, which, focusing his vision on goals set to be attained in an imaginary future, discouraged him from confronting real problems of choral singing in the state and constrained the performance of the SSCU itself. Since the leadership of the CCU was similarly exclusionary, ideology became an obstacle not only to unity, but also to any kind of artistic cooperation. Therefore, there was a lack of dialogue between the two Unions, which seemed more like rival parties in the country's political life of that time. On the other hand, the achievement of compromises within the SSCU, in which communication between Manojlović and representatives of Slovenian societies played a significant role, testifies that Manojlović, albeit tacitly, mitigated his ideological intractability. While he rigidly adhered to ideology in his narratives, he realized that constant insistence on its embodiment in programmatic activities would constrain the Union's activities and membership, and, as such, ultimately also its significance. Finally, if we take into consideration that official ideological positioning was an obstacle in fulfilling the long-term goals of the SSCU, it must be emphasized that ideology was the main driving force for Manojlović himself, and the source of enormous enthusiasm for his work in building the Union. His dedication and perseverance to his various duties as Secretary-General were of crucial importance not only for sustaining the SSCU, but also for laying the groundwork for continuous action, which was at once the most important and the most difficult task immediately after the establishment of the organization.

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Dragi Kosta!

Besna troje od 31 marta nije stiglo - kako ni vice-
Kivara ni četvrtak, već danas i petak, zato bi "galaviji"
ni moji posiljci ne bi mogli. Za nam ne dopadne
Kaznovac i nekima "licuostava", a poslije podne uci-
naku i vice. Bilo mi zapravo za pokud "Glasnik"
ganda "i Kola". Subota prije podne - u to je rekla
subota i pitanje je hoću li morati zaista sutra-
nadi kude na njezini. Bilo kako bilo, ja ću ocali-
nati, pa ću vam poslati čemu stoga doljeću.
Nadam se, da ću poslije Neksa i utorak i, vjero-
vno, sve potrebne predradnje, pa ću vam to
poslati odmah - bi biste mogli primeti u četor-
tak ili petak. Možda još za vremenca.
Što sam se dogovoriti s članu Novellu o
to stvari, on su je ostao u Beogradu i "bistina"
bi stano, kako izgleda u njegovom stana
pozdravi mi ga ljubo.

Biće mi je, da ću učiniti sve, što je
najviše moguće isto prije.

Iskreno pozdravje svima
a posebice tvojoj vrijednoj obitelji
i Tebi od idealogi B.

Božidar

ILLUSTRATION 2. HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/4,
Božidar Širola from Zagreb to Kosta
Manojlović, April 2nd, 1926.

Lj, 20. julya 1927.

Dragi gospođo Manojlović!

Imam vam poslati sa moću i sa učeni-
zba. Jedna su moji debili skriptu v-
saka je knjiga dolga, upam pa je se vedno
čas. Kao se liče homozija prepisivanju
vam, da se učeni moću sa. Njega
je ga je le, da izplataje kovačici v-
saka knjigom roku. Bilo bi pozna sad ovaj
škripcu sam povečati, kao i pa većas
sveo mi videl.

grosite, da sam vas moću tako
deljan poslati, da dekate. Spremite
deljan poslati.



Marij Kogoj

Sp 74

ILLUSTRATION 3. HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/28,
Marij Kogoj from Ljubljana to Kosta
Manojlović, July 20th, 1927.

София, 3 април 1926 год.



До Господинъ
К. П. МАНОЙЛОВИЧЪ
Уредникъ на Югославянската Музикална
изложба при I-во Българско пѣвч. дружество

Драгий Господинъ К. П. Манойловичъ,

Моля най-учитиво бъдете тълкувател на моитѣ
братски сърадвания по случай откриването на първата
Югославянска музикална изложба при първо Българско
пѣвческо дружество. Дано, началото на духовно обеди-
нение върху почва на най-развишеното изкуство - музика
намѣри дастливъ отъекъ въ сърцата и на политическите
ни водачи, за да дочакаме единъ хубавъ денъ обединатъ
идеала на единната и силна Югославянска държава.



Съ братски поздравъ

Вашъ:

проф. Музикалната Академия

ILLUSTRATION 6. HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/4, Dobri Hristov from Sofia to Kosta Manojlović,
April 3rd, 1926.

The Hrvatski pjevački savez [Croatian Choral Union] in its
breakthrough decade of 1924–1934 and its relation to the
Južnoslovenski pevački savez [South-Slav Choral Union]

NADA BEZIĆ

*“Is there a point in arguing?
I think each of us should try to clear
up this situation as soon as possible.
Discord can be detrimental, for both sides.”*
(BERSA 2012: 65)

These words of the Croatian composer Blagoje Bersa (1873–1934) from his letter to Serbian composer Kosta P. Manojlović¹ are the motto of this text on the one hand because they originate from the late 1920s, a period of disagreement and dissent between the Croatian Choral Union [CCU] and the South-Slav Choral Union [SSCU] and, on the other, because they reveal other dissonances in the musical circles of that time and prove that there were attempts for conciliatory tones to prevail.

The phenomenon of the CCU, its history, importance and longevity, have remained secondary in musical research in Croatia; the extensive article by Andrija Tomašek, published in 1958 in the first edition of the *Muzička enciklopedija* [Music Encyclopedia] (TOMAŠEK 1958), was only slightly expanded at a later date.² More recently, Naila Ceribašić wrote about the CCU in an extensive footnote in her book on public practice of folk music in Croatia (CERIBAŠIĆ 2003: 33–34). Archival material about the CCU is kept at the Hrvatski državni arhiv [Croatian State Archives, “CSA”] and the Državni arhiv u Zagrebu [State Archives in Zagreb], in the Istorijiski arhiv Beograda [Historical Archives of Belgrade, “HAB”], Arhiv Jugoslavije [Archives of Yugoslavia, “AY”]³ and the Rudolf Matz Collection at the North Carolina University in Greensboro,

1 See more about this letter on pp. 104–105.

2 An almost identical text was published in the second edition of *Muzička enciklopedija* (TOMAŠEK 1974) and in *Leksikon jugoslavenske muzike* ([TOMAŠEK] 1984).

3 My thanks to Dr. Biljana Milanović and Dr. Ivana Vesić from the Muzikološki institut SANU [Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade] for referring me to the materials of the Historical Archives of Belgrade and the Archives of Yugoslavia, and for giving me the copies of the documents.

USA.⁴ However, research into the CCU's history is hampered by the lack of sources, as much documentation is missing; not all minute-books of the CCU's deliberations have been saved, and even when they do exist, they do not offer much information about this subject. Not many official letters have been preserved in the CSA, and the remaining ones do not give the expected picture of the period. Thanks to this research, a mosaic started to take shape, the first step towards compiling a more extensive history of the CCU.⁵

Choral societies were being founded in Croatia as early as in the first half of the 19th century: the first was the Narodno ilirsko skladnoglasja društvo [National Illyrian Harmony Society] at the Nadbiskupsko bogoslovno sjemenište [Archdiocese Seminary] in Zagreb in 1839 (renamed Vijenac [Wreath] in 1868), followed by the Zora [Dawn] of Karlovac (1858). The Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo "Kolo"⁶ [Kolo Croatian Choral Society] was founded in Zagreb in 1862 and soon became a key factor in both the musical and the cultural life of Zagreb. It also had great influence elsewhere in Croatia. The Sloga [Concord], founded in Zagreb in 1866, is special in that it still exists today, 150 years after it was founded.

The Croatian Choral Union was founded in Sisak in 1875 by the Kolo Croatian Choral Society and nine other choral societies from central Croatia.⁷ Although the official name of the union was the Savez hrvatskih pjevačkih društava [Union of Croatian Choral Societies], the customary term, Hrvatski pjevački savez [Croatian Choral Union, "CCU"], which originates from its final period, is used in present-day literature. In the decades following its establishment, the CCU rapidly expanded, with numerous choral societies and their members joining it. Croatian choral societies from across the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy became affiliated with the CCU: these came from Croatia, Syrmia (the town of Zemun in what is today Serbia), Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Hungary (Budapest), but also from as far away as the USA. In 1908, the CCU numbered 66 societies with more than 1,200 registered singers (ANONYMOUS 2016). Since 1891, the CCU has been organizing singing

4 The University of North Carolina, Greensboro, USA; Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections and University Archives; Rudolf Matz Musical Score and Personal Papers Collection, Sub-series 7, box 2, <https://libapps.uncg.edu/archon/?p=collections/findingaid&id=647&q=&rootcontentid=133948> [Accessed on June 1, 2017].

5 More extensive research of this topic will certainly require a review the entire fund of the South-Slav Choral Union 1924–1941 [SSCU] in the Historical Archives of Belgrade, documentation in the Margita and Rudolf Matz Collection at the Muzej grada Zagreba [Zagreb City Museum], and inquire with the University of North Carolina.

6 Named after a type of Croatian folk dance.

7 Zora (Karlovac), Danica (Sisak), Slavulj (Petrinja), Zvono (Križevci), Sokol (Glina), Tamburica (Đurđevac) and Lika (Velika Gorica). Later Davor (Slavonski Brod) and Sokol (Kostajnica) joined CCU.

festivals, and from 1905 to 1912 it published its own gazette, the *Pjevački vjestnik* [*Singer's Herald*].

Croats were the first South-Slavic nation to have its own choral union. The Slovenian Zveza slovenskih pevskih društev [Union of Slovene Choral Societies] was founded some twenty years later, in 1894. Interestingly, the *Singer's Herald* was also the gazette of the Slovene Union. Choral societies also collaborated in Serbia, where the Savez srpskih pevačkih društava [Union of Serbian Choral Societies] officially came into being in 1911, with its headquarters in Sombor. News of its foundation was acknowledged by the CCU in Zagreb “with great joy and pleasure.”⁸ At the time there was only one more choral union among the Slavs, the Jednota zpěváckých spolků českoslovanských [Union of Czech Choirs].⁹ In common with all other societies in Croatia, the CCU was obliged to suspend its activities with the outbreak of World War I.

One report mentions an internal crisis in the CCU before and after World War I,¹⁰ which was probably the reason why it took four years after the war to reestablish the Union's activities. (By contrast, the Kolo Croatian Choral Society re-opened as early as 1919). At the CCU's re-incorporation assembly, on November 26th, 1922, the lawyer Josip Vidali, Vice-President of Kolo, was elected President; the composer and musicologist Božidar Širola was elected Secretary, and the conductor Nikola Faller was elected Choirmaster (ANONYMOUS 1923a). The Union's gazette became *Sv. Cecilija* [*St. Cecilia*], a magazine dedicated to church music. In the absence of original documentation, news about the CCU published in *St. Cecilia* are today very valuable. In 1924 the renewed CCU counted among its members 71 choral societies in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes [SCS], and one in Chicago;¹¹ this number grew to 100 by 1926 (ANONYMOUS 1926a). The CCU had a great deal of authority; it evaluated the work of its member societies, prescribed repertoire guidelines, and managed substantial funds raised in membership fees, which the CCU used to fund the organization of concerts and choirmasters. The money was also used to publish choir scores and give out rewards to singers on the anniversaries of their choir membership. The CCU used its reputation to

8 CSA, HR-HDA 639, Croatian Choral Union [CCU], box 26, folder 1911/1928, Union of Serbian Choral Societies. Serbian Associations [Savez srpskih pjevačkih društava. Srpska društva], Letter from CCU to the Union of Serbian Choral Societies, April 27th, 1911.

9 CSA, HR-HDA 639, CCU, box 26, Letter from CCU to Union of Serbian Choral Societies, May 9th, 1911.

10 See HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Rudolf Matz in report to the CCU's general meeting, March 16th, 1930.

11 See the lists in *St. Cecilia* (ANONYMOUS 1924e: 169 and ANONYMOUS 1924d). Interestingly, in September 1923, the CCU decided to invite the Savez hrvatskih pjevačkih društava za Bosnu i Hercegovinu [Union of Croatian Choral Societies for Bosnia and Herzegovina] to “dissolve and direct its members to join the Union of Croatian Choral Societies” (ANONYMOUS 1923e: 190). I found no information on the activity of this Union at this stage of research.

help choirs, for example, by advocating tax exemptions for concerts and events and securing discounted rail tickets when societies went on tour or took part in singing competitions. In 1927, the CCU was so strong that it launched its own gazette the *Glazbeni vjesnik* [*Musical Herald*], published until early 1931) and even planned to build a “Hrvatski pjevački dom [Croatian Choral House],” to include a concert hall that could seat 3,000, to a design by the young Stjepan Planić, who later became a prominent Croatian architect (MATZ 1927).¹²

Among the plans of the renewed CCU was the first competition of choral societies in the Kingdom of SCS, which was to have taken place in Zagreb in late October 1923 in celebration of the Kolo’s 60th anniversary (ANONYMOUS 1923b, 1923c and 1923d). Two facts are evidence of collaboration with colleagues from Slovenia and Serbia: the participation of “composers of Yugoslav nationality” in the competition for assigned choir compositions (ANONYMOUS 1923a), and the composition of the jury of Yugoslav members. The CCU asked its fraternal unions in Belgrade and Ljubljana to each appoint two members of the jury,¹³ but in the end, only two came, Kosta Manojlović (Belgrade) and Anton Lajovic (Ljubljana). Nikola Faller, Franjo Dugan, Fran Lhotka, Krešimir Baranović, and Mirko Polić joined them as jury members from Croatia (GOGLIA 1942: 122).¹⁴ The date of the competition was postponed to December 1st but only eight choral societies from Croatia participated. The main reason behind this, according to the CCU’s leadership’s interpretation, was finances, as members of choral societies from remote parts of the state were not able to afford the cost of the journey (ANONYMOUS 1924a).

The first signs of friction between the managements of the two choral unions date back to the second half of 1923, six months before the official founding of the South-Slav Choral Union. On July 7th, the Odbor za prenos posmrtnih ostataka Stevana St. Mokranjca [Committee for Transferring the Remains of Stevan St. Mokranjac] sent a proposal from Belgrade “recommending the consensual collaboration of all choral societies in our Kingdom.”¹⁵ Soon after, Petar Krstić arrived in Zagreb as the delegate of the First Belgrade Choral Society [FBCS], and an agreement on collaboration was reached between the choral

12 An appeal to singers to donate funds was published in *St. Cecilia* in 1926 (ANONYMOUS 1926b). A considerable amount was collected for the construction, but the money was lost in the crash of 1929 (ANONYMOUS 1929).

13 CSA, HR-HDA 639, CCU, box 26, folder 1911/1928, Union of Serbian Choral Societies. Serbian Associations, Letter from the CCU, October 18th, 1923 and reply of the Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo [First Belgrade Choral Society], October 7th, 1923.

14 In the next research stage, it will be necessary to clarify whether Stanislav Binički arrived from Belgrade as a jury member alongside Manojlović. Antun Goglia, usually highly precise, does not mention Binički, but his name was recorded in the letter dated October 7th, 1923 (see preceding footnote).

15 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Letter from CCU to the FBCS, August 1st, 1926.

unions.¹⁶ Two months later, on September 7th, the CCU concluded that “the founding of one Yugoslav union has in these days an unconditional political background”, and explicitly stated: “Politics plays no part in our choral societies and in our Union.”¹⁷ A day later, an extraordinary assembly of the CCU was held, at which the conclusion was reached that joining the SSCU would, due to “the social and political circumstances in the state”, be detrimental “to the development of our [Croatian] culture of choral singing and existing institutions.” The CCU “sincerely wishes”, it went on to say, “for all of the three (Slovene, Serbian, Croatian) fraternal unions to be interactive and to mutually support each other in all issues relating to the progress of musical culture” (ANONYMOUS 1923e: 191).

At the end of September, representatives of the three “fraternal” unions met for the first time in Belgrade when the remains of Stevan Mokranjac were transferred from Skopje to Belgrade (MANOJLOVIĆ 1933: 186). The CCU’s representatives were clear: they did not want the dissolution of their union, but instead suggested an alliance of three co-equal choral unions. The next time they met it was in Zagreb, during the celebration of Kolo’s jubilee on December 2nd, 1923. The proposed Articles of Association call for the headquarters of the new choral union to be in Zagreb,¹⁸ which of course favored the CCU, but did nothing to change its attitude.

But it seems that the leadership of CCU faced a crisis and that the members were not united either.¹⁹ This was perhaps best described by Nikola Faller: “Some singers in the Union, mostly belonging to the old management (the so-called ‘Kolo management’), wanted to form a new, Yugoslav, choral union, and to that end Dr. Viktor Novak, Dr. Božidar Širola, and Svetislav Stančić were already designated as delegates. However, most of the singers (led by the late Milan Zjalić, Vice-President of the Union and Kolo) were opposed to this, demanding that the CCU retained its own organization and relevance. They wanted a management (Presidency) that would prevent division and create the necessary élan for work.” (FALLER 1934: 4). Some days later, on January 20th, 1924, an extraordinary assembly was held, and a new Central Committee elected. It was then that the main protagonists of this era came to the fore: Rudolf Matz (1901–1988), became Secretary of the Union, and Nikola Faller (1862–1938) was elected its President. Faller was in his sixties and almost 40

16 Ibid.

17 This document, dated September 7th, 1923, has not been preserved in Zagreb. The quoted excerpt was taken from the FBCS’s circular dated May 16th, 1926. See HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27.

18 Information on this meeting and the proposed Articles of Association appear in the FBCS’s aforementioned circular (see preceding footnote).

19 A brief review of this crisis was published the following year in *St. Cecilia* (ANONYMOUS 1924c).

years older than Matz. He was famous and favored as a conductor and long-standing Director of the Zagreb Opera, and also as a composer. The indication of Faller's popularity is that one župa (branch of the Union) was named after him, what, of course, was the only such case within thirteen branches named after deceased Croatian musicians (ANONYMOUS 1926a). At the young age of 22, Secretary Matz had already enjoyed a meteoric rise to fame: he was the Choirmaster of the Glazbeno društvo intelektualaca [Musical Society of Intellectuals], studied composition at the Kraljevska muzička akademija [Royal Academy of Music] in Zagreb, and his opus already included one of his best compositions, the *Faun* for the choir. He would go on to become a world-renowned cello pedagogue.

At that extraordinary assembly of the CCU in early 1924, Matz proposed a resolution, which was unanimously accepted, in which the CCU affirmed the standpoint “that Croats, with their culture and musical tradition, are a unique nation and that, therefore, the independent survival of our Union is not only justified but also necessary, moreover, that our Union is the oldest and has the most members in the Slavic South” (ANONYMOUS 1924b: 67). The CCU had made its position very clear: despite the principled decision that it was ready to “work in a brotherly and collective fashion with other choral unions in all Slavic states on the development and expansion of Slavic vocal music art” (note the use of the term “Slavic” rather than “Southern Slavic”), the CCU would not merge with unions of Serbian and Slovene choral societies “for as long as the Croatian national question in this state remains unresolved” (1924b: 67). This resolution was printed and sent to choral societies in the Kingdom of SCS. However, one important detail needs to be pointed out. The portion of the original text of the printed resolution that rejects any mergers mentions only the union with Serbian choral societies. The words “and the Slovene choral societies” were added only later (handwritten in ink).²⁰ Matz read the resolution at the founding congress of the SSCU in Ljubljana on April 6th, definitively confirming that the CCU would not be joining the SSCU. But the leadership of the CCU had made a mistake: it turned out that representatives of Slovene choral societies had received the original version of the resolution, which, of course, made no mention of the refusal to collaborate with them. To the Serbian delegates the CCU gave the version suggesting a clear rejection of both fraternal unions, explaining that the Slovenes had initially not been mentioned due to a technical omission. The leadership of the FBCS bitterly resented this snub, and concluded that it “showed the

20 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, CCU resolution, January 20th, 1924, print. In the emergency general meeting report, published two months later in *St. Cecilia*, the quoted addition about Slovene societies was included in the text of the resolution.

true fraternal feelings of the U.C.C.S [Union of Croatian Choral Societies] towards their Serbian brothers.”

The main issue in the CCU’s resolution was, of course, the status of Croatia and the Croatian nation, and its unequal position in the new southern Slavic union, the Kingdom of SCS. This attitude matched the ideology of the Hrvatska seljačka stranka [Croatian Peasant Party], to whose political orientation Matz remained faithful his whole life. On the other hand, the SSCU had attempted to do exactly the opposite: it was, as Biljana Milanović wrote, an organization which “intended to contribute to the ethnic and social equalization of different territories of the Yugoslav state through choral organizations” (MILANOVIĆ 2011: 231). Aleksandar Vasić described the crux of these disagreements well:

The relationship between the South-Slav Union and the Croatian Choral Union shows that Belgrade and Zagreb understood Yugoslavism differently. The particularism of the Croatian Choral Union shows that not all parties in the Yugoslav state wanted the same type of alliance, and, in time, came to want no alliance at all. The fact that the majority of Croatian choral societies kept their distance suggests that there was strong awareness in Croatia of primary affiliation to the Croatian national corpus, and that this awareness was not overpowered by the concept of Yugoslavism (VASIĆ 2014: 162).

It is important to emphasize that the CCU’s contacts and collaboration with individual Serbian choral societies throughout the whole period were good, regardless of the conflict with the SSCU.

Three months after the CCU’s resolution, in April 1924, the South-Slav Choral Union was formed. Some Croatian societies also joined: the choirs Lisinski and Mladost [Youth] from Zagreb, Jeka [Echo] from Sušak (today part of the city of Rijeka) and Dubrava from Dubrovnik. As already stated, speaking on behalf of the CCU, Rudolf Matz “rejected the formation of such a Yugoslav union, in which Croatian culture would disappear.”²¹ There now began a long period of persistent discord between the CCU and the SSCU, primarily over the question of whether Croatian choirs had the right to autonomy. For some ten years thereafter, the SSCU would, in various ways, unsuccessfully try to assimilate the CCU. One of the first attempts that I managed to find is dated February 7th, 1925: in a circular letter, the SSCU encourages choral societies to “actively and harmoniously develop our, South Slavic, musical culture.”²² Among the signatories at the end of this letter, three

21 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Minute-book of general meeting of CCU, March 16th, 1930.

22 CSA, HR-HDA 639, CCU, box 23, Union of Croatian Choral Societies – correspondence from 1925

Croatian societies were “squeezed” between the Serbian and Slovene unions; the letter was signed presumably on behalf the three Croatian societies by Viktor Novak, a Croatian historian and music writer, one of the founders of Zagreb’s Lisinski Choir, and at the time already a professor of history at the University of Belgrade.

In the same year of 1925, Croatia celebrated the 1000th anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom. The CCU, of course, joined the celebrations, and also marked its own 50th anniversary, to which it invited a number of Serbian societies as well. The great celebration was held in Zagreb on October 25th, 1925, with fraternal societies from Slovenia and Bohemia in attendance. According to the CCU’s statements, the SSCU forbade its choral society members from attending this celebration,²³ but the SSCU interpreted the absence of these societies in Zagreb as an unfortunate but unremarkable scheduling issue: the first congress of the SSCU was held in Sarajevo on the very same day, and, according to the SSCU, the overlap “was unintentional.”²⁴ Moreover, a congratulatory telegram from the SSCU congress in Sarajevo, signed by its Secretary-General, Kosta P. Manojlović, arrived in Zagreb repeating the invitation to integration: “brothers are invited to gather together so that the legions of united singers can sing the great song of the Slavic South from their strong chests in fraternal embracement in honor of our country.”²⁵ Regardless of this cordial telegram, the SSCU, in a resolution made at its congress, resolved to reject “any tribal and local perceptions and aspirations” and came to the conclusion that work needed to be done to form a “unified South Slavic music ideology” and national consciousness.²⁶

The first real conflict came in the spring of 1926. In April, the CCU’s Presidency sent a letter to Serbian choral societies encouraging them to form a Serbian Choral Union, after which Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene unions could work “completely independently, each in its own area, and the shared issues would be resolved by the Singing Congress of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.”²⁷

[Savez hrvatskih pjevačkih društava – dopisi iz 1925], Circular letter by SSCU, No. 1, February 7th, 1925, print.

23 Information on this was taken from the FBCS’s circular letter dated May 16th, 1926. See HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27.

24 Ibid.

25 CSA, HR-HDA 639, CCU, box 26, Telegram from SSCU President and Secretary-General Manojlović to CCU, October 25th, 1925.

26 AY, Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY-F66-363-607, SSCU printed circular letter to choral societies, February 17th, 1926.

27 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27. Under the same docket number is a letter from the FBCS, which fully cites the CCU’s letter and the resolution from the 73rd meeting of that choral society. Both were sent in response to the CCU, as well as to all Serbian choral societies.

Interestingly, in this letter the CCU claims that the Slovene Choral Union was dissolved “against the will of Slovene singers.” At the current stage of research it was not possible to verify this assertion, but the fact remains that, two years later, Slovene choral societies sought a reorganization of the SSCU with a view to its decentralization.²⁸ This extensive resolution, passed by the 73rd meeting of the FBCS in May 1926,²⁹ and the CCU’s response,³⁰ bring to light interesting information that helps reconstruct the history of the creation of the SSCU and its relations with the CCU.

A meaningful answer to this squabble came in a letter from the Dubrava Choral Society of Dubrovnik, which read: “The resolution [of the FBCS] is directed at Serbian choral societies, therefore we consider it necessary to immediately emphasize that our choral society is neither Serbian nor Croatian or Slovene, but merely a singing society. Without tribal traditions and far from all party activity, our society wants, through our modest work, to contribute to the expansion of our song and to arouse the interest of the broadest audiences in musical art.”³¹ Their statement is clear: music over politics.

There were other strained attempts at communication. For instance, on May 12th, 1927, Manojlović sent the CCU “A list of choral societies in the Kingdom of SCS,”³² which was briefly mentioned in the minute-book of the CCU with the remark, “Duly noted!”³³ In the minute-book of one CCU session in 1928 we read: “The Yugoslav Union sends its editions in the hope that a united association will be created,” which is followed by a brief observation: “The editions of the CCU will be submitted with the same wish,”³⁴ but certainly without any real intent to achieve a unified association as conceived by the SSCU. It is a pity indeed that the CCU had not sought an opportunity to “elaborate its view on the disputed issue” and address the Serbian public through Serbian musical periodicals (VASIĆ 2014: 160).

Apart from the principal cause of the conflict, as described above, the discord was also rooted in highly specific reasons, such as the struggle over the issue of who was allowed to represent Yugoslav choirs abroad. In 1929, Kosta

28 AY, Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY-F66-363-607, Circular letter from SSCU to choral societies, December 15th, 1928.

29 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Circular letter from the FBCS.

30 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Letter from the CCU, August 1st, 1926

31 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Letter from Dubrava Choral Society, June 30th, 1926.

32 CSA, HR-HDA 639, CCU, box 26, folder 1911/1928, Union of Serbian Choral Societies. Serbian Associations.

33 CSA, HR-HDA 639, CCU, box 21, Minute-books of the Central Committee of the CCU from 1892–1940, Minute-book of the session held on May 18th, 1927.

34 CSA, HR-HDA 639, CCU, box 21, Minute-book of the session held on February 15th, 1928.

Manojlović, in his capacity as Secretary-General of the SSCU, wrote to the Ministry of Education to petition it to deny support for foreign travel by choral societies that were not rated well. This was intended to force societies that had hitherto espoused “tribal organization” to join the SSCU.³⁵

A stumbling block and additional burden in the relations of the two unions was the All-Slav Choral Union [ASCU], founded in Prague in 1928. In the face of this important event, the leadership of the CCU was in no doubt as to whether it could autonomously join the all-Slavic association or not.³⁶ Indeed, in his letter to the President of the CCU, the President of the Czechoslovak Choral Union, Dr. Luboš Jeřábek, emphasized that he would strive to “fairly represent all fraternal branches” in the formation of the Slavic Union, “so, brothers, you should not be fearful in this regard” (JEŘÁBEK 1928: 3). As we read in the CCU’s 1929 minute-book, the Croatian Union was an “important factor” in the All-Slav Union. The minute-book goes on to say: “Indeed, in spite of the South-Slav Choral Union’s opposition at the Prague Festival in 1928, the CCU entered the All-Slav Choral Union as a founder and contributed two members to its leadership. Even Dr. Jeržabek, a representative of Czech singers, said: Without the Croats it cannot be.”³⁷ In Prague, officers of the CCU and the SSCU confronted each other, sometimes inappropriately so, causing the Yugoslav singing conflict to gain international prominence. As an anonymous author wrote in the *Musical Herald*: “The CCU’s success in Prague was ensured at the moment, when the Croatian viewpoint prevailed in the resolution on the formation of the All-Slav Choral Union. This was discrediting for the SSCU, since they were forced to join the ASCU, where the Croats were recognized as a nation.” (ANONYMOUS 1928: 26).

It seems unusual that the CCU was stubbornly failing to take note of the fact, already determined in Prague in 1928, that the CCU’s membership in the ASCU would be limited to a term of six years in which it had to join the SSCU or face expulsion, as only state unions were permitted to be fully-fledged members of the All-Slav Union. Nikola Faller learned this at the latest in May 1929, at the first ASCU congress, and commented that “there is still time and by then who knows what could still happen” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1933: 188). The CCU had likely relied on their friend Jeřábek, who said at the ASCU meeting in Ljubljana on May 14th, 1932 (where no CCU representative was present), that

35 AY, Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY-F66-363-607, KostaManojlović’s letter to the Ministry of Education in Belgrade, March 27th, 1929.

36 “Mr. Herceg asks whether the CCU as a Croatian Choral Union can join the ASCU, which will be established in Prague. It is resolved to join the ASCU only as a Croatian Choral Union.” See, CSA, HR-HDA 639, CCU, box 21, Minute-book of the session held on March 14th, 1927.

37 CSA, HR-HDA 639, CCU, box 23, folder 1927–1933, Minute-book of a meeting of the CCU’s Central Committee held on December 15th, 1929, print.

“the CCU should be considered an independent union and an equal member of the ASCU, because the intention is for all Slavs to be in the ASCU, and not to have any part of Slavic people missing.” (ANONYMOUS 1932: 174). At the same meeting, Kosta P. Manojlović was determined: “the CCU wants to treat themselves as a separate nation, which we cannot accept, because we consider us one nation.” (ANONYMOUS 1932: 175).

The CCU planned an all-Slavic festival in Zagreb around Easter 1930, as announced at the ASCU Congress in Poznań in the spring of 1929. However, as Matz explained, difficulties in the work of CCU had arisen, and by the end of 1929 there was a very serious one: the print run of *St. Cecilia* was confiscated because it had published the program of the festival (ANONYMOUS 1929).³⁸ The SSCU protested against the event (ANONYMOUS 1932), and, as it became apparent the festival would not be allowed, efforts to organize it ceased. An important meeting of the central board of the CCU was held on December 15th, 1929. As we learn from the published minutes of the session (HERCEG 1930), two people strongly advocated dissolving the CCU and joining the SSCU: Viktor Benković, President of the Lisinski branch and Choirmaster of Jug [South], also a prominent singer, and Juraj Korenić, President of Kolo. It was concluded that the CCU’s General Assembly would meet on January 19th, 1930, with one sole item on the agenda: dissolving the CCU and calling on all Croatian choral societies to disband. However, there was no quorum at the assembly and it was resolved to continue working until further notice.

The management of the Kolo Choral Society then launched an even greater offensive. In January 1930 it sent a report to the SSCU in Belgrade about its efforts to overthrow the CCU’s management and encourage Croatian choral societies to join the SSCU.³⁹ At the same time, it sent a circular letter to Croatian choral societies appealing to them to join in the efforts against the CCU’s management⁴⁰ and to request an extraordinary assembly to consider a proposal for cooperation with the SSCU. Only a small number of societies responded. The Kolo even went so far as to claim it had founded the CCU back in 1875 and led it for five decades.⁴¹ A bigger problem was that the Zagreb Police accepted the Kolo’s view that the CCU Articles of Association of 1925 were not valid and that the CCU had to observe its 1911 Articles, which had become

38 This issue of *St. Cecilia* was obviously changed after the confiscation, because the preserved items contain no festival programs.

39 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, A copy of the Kolo’s letter to the SSCU, January 23rd, 1930.

40 At this stage of the research no document was available. The information was taken from the CCU’s letter to the Lira Choral Society, February 3rd, 1930. See HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27.

41 From Matz’s report, minute-book of the CCU’s assembly held on March 16th, 1930. See HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27.

completely unsuitable to the new state of affairs and political circumstances. This served for various manipulations.

A very important assembly of the CCU was held on March 16th, 1930. Its detailed 23-page record includes Matz's comprehensive report for the period from 1926 to 1929 and discussions, recorded in great detail, that give a flavor of the atmosphere at the assembly. The meeting was also an elective one: the ticket of President Nikola Faller listed Dr. Branimir Sušić as candidate for Secretary and Matz as Choirmaster, while the Korenić ticket nominated Božidar Širola for President and a very young Boris Papandopulo (aged 24 at the time, and later himself a renowned composer) as Choirmaster. Faller's list won with by a large margin.

One of the most important topics in the discussion was the question of joining the SSCU. Viktor Benković was not satisfied, since "there was not a single word in the report on negotiations to form a single Union. (Noise) He cites a conclusion reached at the Poznań Festival, according to which single choral organizations have to be created in all Slavic states within 6 years. (A voice: There is still time for that). Negotiations between the previous administration and the SSCU cannot be taken seriously. All this amounts to is diplomatic correspondence designed to outwit one another."⁴² Tellingly, the CCU persistently ignored the existence of an ASCU decision that was disadvantageous to it. Finally, a motion made by Petar Gvozdić was upheld by a majority of the delegates: "The Presidency is hereby tasked with continuing negotiations with the South-Slavic Union in order to establish the Yugoslav Choral Union, where each individual union would retain its organization in full, but would present a united front to foreign countries."⁴³ Following this decision, the CCU wrote to the SSCU's Secretary-General, Kosta P. Manojlović, on April 14th, 1930, to ask if "the SSCU was willing to negotiate about a Jugoslovenska pevačka liga [Yugoslav Choral Alliance]."⁴⁴ The response, which soon arrived from Belgrade, was, of course, a resounding no.⁴⁵

After this important CCU assembly, at a meeting on October 2nd, 1930, the Board of the Kolo Croatian Choral Society, one of the CCU's founders, resolved that Kolo would leave the CCU. This decision led to strains in Kolo, and many members who did not agree with the Board's decisions left (GOGLIA 1942: 136–137). At its next assembly, on June 24th, 1931, Kolo decided to join the SSCU. At the SSCU's congress in Ljubljana in May 1932,

42 Ibid, p. 16.

43 Ibid, pp. 22–23.

44 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Letter from the CCU to Kosta Manojlović, May 14th, 1930.

45 HAB, SSCU, HAB-1090/27, Letter from the SSCU to the CCU, April 17th, 1930.

Kolo's President, Korenić, expressed with pathos his enthusiasm for Kolo's joining the SSCU (ANONYMOUS 1932: 179). Interestingly, that congress, which a number of Croatian choirs participated in, again raised the possibility of the SSCU's headquarters being in Zagreb. But, in the spring of 1936, Korenić gave up the position of the President of Kolo, and, soon afterwards, on October 24th, 1936, an extraordinary assembly of Kolo decided, "considering its glorious past", to leave the SSCU (GOGLIA 1942: 148), and next year Kolo rejoined the CCU.

After 1930, there were only a few meetings of the CCU's Central Committee and it seemed like the entire Union was suspended until the meeting of April 22nd, 1934. In the meantime, especially in 1932, the question of the CCU's membership in the ASCU was raised again. As the ASCU had decided that year at a meeting in Ljubljana, a meeting of representatives of all the choral unions in Zagreb was organized on May 18th, 1932.

ASCU President Leon Surzyński clarified the ASCU's efforts to reconcile the CCU and the SSCU. "It looked like we found a formula that could satisfy everyone, and all representatives, not only All-Slavic but also from the South-Slav Choral Union, signed the so-called Herceg Resolution, according to which singers perform according to cultural individualities. But, it seems life is more difficult in practice than in theory." (FALLER 1934: 5).⁴⁶

Faller was, of course, right. At the ASCU's Congress in Prague on July 1st, 1933, representatives of the CCU did not show up because they could not get passports (MANOJLOVIĆ 1933: 188–189). The rules of the ASCU made in Prague were disadvantageous to the CCU: according to the SSCU's proposal, "not a single choral society can visit a foreign country without the permission of the Artistic Committee of its Union" (MANOJLOVIĆ 1933: 191), so, in Yugoslavia, it was the SSCU that was entitled to make that decision.

In the autumn of 1934, representatives of the ASCU announced their arrival in Zagreb to again mediate between the Croatian and the South-Slav Choral Unions (FALLER 1935: 1). However, on the very eve of the meeting, scheduled for September 5th, 1934, on September 2nd the Administration of the Savska banovina [Sava Banovina] in Zagreb banned the CCU with the explanation that the CCU had exceeded its remit and that its activity "inspires, encourages, and exhibits illicit political tendencies contrary to the goal of unity and the state system" (ANONYMOUS 1934a). A photograph taken soon afterwards shows members of the CCU's Central Committee reading the resolution banning the CCU (Faller sits in the middle, with Matz above him). Not only is it telling that they took an official photograph to mark the event: in a gesture that speaks volumes about the importance of this picture for him, Matz had it framed and

46 The resolution was published (ANONYMOUS 1932: 179).

it hung on the wall of his living room, along with all other framed photographs from his rich career, until the day he died.⁴⁷

But the CCU would not go down without a fight. During the time it was illegal, choral societies gathered around a group of independent authors within the Muzička naklada Sklad [Sklad Musical Cooperative], in which Matz had one of the leading positions, and the magazine *Sklad* [Harmony] became the CCU's gazette. A legal battle began: an appeal by the CCU, signed by Faller and the Secretary, Miro Majer, was rejected by the Ministry of Internal Affairs on May 15th, and the decision to dissolve CCU was upheld. Then the CCU appealed to the State Council, which annulled the decision of the Sava Banovina on November 2nd, 1935, allowing the Union to operate again (MATZ 1935).⁴⁸

The CCU's later history is short: in 1938 Nikola Faller died and Rudolf Matz became President. The Union was still active during World War II, but it did not survive the Socialist era, being abolished in 1947, almost at the same time as Kolo. Today's Hrvatski sabor culture [Croatian Parliament of Culture] is the heir to the CCU's traditions: it is a government organization that supports amateur choirs.

After the war, Rudolf Matz became a distinguished cello teacher. Towards the end of his life, however, he started feeling anxious about his legacy, as he had no heirs. Finally, in 1986, shortly before his death, he decided to accept a tempting offer: in return for an honorary doctorate, he would bequeath a part of his legacy to a library in Greensboro, North Carolina, that specialized in endowments of famous cellists. And so, some of his manuscripts and original documentation have, unfortunately, been permanently moved to the United States, including some records of the Croatian Choral Union (1896–1897 and 1936–1938).⁴⁹

EPILOGUE

Other interwar sources also allow us to learn about collaboration in South Slavic areas. Both examples that I will present relate to Kosta P. Manojlović in different ways, and both, each in their own way, are connected with the idea of Slavic cultural unification. In the letter quoted in the epigraph to this text, Blagoje Bersa, at the time Acting Vice-President of the Yugoslav Section of the International Society for Contemporary Music, writes to Viktor Novak and Kosta P. Manojlović to justify

47 The photograph is reproduced in JELČIĆ 2010: 175.

48 Complete texts of the decision to ban the CCU, the appeal to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (ANONYMOUS 1934a), the petition to the Kraljevsko namjestništvo [Royal Council of Regency], signed by 54 distinguished individuals (ANONYMOUS 1934b), the complaint to the Državni savjet [State Council] (FALLER 1935) and the document lifting the ban (MATZ 1935) were all published in *Sklad*.

49 See footnote 5 above.

his absence (as well as that of other members of the Zagreb Committee) for objective reasons, from the Section's General Assembly in Belgrade in the spring of 1928. His absence could have been understood as a boycott. That was the misunderstanding which led Bersa to write that "discord can be detrimental". We must keep in mind that Bersa grew up in Zadar, a town under Austrian administration, and dominated by Italian influence and politics. He had spent the years before and during World War I in Vienna, missing his homeland, which he conceived of in the broadest sense, as a community of Slavs. As Eva Sedak summarized it: "The adherence to the idea of unification of all South Slavs is part of Bersa's vitalist pantheism." (SEDAK 2010: 40).⁵⁰ As such, Bersa claims in his letter to Manojlović: "I believe in my ideals of unity and agreement" and, in conclusion, expresses his hope that the much-needed "fraternal cooperation" would happen.⁵¹

Another example of the "fraternal cooperation" between South-Slavic artists is described in my study of materials at the Hrvatski glazbeni zavod [Croatian Music Institute] in Zagreb for the art déco period (BEZIĆ 2015: 322–326). In the Library of the Croatian Music Institute I found an edition of Manojlović's song *Molba* [*Plea*] (Vienna: Edition Slave, 1922). The cover design bears the author's signature in Cyrillic, "DJankovic" while underneath is written, in Roman letters, "Paris 1921". With the help of Bojana Popović, curator at the Muzej primenjene umetnosti [Museum of Applied Arts] in Belgrade, I found that the cover was the work of Serbian artist Dušan Janković, who had in 1921 just completed his painting studies in Paris. Janković sent his truly extraordinary design to Vienna, where Milan Obuljen, a native of Dubrovnik, owned the music publishing company Edition Slave that specialized in publishing works by Slavic composers. In the Museum of Applied Arts they were not aware of this edition of Manojlović's *Molba*. Yet, they have a postcard printed in black and white with an identical artwork and signature, but not accompanied by any other text. So, it seems that, for the Edition Slave cover, Janković added the title of the song and name of the publisher to his template. He decorated it with two colors: red for drawn lines, and dark yellow for the underlay.

To conclude (and I am deliberately avoiding mentioning nationalities): a man from Niš (Janković) creates, in Paris, the design of composition by Manojlović (who was then living in Belgrade); this music is published by a man from Dubrovnik (Obuljen) in Vienna, and much later, with the help of information obtained from a Belgrade museum, a woman from Zagreb writes about it in the proceedings of an international musicological conference published in Ljubljana. I am not sure what Faller or Matz would say, but Blagoje Bersa, an advocate for unity among southern Slavs, would surely be pleased.

50 Bersa also had periods of disillusionment with the idea of a South-Slavic state, cf. SEDAK 2010: 40–41.

51 Letter from Blagoje Bersa to Kosta Manojlović, May 24th, 1928 (BERSA 2012: 65, 66).

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Kosta P. Manojlović and Narratives on “Southern Serbia”*

SRĐAN ATANASOVSKI

In this article I will discuss interwar narratives on “Southern Serbia” in the context of music practices, specifically referring to the activities of Kosta Manojlović as music scholar, collector of folk songs, and composer. I will firstly show how narratives on “Southern Serbia” connect with prewar narratives on “Old Serbia” and what their role was in establishing new modes of governing in the territories which were annexed by the Kingdom of Serbia in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars. I will then analyze Manojlović’s writings – articles on ethnography and folk music analysis – which spanned a decade (1925–1935) and contributed to this discourse.

From “Old Serbia” to “Southern Serbia”

Appearing as an islet of territory free of direct rule of two great competing empires – Ottoman and Habsburg – the modern Serbian state was from the outset formulated as an expansionistic, irredentist enterprise. One may cite the *Načertanije* [*A Draft*], a draft foreign policy document written by Ilija Garašanin in 1844, as an exemplary source for describing this unique position of Serbia (published in STRANJAKOVIĆ 1931; cf. LJUŠIĆ 2008). Very much in accord with the governing European imperialistic paradigm of the period, this document postulates territorial expansion as the *raison d’être* of the Principality of Serbia and vindicates its territorial claims by reference to historical rights and the perceived continuity with the medieval Serbian state of the House of Nemanjić. At the height of the “Eastern Question”, Serbian intellectuals concentrated their attention on what was termed “Old Serbia”, encompassing loosely defined swaths of territory of today’s Kosovo, northern Albania, and Macedonia, and developed a specific discourse which positioned “Old Serbia” as a core

* This paper is part of research done on the project *Serbian Musical Identities Within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (No. 177004), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

Serbian national territory. A simple reminder of medieval borders was, however, insufficient, and territorial claims had to be vindicated through intricate linkages between historical and natural right, as well as scholarly knowledge and poetic imagination. Direct experience became of the utmost importance, as prominent writers, scholars and artists travelled to Ottoman-controlled areas to gain first-hand knowledge to support the Serbian claim while engaging in historical, demographical, and ethnographical discussions, as well as presenting folk art and traditions of the Christian and Slavic-language-speaking population.¹ An important part of this project was the folk song as “evidence”: the presentation of records of songs purportedly made in “Old Serbia” as part of broader Serbian music folklore (ATANASOVSKI 2017).

During the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) and the subsequent First World War (1914–1918), the question of Serbia’s share in the crumbling Ottoman Empire’s territories was finally resolved, and what was at that point referred to as “Southern Serbia” was to be integrated into the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Although various scholars played roles in the production of knowledge which was supposed to influence the outcome of the new borders (most famously, Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić published no less than four different “ethnolinguistic maps” of Macedonia between 1906 and 1918; WHITE 2000: 236–238), negotiations relied mostly on issues of military gains and diplomatic power. Moreover, diplomatic records from negotiations leading to the Treaty of London, which brought the First Balkan War to the end in 1913, show that, once forced to give up direct access to the sea, the Serbian side insisted on maximizing its territorial gains regardless of the demographic and “ethnolinguistic” structure of the acquired territories (RASTOVIĆ 2005: 172–178).² Not surprisingly, the integration of these territories into Serbian, and later the Yugoslav, nation, proved to be a laborious enterprise, which not only entailed expelling a significant portion of the local

1 Projects such as that of Branislav Nušić, a prominent Serbian writer, journalist and civil servant, became paradigmatic: after visiting Skopje and acting as the consul of Kingdom of Serbia in Prishtina between 1893 and 1896, Nušić firstly published two travelogues: *S obala Ohridskog jezera* [From the shores of Ohrid lake], Nušić 1894, and *S Kosova na sinje more* [From Kosovo towards the blue sea], Nušić 1902, and secondly a scholarly two-volume monograph *Kosovo. Opis zemlje i naroda* [Kosovo: Description of the land and people], Nušić 1902–1903. Nušić’s project shows not only how academic and poetic visions can become intermingled, but moreover how legitimacy of a scholarly voice in this discourse was vindicated through his documented visit to “Old Serbia”.

2 Serbian public at the time almost univocally supported this supposed military “*Reconquista*”; one of the rare dissenting voices was Dimitrije Tucović, an early social-democrat who not only described the war as an imperialist undertaking of the Serbian bourgeoisie, but also, after having been conscripted into the army, testified to numerous and indiscriminate war crimes which the campaign entailed (TUCOVIĆ 1946; cf. BAKOVIĆ JADŽIĆ 2014). These were subsequently rigorously analysed in the report of the commission established by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (*REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO THE CAUSES AND CONDUCT OF THE BALKAN WAR 1914*).

Muslim population and retaining military administration of the province throughout the interwar period, but also resolving multiple identities of the Christian population, whose ethnic identification could often have been interchangeably Serbian, Bulgarian and Macedonian (cf. JOVANOVIĆ 2002, 2014). Moreover, the project had to be articulated in terms of the precarious identity politics of the new nation state, where the borderline between Serbian and Yugoslav identity was often tacitly effaced, as the Serbian dynasty and political elite retained the dominant position in the newly united Kingdom (cf. BAKIĆ 2004). The narratives of “Southern Serbia” as the new core territory of the Kingdom thus heavily relied on previous narratives of “Old Serbia”, and were comparably prominent across scholarly and art discourses, including both production of knowledge about folk music and the production of art music itself. There were, however, notable differences in the discourse on “Southern Serbia” compared to the previous discourse on “Old Serbia”, both in terms of technicalities and in specific strategies that scholars employed to create and enforce this new “mental map”:

- As travel to “Southern Serbia” became more accessible, with the perceived insecurity of the Ottoman era giving way to Serbian and Yugoslav policing, and with the state even actively encouraging intellectuals to visit the area by funding appointments in culture and education, first-hand accounts proliferated and were no longer presented as a rarity, which rendered obsolete the utilization of secondary sources that had often been admissible in the discourse on “Old Serbia”.
- Unlike the discourse on “Old Serbia” which operated without clear borders and often presented a fathomless image of Serbian national territory spreading to the south, the discourse on “Southern Serbia” operated within a clear and circumscribed territory with the clear agenda of vindicating the territorial gains of the 1913 London Treaty.
- Unlike the discourse on “Old Serbia”, which was sometimes radically open to diversity in language and folklore, arguing that the language spoken in “Old Serbia” bears stronger ties to medieval Serbian and even incorporating some of its grammatical structures into its scholarly language (cf. MILOJEVIĆ 1871), the discourse on “Southern Serbia” slowly abandoned these positions and evolved as a classical example of a normative instrument of nation-state in regard to national language and culture.
- While the temporal focus of the discourse on “Old Serbia” was the medieval period, often portrayed as a “golden age” of the Serbian history (in travel narratives, this focus could be achieved by

concentrating on historical monuments, writings, etc.), the discourse on “Southern Serbia” includes praise of the contemporary historical moment and the achievements of Serbian and Yugoslav state presented through a narrative of modernization.

- Finally, the motif of precarity, either real or imagined, omnipresent in the discourse on “Old Serbia”, loses its central position as the main emotional resource and driving force of the narrative, and is supplanted by a eulogy of state policing in the area.

A key similarity between the two discourses remains, however, their shared relative ignorance of non-Slavic, non-Christian population, particularly its culture and folklore, which merits almost no mention in ethnographic studies of the visiting scholars. While simply ignored in the prewar period, or dismissed as a population of recent converts, under the rule of Kingdom of Yugoslavia they were also subject to deportations and population transfer treaties (JOVANOVIĆ 2014).

Manojlović and the Production of Knowledge on Music Folklore of Southern Serbia

Kosta Manojlović’s position in interwar period music scholarship is apposite as he was directly involved in decision-makings in music institutions and state bureaucracy, had access to various state-provided resources, and, last but not least, travelled to “Southern Serbia” as a music scholar and produced numerous recordings of folk music. During the course of a decade, Manojlović published articles and reports that dealt with the folklore of “Southern Serbia” (see TABLE 1). The important, albeit short, leadoff article, “Muzičke karakteristike našega juga” [“Musical characteristics of our South”] (MANOJLOVIĆ 1925a) was originally published in 1925 in the journal *Glasnik profesorskog društva* [*Bulletin of the Professors’ Society*], edited by Milivoj Pavlović,³ and it quickly reprinted in the journal *Sv. Cecilija* [*St. Cecilia*], with the important addition of music examples. The later journal catered to a musical audience, and the article was also distributed in the form of an offprint. Finally, it was also reprinted in a monograph under the title *Skoplje i Južna Srbija* [*Skopje and Southern Serbia*], which was itself based on the issue of *Bulletin of the Professors’ Society* in which the article originally appeared, together with a few belated articles and art and

3 The journal was published in Belgrade and initially edited by Jaša M. Prodanović, Serbian politician, publicist and writer. It was partly a continuation of the journal *Nastavnik* [*The Teacher*], established in Belgrade in 1890; in 1929 it changed its name to *Glasnik Jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* [*Bulletin of the Yugoslav Professors’ Society*] and continued to appear until 1941.

photographic reproductions. The instantaneous reprinting of Manojlović's article testifies to the scarcity of analysis of the music folklore of "Southern Serbia", notwithstanding the obvious interest of the public in learning about these issues. One can argue that rare contributions in (music) press of limited scope and with insufficiently discussed conclusions possibly even exacerbated this situation (cf. ILIĆ 1922 and ILIĆ 1922).⁴ Manojlović proceeded to publish three articles on nuptial customs in the various cities and towns he visited in this period (Galičnik, Peja, Debar, and Župa) in the newly-founded journal of the Ethnographic museum in Belgrade, where he was also engaged as an associate. One of these articles was also published in digested form in the Belgrade newspaper *Vreme*. The article "Muzičko delo našeg sela" ["Musical *oeuvre* of our village"] devotes relatively large space to the folk music of "Southern Serbia", although covering a geographically broader region, and is aimed at a lay audience, being presented in a volume envisaged as a "popular encyclopedia" of the Yugoslav village (STOJADINOVIĆ 1929). In 1934 and 1937 Manojlović published synthetic articles titled "Zvuci zemlje Raške" ["The sounds of the land of Raška"] in the leading Yugoslav music journal *Zvuk* [*The Sound*], and "Južna Srbija u svetlosti muzike" ["South Serbia from a musical perspective"], in an edited volume celebrating twenty five years of the "liberation" of South Serbia, wherein he aimed to draw summary conclusions based on various fieldwork researches he had performed. Finally, in 1935, *Južni pregled* [*Southern Review*], a journal for science and literature based in Skopje, published a speech Manojlović's made as a ministerial envoy at a visiting concert of Belgrade's Muzička škola [Music school] held in Skopje in June of the same year.

TABLE 1. Kosta Manojlović's articles on music and customs of "Southern Serbia"

1925	"Muzičke karakteristike našega juga" ["Musical characteristics of our South"], <i>Glasnik profesorskog društva</i> [<i>Bulletin of the Yugoslav Professors' Society</i>], <i>Sv. Cecilija</i> [<i>St. Cecilia</i>] and <i>Skoplje i Južna Srbija</i> [<i>Skopje and Southern Serbia</i>]
1926	"Svadbene običaji u Galičniku" ["Nuptial customs in Galičnik"], <i>Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu</i> [<i>Bulletin of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade</i>]
1929	"Muzičko delo našeg sela" ["Musical <i>oeuvre</i> of our village"], in: Miloslav Stojadinović (ed.), <i>Naše selo</i> [<i>Our Village</i>] (Belgrade)

4 Interestingly, when Vladimir Đorđević's voluminous collection of records of folk song from "Southern Serbia" appeared three years later, the introduction to the collection, addressing matters of music analysis, was written by French scholar Ernest Closson and published in French. Thus was again missed an opportunity to produce scholarship on this subject in the Serbian language (Đorđević 1928; CLOSSON 1928).

1933	“Svadbeni običaji u Peći” [“Nuptial customs in Peja”], <i>Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu</i> [<i>Bulletin of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade</i>], digest published in daily newspaper <i>Vreme</i> on March 2nd, 1934
1934	“Zvuci zemlje Raške” [“The sounds of the land of Raška”], <i>Zvuk</i> [<i>The Sound</i>] (Belgrade)
1935	“Umetnička tradicija na Jugu” [“Art tradition in the South”], <i>Južni pregled</i> [<i>Southern Review</i>] (Skopje)
1935	“Svadbeni običaji u Debru i Župi” [“Nuptial customs in Debar and Župa”], <i>Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu</i> [<i>Bulletin of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade</i>]
1937	“Južna Srbija u svetlosti muzike” [“South Serbia from a musical perspective”], in Aleksa Jovanović (ed.), <i>Spomenica dvadesetpetogodišnjice oslobođenja Južne Srbije 1912–1937</i> [<i>A Memorial Book on the 25th Anniversary of the Liberation of South Serbia 1912–1937</i>] (Skopje)

To provide some context for Manojlović’s articles, and to demonstrate how they function within the discourse on “Southern Serbia”, I will refer to the content of the volumes in which the first and last article appeared in 1925 and 1937, respectively. The monograph publication *Skopje and Southern Serbia*, published in 1925, comprises 18 articles and essays, covering a wide span of scholarship, as well as four travel essays, and also includes Manojlović’s most cited article on “Southern Serbia”. Although emphasizing the city of Skopje, not only the capital of the former Ottoman *vilayet* of Kosovo, but also a rising local center of education and knowledge production, in many aspects the monograph maps the whole area of “Southern Serbia”. The opening article manifestly provides a geographic and ethnographic overview of “Southern Serbia”, relying on the work of two prominent scholars in the field, Jovan Cvijić and Jevto Dedijer, and bridging the gap between prewar scholarship and new accounts of the area.⁵ Historical accounts are given pride of place in the volume, with the following three articles, written by Vladimir Petković, Mita Kostić and Petar S. Jovanović, discussing primarily Serbian medieval monuments in Skopje and “Southern Serbia” in general, firmly establishing the argument for the historical entitlement of the Serbian nation to these territories. Current affairs are also represented in the volume, albeit towards the end, with a particularly interesting short article by Anton Melik in Slovene, comparing the geographical positions and political roles of Slovenia and “Southern Serbia” in the

5 While Cvijić’s work predates the Balkan Wars (Cvijić 1906–1911), Dedijer’s book, titled *Nova Srbija* [*New Serbia*], was published just as the Kingdom of Serbia officially acquired the new territories, together with a map reprinted in the 1925 monograph (DEDIJER 1913).

contemporary kingdom. Although most of the articles, Manojlović's included, openly profess their grounding in first-hand experience and field research, the volume also includes four poetical travel essays, written as reflections on the various routes crisscrossing the region. Manojlović's article appears as one of the contributions specifically dealing with folk art, together with discussions on Kosovo folk embroidery and oral folk literature. Interestingly, the version of the article that Manojlović submitted to this volume differs from the one published in *St. Cecilia*, as the author provided an additional opening (the first four paragraphs and two sentences in the following paragraph), where he succinctly described the history of the modern Serbian state as an irredentist enterprise and praised the southward expansion that had been achieved. Using rhetorical figures common to contemporary political discourse, such as the understanding of the modern Kingdom of Serbia, based on territories of the Ottoman *pashalik* of Belgrade, as the "Serbian Piedmont" (that is, the springboard for "national unification"), Manojlović's tone fit in with many of the other texts in this volume.

The last article which Manojlović published on "Southern Serbia" appeared in a context which was even more laudatory of Serbian expansionistic politics: an extensive edited volume commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the "liberation of South Serbia." The volume opens with portraits of the royal members of the ruling Karađorđević dynasty and ends with a detailed map of "Southern Serbia", resembling the one Dedijer published in his book "New Serbia" as early as 1913 (see ILLUSTRATION 1). In between, the book covers various topics, including geography, history, ethnography and demographics, agriculture and economy, education, literature, and art history.⁶



ILLUSTRATION 1. Map of "Southern Serbia" by V. S. Radovanović, published in JOVANOVIĆ 1937.

6 Practically all the issues in this volume, over thousand pages long, are discussed from the point of view of the Serbian population (which, by default, subsumes all Slavic speaking Christian populations). Other ethnic groups are discussed primarily in the section on ethnography where, for example, Albanians

Forging legitimacy: Mokranjac and fieldwork

Scholars who produced the knowledge of “Southern Serbia” in the interwar period relied on two mechanisms of forging legitimacy of their writings: firstly, as their prewar forerunners, they insisted on the importance of first-hand experience and provided evidence they had actually visited the area, and, secondly, they acknowledged the probity of their forerunners’ scholarship. In accordance with the latter method, Manojlović is eager to pay respect to music authors who visited the area while it was still under Ottoman rule: Vladimir Đorđević, Pera Ž. Ilić, but, first and foremost Stevan St. Mokranjac (MANOJLOVIĆ 1925b: 249–250). In his articles, Manojlović not only describes Mokranjac’s fieldwork in Prishtina in 1896, but also takes Mokranjac’s records into account in his closer analysis of music folklore, even citing some of them.⁷ From Manojlović’s data it is certain that he had access to Mokranjac’s manuscript notebook “Sa Kosova” [“From Kosovo”, p. 152], although he also uses songs from Mokranjac’s rukoveti [garlands], treating them as authentic folk songs. In his “Musical *oeuvre* of our village”, Manojlović provides a variant of the song “Niknalo cveće šareno” [“There bloomed colorful flowers”], which is to be found at the end of Mokranjac’s X Rukovet [10th Garland], in order to illustrate the “fanfare-like joy” of the region of Poreče (see EXAMPLE 1). As this is one of the “Old Serbian” songs in Mokranjac’s garlands that the composer does not provide a tune for, “Niknalo cveće šareno” may have been considerably recomposed by Mokranjac (cf. ATANASOVSKI 2017). Manojlović’s variant actually significantly differs from the song in Mokranjac’s garland, in both its meter (being in quintuple polymeter, while Mokranjac’s song is in triple meter) and rhythm. Vladimir Đorđević, working at almost the same time as Manojlović, also noted a variant of the song similar to Manojlović’s, albeit in triple meter and with the opening line “Caf-

(named *Arbanasi*) are canvassed in four pages (JOVANOVIĆ 1937).

7 Manojlović testifies that Mokranjac recorded “over one hundred melodies and subsequently arranged them in his garlands” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1925: 249). In his closer analysis of the songs’ *ambiti*, Manojlović numbers 98 song records by Mokranjac. Two fieldwork notebooks by Mokranjac (p. 141 and p. 142) number 112 songs in total, while the neatly arranged notebook “From Kosovo”, p. 152, probably made in preparation for publication or to be made available to Mokranjac’s collaborators, contains only 89 songs. Mokranjac’s garlands written after 1896 that are supposed to represent parts of “Old Serbia” (Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12 and 15) contain 23 songs in total, only eight of which are present in the aforementioned notebooks. As Manojlović seems to erroneously recognize songs from these garlands as based on records of authentic folk songs, it is most likely that he took into account, firstly, the notebook “From Kosovo” and, secondly, most of the 15 songs from the garlands cited above that are not already present in this notebook. The fact that Manojlović treated Mokranjac’s songs from the garlands thus is surprising, as Manojlović himself spoke highly of alterations employed by Mokranjac when incorporating folk songs into his garlands (MANOJLOVIĆ 1923: 127). For the questions of authenticity of Mokranjac’s “Old Serbian” garlands, cf. ATANASOVSKI 2015, 2017. Opus marks of Mokranjac’s works are given according to the catalogue in PERIĆ 1999.

nalo žoutoto cveće” [“There bloomed yellow flowers”], as sung in the city of Tetovo, to the north of Poreče (ЂОРЂЕВИЋ 1928: 136). Interestingly, presenting this example, Manojlović notes that the song is to be found at the end of Mokranjac’s X Rukovet, “only in triple meter,” glossing over all the other important differences and also failing to provide data on the singer-interlocutor that he recorded the song from, as he usually does, which might have had the aim of reaffirming and drawing on the legitimacy of Mokranjac as a reliable source of folk songs.



EXAMPLE 1. Manojlović’s rendition of “Niknalo žoltono cveće” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1929: 322).

Manojlović’s discussion of the folk music of “Southern Serbia” also contains information about the author’s travel to these areas: in the 1925 article, Manojlović states that he traveled to Bitola in the summer of 1923, and to fifteen cities and towns in Macedonia and Kosovo in the following summer (Skopje, Mitrovica, Prishtina, Gračanica, Gevgelija, Kavadarci, Veles, Štip, Tetovo, Gostivar, Kičevo, Ohrid, Bitola, Peja and Prizren), producing 390 records of folk songs in total. His articles published in the *Bulletin of the Yugoslav Professors’ Society* contain detailed first-hand descriptions of nuptial customs, with additional information on the times when the author visited the towns and cities whose customs he discussed (in 1924, 1932 and 1933), as well as information on the use of the phonograph, a new sound recording technology at the time, in the field (MANOJLOVIĆ 1933, 1935, 1936).⁸ In his introductory remarks, Manojlović also acknowledges the locals who allowed him to witness the ceremonies, and, together with presenting written examples of music, identifies his singer-interlocutors. Finally, Manojlović claims that first-hand experience of this folk music is necessary for its understanding, particularly if a prospective composer wishes to be able to “feel” proper harmonization, which is not to be found in the standard Major-Minor system (MANOJLOVIĆ 1925b: 253–254).

8 As Ivana Vesić recently confirmed, these fieldwork trips were state-sponsored and sanctioned by the education minister (Vesić 2016: 130–135).

A promise and a threat: “polyrhythm” and augmented second

Manojlović usually analyzes music through two avenues: rhythm (together with meter), and melody; his analysis is often firstly presented in the form of general and statistical observations based on a large sample of folk tunes that he had collected, and then illustrated by means of selected transcribed examples. Manojlović is particularly struck by the polymetric structures present in folk songs, which he somewhat confusingly labels as “polyrhythm” (*poliritmika*, MANOJLOVIĆ 1925b: 250; MANOJLOVIĆ 1929: 319). Manojlović illustrates this with elaborate music examples from various parts of “Southern Serbia”, and concludes that the intricate and often complex polymeter is “strongly ingrained into the soul of the people” who, unlike those educated in the “dogmatic” Western music system, can “naturally” feel it, perform it and dance to its tunes (MANOJLOVIĆ 1925a: 8). Manojlović is particularly eager to underline the importance of this phenomenon as a resource for modern art music compositions, given the place of polymeter in the contemporary works of authors such as Igor Stravinsky. In this respect, Manojlović is well-aligned with the general conviction of his contemporaries and fore-runners, that polymetric structures are a specific and most important feature of the music folklore of “Old” and “Southern Serbia”, a conviction which one can also trace in the usage of polymeter to signalize the “South” in Serbian music (cf. PERIĆ 2012; ATANASOVSKI 2017).

When he discusses aspects of melody, it is Manojlović’s prime concern to discredit the augmented second, which he perceives as an element foreign to the Slavic tradition of folk music.⁹ In Manojlović’s discussion of the augmented second one finds the motif of precarity, or threat, omnipresent in the narratives on “Old” and “Southern Serbia” (ATANASOVSKI 2017, forthcoming). Travel writers had for generations identified issues that threatened Serbian cultural heritage and the survival of the nation as such. The putative impending biological or cultural downfall of the nation also turned the act of “reading” a literary or scholarly text into a highly affective practice, as readers could easily identify with the issues discussed. In this particular example, most of Manojlović’s readers would have been familiar with the usage of the augmented second in popular renderings of the folklore of “Southern Serbia”, which often playfully approached it as an attractive and supposedly Oriental feature.

9 Manojlović’s emphasis on Slavic racial features is important as it reveals his understanding of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Bulgarians as one nation, divided by historical circumstance (cf. VEŠIĆ 2016: 218), which conformed with the state politics of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Karadorđević dynasty, but, interestingly, to an even greater extent with vision of the Principality of Serbia as the future unifier of the entire South-Slavic population in the Balkans, as it existed before the Treaty of San Stefano.

The arguments that Manojlović makes concerning the augmented second can be summarized in the following claims:

- The augmented second as such is alien to the music of Slavs on a *racial* level.
- The augmented second, as it appears in “Southern Serbia” and the Balkans, is *Oriental* and *Islamic* in origin.
- The usage of the augmented second is *expansionistic* by nature, as this feature had increasingly penetrated the folklore of the Slavic population as Ottoman and Islamic rule progressed, and one needs to act in order to stop this menacing influence.
- However, this *Oriental influence has not been comprehensive*, and a diligent collector and analyst of folk songs in *rural Slavic* communities would find that a relatively small proportion of them featured the augmented second.
- This proportion would be higher in communities especially exposed to Islamic influence, thus bearing out the abovementioned thesis of the origin of the augmented second.
- Finally, Manojlović concedes that the augmented second might occasionally appear in “authentic” Slavic music folklore, but he sanctions its use only as part of the scale that Mihajlo Živković will later describe as *Balkan minor* (ŽIVKOVIĆ 1946: 38).¹⁰

Most of these arguments are already present in the first article from 1925, and, extraordinarily, at least some of them are present in every work by Manojlović’s on “Southern Serbia” (excluding only the transcript of his speech, MANOJLOVIĆ 1935a), making the de-legitimization of the augmented second his main and most consistently labored aim:

[...] the *augmented second*, which, as such, is not our Slavic feature, but has arrived due to contact with the Oriental peoples. [...] of 390 songs, that I recorded, there are only about 60 with augmented seconds, which confirms our statement above (MANOJLOVIĆ 1925a: 9).

Let us also add to this the fact that the *augmented second* is not to be found here, and it will be clear to us that we are in the real our, Slavic musical expression, which as such should be preserved from ruin and nurtured in productive music [...] (MANOJLOVIĆ 1926: 93).

10 Manojlović generally insists on modal structures of folk songs, which by and large cannot be fitted into the Major-Minor tonal system. Interestingly, Mokranjac, whose understanding of folk music Manojlović specifically praises, although having experimented with certain harmonies relying on modal scales, remained firmly grounded in traditional Major-Minor harmonies, and particularly explored the dominant of the dominant as a feature in his compositions based on folk music (cf. DESPIĆ 1999).

[...] in our folk melodies one *encounters* also the interval of *augmented second*, which is of Oriental origin, and not a typical characteristic of us Slavs. (MANOJLOVIĆ 1929: 330).

[In nuptial songs of Peja] the augmented second is found only in the refrain of song no. 5 [of a total of 21 songs] (MANOJLOVIĆ 1933: 50).

We have mentioned earlier that *augmented* intervals, especially augmented seconds, are not our, Slavic, musical feature, but an element that, by the dint of circumstances, has crept into the line of our melody, and this should be taken into account today, to some extent. This opinion is confirmed by these melodies as well, since, of a total of 448 melodies, only 26 contain an augmented second, which appears as a melodic element in the songs of those areas and places where there is also Muslim population (MANOJLOVIĆ 1934: 91).

[In nuptial songs of Debar and Župa] the augmented second is found only in song no. 9 [of a total of 15 songs] (MANOJLOVIĆ 1935b: 76).

Considering the particularities of the melodies, we can note that in our folk melodies in general, and in the melodies of South Serbia in particular, one also encounters the interval of *augmented second*, which is of Oriental origin and not a typical Slavic musical characteristic. Wherever our indigenous national element is present, this interval is very rare, but in places where there is also Muslim population, such as in the old Sanjak (Bijelo Polje, etc.), augmented seconds occur in melodies more frequently, and, as such, this is a melodic element that one must take into account. (MANOJLOVIĆ 1937: 976).

The most poignant image that Manojlović builds into his discussion of augmented second is the impending peril of true, racially pure Slavic music, holder of ancient historical prerogative, being lost due to the menacing influence of Muslim culture. Manojlović not only maps the problem, he also calls on the cultural and musical public to act, cleanse these alien influences from their understanding of folk music, and disregard them when composing new art music inspired by “national” musical features. As such, Manojlović’s articles resonate with the official state politics on “Southern Serbia”, which also aimed at removing and ostracizing the Islamic element by marginalizing its culture and political agency, but also by physically exiling the Muslim population (cf. JOVANOVIĆ 2014).

Drawing borders, erasing time

Although Manojlović opens the discussion of the influence of geographical features on the music of certain areas (see particularly MANOJLOVIĆ 1929), his vision of musical folklore of “Southern Serbia” is deeply embedded in his un-

derstanding of the Serbian nation as one that transgresses pre-1912 political borders. Discussing what he calls “psychological features” of folk songs, Manojlović defends the position that it is possible to discern the unifying features of “our” (Serbian or Yugoslav, depending on the context) music, either through analysis or through immediate affective appreciation. As he was working mainly in “Southern Serbia”, he most often discusses the “organic” connection between the folklore of Kosovo and Raška (Sanjak) and that of Macedonia; for example, while studying nuptial songs from Galičnik, he concludes that it is possible to discern an “organic similarity with the songs of Kosovo [...] which proves to what extent the psychological musical expression in our Southern regions is identical.” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1926: 93). Capturing the broader picture in his article on the “musical *oeuvre* of our village”, he vindicates the achieved project of state expansion, stating that the “above-mentioned songs from Šumadija, Bitola and Čajnič [in Bosnia], that is, from three different parts of our Homeland, clearly show and prove the ethnic unity of our people.” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1929: 319).

In this new political landscape of the interwar Kingdom, Manojlović’s writings are replete with praises of prewar Serbia, and Šumadija as its core region, both as the achiever of national unification and as the benchmark against which national characteristics should be defined. Thus, during his visit to Raška (Sanjak), he particularly praises what he terms the “purity” of language and customs of the local population, which actually amount to their being identical to Šumadijan models:

[...] it is necessary to mention the purity of the language of these areas. In this respect, one especially notices the purity of the settlement, customs, life and language of Stari [Ibarski] Kolašin [...]. By the river Ibar, and ensconced in their mountain range, these people preserved all the traits of their race. Even today, when you look from the road above the Ibar, you can observe hardworking harvesters as they reap and bundle sheaves, while song resounds [...] and everything around you reminds you of – Šumadija. Hence, Stari Kolašin, even in the Turkish era, appropriated the name of “Little Serbia” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1934: 94–95).

As the specific allure of these newly acquired territories lies precisely in the fact that they belonged to the medieval Serbian state, Manojlović does not miss the opportunity to argue that the historical experience of the medieval Serbian kingdom is firmly embedded and preserved in contemporary music practice, thus erasing the time that elapsed between the rule of the (medieval) Nemanjić and (modern) Karađorđević dynasties and vindicating the supposed “Reconquista”. More than once, Manojlović begins his articles by discussing medieval manuscripts he found in the monastery of Visoki Dečani, speculating

about their connection to current music practices (MANOJLOVIĆ 1934, 1937). Manojlović further reiterates his position that the highest value of this specific music folklore lies in the very fact that it harbors the “golden age” of the Serbian nation, that is, the age of the power of the medieval Nemanjić dynasty:

Let us not forget that the South of our kingdom bore the two-headed eagle, and that the borders of our state were expanded as never before in time of [Emperor Stefan] Dušan. And hence it is: in the spiritual emanations of our South, particularly in music, painting, woodcut, architecture, there is as much strength and health as there is monumentality and psychological depth. There is something in it, too, inherited from ancient times [...] (MANOJLOVIĆ 1925: 248).

Manojlović did not stop at these general observations, but also attempted to interpret specific features of the music folklore through this prism. Remarking on specific dance practices in “Southern Serbia”, particularly singling out Prizren, Manojlović notices how their graciousness and “elegance of ballet-like movements” differs from their northern counterparts, and states that “there is something in these movements that reminds one of the majesty and radiance of our former empire.” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1925b: 251). Furthermore, commenting on the melodic aspects of folklore from Kosovo and the Prizren region, Manojlović again states that it has “something peaceful, noble and distant”, and that it resembles “an echo of an old glorious age of empire, when imperial hunting horns reverberated through these lands and lords of the Mighty Emperor [Dušan] gathered.” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1925b: 252). Manojlović thus clearly articulates the main argument that permeates discourse on both “Old” and “Southern Serbia”: the territories of the Serbian medieval state are imbued with the heritage of the past empire, the legacy of the empire is transmitted through the folklore and culture of its Christian Slavic population, and therefore these territories belong to the modern Serbian nation by its historical right.¹¹

In many respects, Kosta P. Manojlović was privileged among Serbian and Yugoslav composers and music scholars, particularly in having his project of exploring the musical folklore of “Southern Serbia” supported both by the Government and by institutions such as the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade.

11 The main fallacy of this argument is, of course, that European medieval states were not nation-states but feudal polities, and that they did not derive their legitimacy of rule from the concept of national sovereignty, which only later aimed to link nationhood with territory; on the usage of European medieval boundaries in vindicating territories of modern nation-states cf. GEARY 2001.

From today's perspective, one can easily forget how turbulent the times in which he conducted his project were, as the state project of integrating the newly acquired territories into the administrative and cultural framework of the interwar Kingdom was far from complete. With his eight articles on the music of "Southern Serbia", Manojlović stands out not only as an author in whose *oeuvre* we can trace all the important features of scholarly and literary discourse on "Southern Serbia", but also as the leading music scholar engaged in the production of knowledge on newly acquired territories, in which he was followed by Vladimir Đorđević and Miloje Milojević. Last but not least, as Manojlović's phonographic fieldwork resulted in numerous wax-plate recordings that are still preserved in the archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA in Belgrade, the central role that "Southern Serbia" occupied in ethnographic research of the interwar period is indelibly embedded in Serbian material archival heritage, even when most of the territories to which the term once applied have ceased to be part of the Serbian nation-state, which poses various ethical questions to which local scholars have yet to respond.

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The Balkans as the Core of European Civilization? Kosta P. Manojlović's collaboration with the Balkanski institut [Institute for Balkan Studies] in Belgrade (1934–1941)*

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Representations of the Balkans as a cultural and political entity in Western European historical, political, diplomatic and journalistic narratives in the past centuries have for the past two decades occupied a prominent place in the research of numerous scholars. The most influential among them were the investigations of Maria Todorova, Božidar Jezernik, Vesna Goldsworthy, David Norris, Milica Bakić Hayden (according to ČOLOVIĆ 2013), and others, whose focus was oriented towards the deconstruction of the so-called “Balkanist discourse” with the aim of discovering the trajectory of negative stereotypes on the Balkans and Balkan peoples until the most recent times.¹ Although inspired by Edward Said's insights into the problem of Orientalism as a derogatory discourse and practice of Western European politicians, scholars, and journalists, these researchers of the phenomenon of “Balkanism” have mostly been unfamiliar with their historical predecessors who, as early as the 1930s, initiated extensive debate on similar issues in the specific geopolitical circumstances of the time. This group of journalists close to the Yugoslav political elite, supported by dozens of scholars from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Germany, Austria, and elsewhere, founded the Institute for Balkan Studies, an entity with the primary objective of launching a broad campaign in both academic and public circles of Balkan and European countries to combat the widespread negative preconceptions of Balkan peoples and culture.²

* This paper is part of research done on the project *Serbian Musical Identities Within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (No. 177004), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

1 On the recent establishment of Balkanist discourse in the writings of various scholars and its general scopes and ideological grounding, see ČOLOVIĆ 2013.

2 The idea for the foundation of the Institute for Balkan Studies came from Ratko Parežanin, an experienced journalist, writer and politician, and his politically like-minded collaborator Svetozar Spanačević. Parežanin was not anonymous in Yugoslav political and public circles owing to his diplomatic activities in the early 1920s (he was a press attaché in Vienna from 1924 to 1927) as well as his work as a member of the National Assembly (he served as Member of Parliament from the Radikalna stranka [Radical Party], 1927–1929). According to his own testimonies (see LAPČEVIĆ 2013), he was

The idea and its realization came about in the aftermath of political events thought to be important for the future of the Balkan peoples – their security, trade, cultural unification, and so forth. Foremost among these was the signing of a pact between Yugoslavia, Romania, Turkey, and Greece in Athens on February 9th, 1934; it was believed that this treaty would improve relations between Balkan countries and promote their closer collaboration in various areas, and, eventually, bring about political unity in the form of a federal state. The creation of this Balkan Entente, although incomplete, as Bulgaria and Albania refused to take part, together with the Balkan Conferences that preceded it,³ once again revived the concept of a Balkan Confederation popular since the mid-19th century among Balkan politicians and intellectuals,⁴ and

a keen supporter of the king Alexander's dictatorship announced on January 6th, 1929, interpreting it as a positive step for the preservation of the state. Once again appointed to a diplomatic position (from 1929 to 1933), he had the opportunity to "empirically" confirm his belief in cultural commonalities between Balkan countries (according to LAPČEVIĆ 2013). Traveling through Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania, he was able to notice many similarities in the lifestyles of the average population in the Balkans, together with these countries' strong historical, cultural and geographical bonds. Even before he came in close touch with Balkan countries, he publicly expressed his assumption that the Balkans represented an autonomous entity: "The Balkans is a world unto itself. But, as such, it is not self-sufficient, it does not live for itself nor in the name of itself, but for Europe and Asia, as well as all of humanity" (PAREŽANIN according to LAPČEVIĆ 2013). On Parežanin's professional and political evolution, see LAPČEVIĆ 2013.

- 3 The initiative towards *rapprochement* between Balkan countries became firmly manifested in the late 1920s among the political elite of most of these nations. As a result, several Balkan conferences took place annually from 1930 to 1934, the first in Athens (1930), followed by Istanbul (1931), Bucharest (1932) and Salonica (1934). The objective of the conferences was to find an adequate political platform for the foundation of the Balkan Confederation (Balkan Entente), an ideal that had been reappearing after the 1848 Revolution in diverse political circumstances. For a more detailed review of the issues discussed at these Balkan conferences, and the discrepancies among the various countries, see LOPANDIĆ & KRONJA 2010: 35–45; KERNER & HOWARD 2014. See also PRESHLENOVA 2014.
- 4 The vision of unified Balkan countries and their close collaboration in politics, economics, culture, and art had occupied the minds of many influential political leaders and intellectuals since the mid-19th century. Among the Serbian elite alone there were several "projects" for Balkan unification that were discussed in public or privately before the end of the First World War. Proponents of Balkan "brotherhood" came from a distinct political background which, together with the general geopolitical tendencies of the time, influenced their narrative and aims. Among the most important were the proposals of the Serbian prince Mihailo Obrenović from the 1850s, the founder of the Serbian Socialist movement, Svetozar Marković, the liberally oriented Mihailo Polit-Desančić, Vladimir Jovanović, and others. Worth mentioning in this context were also the undertakings of Serbian and Balkan socialists from the end of the 1900s. The leaders and activists of social-democratic parties from Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Turkey, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slavonia, Montenegro, Romania, and Greece introduced regular Balkan conferences since 1909 with the goals of promoting the necessity of liberation of the Balkan peoples and their collaboration in trade and economy, spreading the notion of their cultural interconnection, resisting the imperialist ambitions of leading European capitalist states, etc. On the historical development of the concept of Balkan unification in Serbia, see PIROČANAC 1895; MILUTINOVIĆ 1937; LILIĆ 2016. On the approach to this idea in the Socijaldemokratska stranka Srbije [Social-Democratic Party of Serbia] in 1900s, see IZVEŠTAJ BEOGRADSKJE RADNIČKE KOMORE 1932: 92–102.

stimulated public activism of the political, intellectual, and cultural elite throughout Balkan countries and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.⁵

The foundation of the Institute for Balkan Studies represented just one of the many projects inspired by the cluster of political events surrounding the establishment of the Balkan Entente, but was unique in many aspects. Firstly, it was conceived and executed by non-officials who had close liaisons with renowned individuals from various social fields: politics, science, art, music, journalism, etc. Secondly, from the start, its founders adhered to a clearly formulated program which was not treated as a dead letter, but, on the contrary, motivated a series of both organizational and creative activities that culminated between 1936 and 1938.⁶ Finally, through systematic and well-planned propaganda (or, in today's terms, "public relations"), the founders of the Institute gained support of a number of distinguished scholars, diplomats, and journalists who, either directly or indirectly, helped it accomplish its main goals.

Among the influential individuals who took part in the activities of the Institute for Balkan Studies was the composer, ethnomusicologist, and cultural activist Kosta P. Manojlović, who was the Institute's only Yugoslav representative in the field of music from 1934 to 1941. According to archival documents, Manojlović was not meant to be the sole music expert to collaborate with the institute. In September 1934, probably at Manojlović's recommendation, an invitation for collaboration was also sent to Petar Konjović, composer and at the time Director of the Narodno kazalište [National Theater] in Zagreb, but he refused the offer due to "overwhelming professional obligations".⁷

5 One of the most effective attempts at creating closer bonds between the Balkan peoples was the establishment of the Balkan Games (a sort of a regional version of the Olympic Games), which were organized from 1929 to 1939. Due to the popularity of sports among various social groups, this kind of propagation of the idea of Balkan unity turned successful, attracting the attention of the large part of the population (see KISSOUDI 2009). Moreover, there were various initiatives in the domain of the arts, such as exchanges of music ensembles and individual artists and scientists from the Balkan countries during the 1930s, public exhibitions, etc.

6 The strivings of the leaders of the Institute for Balkan Studies, as well as their motives for its foundation, were outlined in a cover letter sent to the local authorities on April 24th, 1934 (Arhiv Jugoslavije [Archives of Yugoslavia, "AY"], Balkanski institut [Institute for Balkan Studies], AY-F101-1). In it, it was stated that the Institute had two main goals: 1) to stimulate collaboration between Balkan states and peoples, and 2) to objectively inform the public outside the Balkans of the region's material and spiritual culture and heritage. To fulfill these goals, it was necessary to create one large "inter-Balkan" library, which would contain works on the history, geography, folklore, economics, and political history of Balkan states and peoples. It was also important to create a collection of statistics that could serve various research purposes. Finally, the plan was to publish works on the topics of economics, culture, and science in the Balkan countries. On the Institute's program and ideological framing, see PAREŽANIN 1980.

7 Letters were sent to Konjović twice, on September 26th, 1934, and on October 1th, 1934. The directors of the Institute for Balkan Studies saw Konjović as a potential collaborator, probably owing to his

Several reasons likely motivated the selection of Manojlović as correspondent for issues of Yugoslav and Balkan music. Among other things, the leaders of the Institute relied on a group of historians from the University of Belgrade, particularly Professor Vladimir Ćorović who was, supposedly, well acquainted with Manojlović's investigations into the folk music heritage of "Southern Serbia". Manojlović had been a member of a team of experts led by Ćorović who did field research in the region of Raška, the monastery of Visoki Dečani, and Bijelo Polje, during July and August of 1934 (see MANOJLOVIĆ 1934). Besides, Manojlović was known in academic circles owing to his long-term cooperation with the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade. For instance, he published three of his seven research papers on the traditional folk music of "Southern Serbia" in the museum's scientific journal, *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja* [*Bulletin of the Ethnographic Museum*], in 1926, 1933, and 1935,⁸ and participated in its various research expeditions. Last, but certainly not the least, Manojlović was an enthusiastic public proponent of the ideas of All-Slavism and Balkan cultural *rapprochement* since the early 1920s in Yugoslavia, elaborating these concepts in his writings and ethnomusicological and cultural work (see VEŠIĆ 2016: 127–140).

As I shall discuss later, Manojlović's interpretations of Balkan culture and cultural heritage shared some similarities with the views of the leaders of the Institute for Balkan Studies. Still, this music scholar arrived at his insights within the sociopolitical circumstances characteristic of the first decade of the Yugoslav state. Together with the norms and values of ethnographic studies and studies of Serbian church music, music performance, and cultural diplomacy of the time, this had left a specific imprint on his narrative; as such, it is possible to observe certain discrepancies as well. The comparison of Manojlović's understanding of the Balkans with notions held by the Institute's main ideologues has the following objectives. Firstly, I shall point to ideological departures in the narratives analyzed, and endeavor to explain their possible causes. Secondly, both their distinctions and correlations will be considered from the perspective of the symbolic struggles and divisions in Yugoslav public

high reputation. They offered him to join many respectable scientists and experts in working on the first volume of *A Book on the Balkans*. See AY, Institute for Balkan Studies, AY-F101-7. It is important to mention that Manojlović probably had part in the engagement of the Bulgarian music scholars for the institute's publications, above all of Professor Stoyan Brashovanov from the University of Sofia. Although it is not possible to conclude this from the correspondence of the Institute's officials with Brashovanov, which lasted from 1934 to 1937 (see AY, Institute for Balkan Studies, AY-F101-4), the fact is that he knew Manojlović from their collaboration on the establishment of the Sveslovenski pevački savez [All-Slav Choral Union] during the early 1930s. This is indirectly confirmed by Manojlović's testimonies about the foundation of the Union, especially in meetings that took place in Ljubljana in May 1932. See MANOJLOVIĆ 1933: 188–190.

8 Manojlović's publications are listed in the References.

life in the 1930s. Finally, Manojlović's collaboration with the Institute for Balkan Studies will be explored within the phenomenon of the dissolution and marginalization of the liberal faction in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on the eve of World War II.

The analysis and conclusions presented in this paper are partly the results of research carried out in my doctoral dissertation (VESIĆ 2016), which was complemented by investigation conducted from May until November 2016 in the Archives of Yugoslavia and the National Library of Serbia. For this purpose I analyzed various published and unpublished sources: the documents of the Institute for Balkan Studies and materials of the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia;⁹ publications of the Institute, including two volumes of *Knjiga o Balkanu* [*A Book on the Balkans*], the book *Balkan i Balkanci* [*The Balkans and its Peoples*], and the journal *La revue internationale des Études balkaniques* [*International Journal of Balkan Studies*] (1934 to 1938); memorial of the Institute, by Ratko Parežanin (1980, second edition), and, finally, journal articles and letters written by Kosta P. Manojlović between 1922 and 1939.

In the following discussion I will first consider the ideological aspects of the program of the Institute for Balkan Studies. While examining in brief the crucial assumptions on which it was grounded, I will focus primarily on the critique of the Western European Balkanist narrative as one of its most significant elements, along with the project of de-Balkanization of Balkan studies and the Balkans among intellectuals and the broader public in the Balkans, Europe, and worldwide. The second part will be dedicated to an exploration of Manojlović's narrative on Balkan culture and heritage, and the last part will consist of concluding remarks.

Scientific and cultural program of the Institute for the Balkan studies: an overview of its main objectives

The mission of the Institute for Balkan Studies was manifold, as outlined in the cover letters that Ratko Parežanin, journalist and one of the founders of the Institute, dispatched to Yugoslav and foreign authorities (mostly diplomats and ministers, journal editors, and scholars), and elaborated in his editorials, as well as in the articles of Petar Skok, Milan Budimir (SKOK & BUDIMIR 1934; SKOK & BUDIMIR 1936 [1936]), and Tadeusz Zieliński (ŽELINSKI 1936) published and reprinted in the Institute's journal and books. In addition to supporting the strivings of political leaders of the Balkan states towards overall *rapprochement* by cultural and scientific means, the Institute's main ideologues believed that

9 They are kept at the Archives of Yugoslavia (AY-F101, AY-F66).

it was absolutely imperative to establish the discipline of Balkanology based on comparative research of political, cultural, and economic histories of countries created in the Balkan peninsula from ancient until modern times, together with their literary, artistic, and linguistic development.¹⁰

Explorations of this kind were meant not only to promote cultural closeness and similarities of the various Balkan peoples and, concurrently, foster tendencies towards political unification among both the elite and the general public, but were also understood as the principal starting point in challenging the views of the Balkans prevailing both among the European public and academic circles. The critique of Balkanist thought represented, in my opinion, one of the focal points in the cultural and political program of the Institute for Balkan Studies. Actually, it functioned as a cohesive element between, on the one hand, the academic aspirations of its leaders and collaborators, and, on the other, their broader political goals, thus politicizing the standard academic narrative and, simultaneously, supporting certain scientific, artistic, educational and international policies of the political and intellectual elite.

As discussed in the papers of the Institute's key activists, the rejection of the European understanding of Balkan peoples and culture was anchored in several assumptions. According to the Institute, European powers had in the past intentionally interrupted political and cultural collaboration between Balkan countries so as to maintain their own expansionist and monopolizing efforts (see PAREŽANIN 1936: X–XII). The great powers' hidden motives were masked by systematic propaganda aimed at portraying Balkan peoples as politically immature, culturally underdeveloped, and unable to accept modern and enlightened ideals of social and political organization. Furthermore, the Balkans was conceived of as “the powder keg of Europe”, “antisocial savagery”, the cradle of anarchism, barbarism, and chaos (1936: XII). Not only were European intellectuals and publicity affected by distorted views of their South-

10 The significance of the creation of the new discipline of Balkanology was thoroughly explained in Petar Skok and Milan Budimir's article entitled “But et Signification des Études balkaniques” [“Goal and significance of Balkan studies”] published in the first issue of the Institute's journal (SKOK & BUDIMIR 1934 [1936]). Criticizing the nationally oriented work of Balkan countries' academies of sciences, Skok and Budimir pointed to its harmful effect on science. Instead of particularisms in scientific research, the two experts pleaded for the broadening of the perspective which would take into consideration “a shared reality in the Balkans” and explain it by historical, linguistic, ethnographic, and geographical explorations (1934: 3). The existence of a shared experience among the Balkan peoples, despite their political, cultural and economic divisions through history, was interpreted as the main impetus for the change in the scientific approach in this part of Europe. The discipline of Balkanology was meant to be grounded on a comparative frame which would arise from finding analogies and correlations among the individual “cases” or, more precisely, particular Balkan peoples and their “civilization”. The focus of the research was to be put primarily on historical issues, but also on an investigation of the linguistic similarities of Balkan languages, the commonality of literary styles, similarities in folklore practices, etc. On the scientific narrative created in the Institute for Balkan Studies, see MIHAJLOVIĆ 2013.

Eastern neighbors: so was the Balkan elite (PAREŽANIN 1936: XII). The internalization of this false self-image was interpreted as the most detrimental aspect of European hegemonizing practices, termed “Balkanism” (1936: XI).¹¹

While pointing to the mechanisms and motives behind the construction of a Balkanist narrative, the ideologues of the Balkan institute sought to create a more objective approach to scientific research, journalism and travelogues from the Balkans. In their opinion, this goal could be achieved through the engagement of Balkan scholars interested in the development of Balkan solidarity, together with European scholars not influenced by prejudices about Balkan peoples and culture (see PAREŽANIN 1936: XII). Besides rejecting negative stereotypes about this part of Europe, the involvement of “Balkanology without Balkanism” was, among other things, to lead to the discovery of the Balkans’ positive cultural and political contributions to European civilization (1936: XIV). Ultimately, scientific findings of this discipline were also to serve as a basis for constructing a “Balkan soul”, leading gradually to the regeneration and stabilization of the Balkans, or to a so-called Balkan *Risorgimento*.¹²

11 As Parežanin observed, “for some time we left research and explanation of our history, art, literature, customs, folklore, and so on to prejudiced journalists and scientists, mostly from outside the Balkans, who served powers not disinterested in the fate of this part of Europe. Hence, it is reasonable that in this kind of literature it was important to find and accentuate distinctions between Balkan peoples, and, when these were absent, to falsify the facts. [...] That non-Balkan peoples fell for the claims of such ‘politically influenced’ literature is problematic, but that Balkan peoples were affected and manipulated by them is tragic. Even today we can find examples of its use by some Balkan scientists and journalists in order to support their views on certain political issues.” (1936: XII).

12 The assumption of the broader effects of Balkan collaboration and unity was discussed in detail in an article by Tadeusz Zieliński titled “Ancient civilization, Europe and the Balkans” (ŽELIŃSKI 1936). According to him, the ideals of Greco-Roman culture continually reappear in the history of European civilization, with deep and transformational influence. Their periodical revival led to three culminating points in the Europe’s history, as manifested in three periods of cultural revitalization: the first initiated by St. Ambrose, the second known as the Carolingian Renaissance, and the third emerged in the 14th century (1936: 4–5). Although Zieliński believed a fourth manifestation of Greco-Roman ideals seemed less probable in utilitarian and machine-oriented European culture of the 20th century, its only possibility lay in the cultural potential of the Slavic peoples. This fourth renaissance was, as he believed, destined to have a Slavic imprint, but would encompass the Balkan countries as well. As Zieliński pointed out, “although Balkan peoples are not ethnically connected, they are interrelated owing to the artistic monuments of ancient civilizations. Therefore, they will have an important role in the Slavic Renaissance, which we have termed thus because of the predominance of the Slavic peoples.” (1936: 19–20). Unlike Zieliński, who emphasized the role of the Slavs, the views expressed in the chapter of *The Balkans and its Peoples* (ANONYMOUS [PAREŽANIN & SPANAČEVIĆ] 1937: 145–156), titled “Osnova i put” [“The basis and the path”], showed firm adherence to the concept of a genuinely Balkan Renaissance. These opinions were founded on a belief in the future autonomous development of this part of Europe, which would result from a discovery of its authentic traditions and values. This search for the “common ground” of the Balkan peoples and their unique historical and cultural heritage would, supposedly, enable the construction of a specifically Balkan type of political and economic organization. The economy would be based on policies different from those of capitalist countries, including a cooperative model, while the political and social order would be founded on the assumed brotherhood of Balkan peoples, to be expanded by means of thorough educational, cultural and scien-

Similarly to recent critics of the phenomenon of Balkanism, whose findings were critically examined by Ivan Čolović (2013), despite their emancipatory ambitions and struggle against false representation of Balkan cultures and peoples, the activists of the Institute for Balkan Studies, “did not escape the trap of stereotypical, essentialist definitions of cultural identities, especially when they accept the notion that the Balkans are a region possessed of a particular, substantive identity, not realising that it is upon this very notion that the ossified Balkanist discourse rests” (ČOLOVIĆ 2013). In addition, this group succumbed to the intertwining of political and academic narratives, not unlike the very intellectuals and scholars they criticized. While they did discredit the creators of Balkanist narratives as having produced them as a result of hegemonic cultural and political aspirations, at the same time they propagated the foundation of an academic discipline whose political role they did not even try to conceal.

Collaboration of Kosta P. Manojlović with the Institute for Balkan studies: a glimpse at the correspondence of their narratives

I will now concentrate on Manojlović’s collaboration with the Institute for Balkan Studies, focusing on how his political and cultural aspirations corresponded with those of the Institute’s ideologues. This will allow me to make further generalizations. As I have already indicated, Manojlović was chosen as a correspondent of the Institute most probably owing to his expert knowledge of the folk music heritage of this part of Europe. Consequently, it is not surprising that the leaders of the organization appointed Manojlović as both contributor to their collective publications and reviewer of their papers on music. According to archival documents,¹³ from June 1934 until the end of 1935, he was invited to write several papers for the Institute’s editions, one on Yugoslav folk music, another on the music of Albania and, finally, one on the music of the Balkans.¹⁴ Apart from this, Manojlović was asked to review and edit manus-

tific collaboration (ANONYMOUS 1937: 153–156). The principle of *čojstvo* and *junaštvo* – the preservation of those less mighty from the powerful, as well as from oneself – was also observed as the core of an imagined unified Balkans (1937: 155). Constituted on these components, the new Balkans was perceived as the *spiritus movens* for cultural regeneration on a global scale, representing a successful example of political integration of culturally diverse states and peoples (1937: 156). Moreover, “the Balkans [was] [...] to show to the world once again the type of spiritual sobriety which existed in the Classical era.” (1937: 156). The prerequisite for such process was the creation of the Balkan soul.

13 See AY, Institute for Balkan Studies, AY-F101-7, Kosta Manojlović, Professor of the Music Academy in Belgrade..

14 According to the Institute’s official correspondence with Kosta P. Manojlović, he was asked to write an article on Yugoslav folk music for the first volume of *A Book on the Balkans* on July 25th, 1934, probably

cripts on music in Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey, and Greece submitted to the editorial board of *A Book on the Balkans*.¹⁵ Although his article on Yugoslav folk music appeared in the Institute's journal in 1936 in German (see MANOJLOVIĆ 1936) and, later on, in the second volume of *A Book on the Balkans* in Serbian (a revised version, MANOJLOVIĆ 1937), it is not clear what happened to his other writings: whether they were written and planned to be published in future volumes of this publication, and why the editors decided not to include them in the published volumes. I did not find any evidence in the archival material that could explain the absence of Manojlović's paper on music in Albania from the Institute's publications.¹⁶

The correspondence that Manojlović and Ratko Parežanin carried on from 1934 until 1937 reveals that Manojlović responded with enthusiasm to the projects of the Institute for Balkan Studies, and that he also contributed profusely to their realization. Still, whether Manojlović's appreciation and support for the undertakings of the Institute's leaders and collaborators resulted merely from his conviction of their scientific significance and value, or from the commonality of his and their political and cultural views, needs to be clarified in detail. Considering Manojlović's public activities and his correspondence with the authorities and published writings from the 1920s and 1930s, it is obvious that the answer to this question is all but unambiguous.

An examination of Manojlović's dealings with the Južnoslovenski pevački savez [South-Slav Choral Union, "SSCU"] from 1924 to 1932, as well

by Parežanin. Several months later, on October 26th and December 6th, he was offered to submit a paper on the contemporary music in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia along with an article on music in Albania (except Albanian folk music) for the same edition. In a letter written to Parežanin in late 1935 (undated, a response to Parežanin letter from October 23rd, 1925), Manojlović revealed that he was working on the article "Balkanska muzika" ["The music in the Balkans"] which was conceived "as a synthesis" in the book's chapter dedicated to music. Since the publication was released in 1936 without this section, it seems that the editors decided to publish it in the second volume. See AY-F101-7.

15 In a letter from the Institute's Editorial Board of October 23rd, 1936, Manojlović was invited to peer-review seven manuscripts on music written by experts from Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey, and Greece. In the same letter, Manojlović was asked to come into the Institute's office to "discuss some technical details" on his manuscripts on Yugoslav and Albanian music.

16 In Parežanin's letter from January 28th, 1937, there is an announcement of the second volume of *A Book on the Balkans* as well as a confirmation of publication of the Manojlović's manuscripts on the Yugoslav folk music and on the music in Albania. See AY-F101-7. In the meantime, Manojlović's article on Yugoslav folk music, translated in German, appeared in the Institute's journal (see MANOJLOVIĆ 1936), while its revised version written in Serbian came out in the aforementioned second volume (see MANOJLOVIĆ 1937). The reasons behind the omission of the paper on Albanian music are hard to speculate about from the available data. It is only known that Kosta P. Manojlović prepared the manuscript together with music examples. This is confirmed in his letter to Ratko Parežanin on February 11th, 1937. In it he stated that it would be "a pity" both for the quality of articles [the one on Yugoslav folk music and the music in Albania] and for the quality of the whole publication if the music examples are not printed "since it is easy to write them down, make a litograph, and put them in an appendix." See AY-F101-7.

as of his selected publications, among which pride of place was given to two synthetic research papers, 1929's *Muzičko delo našeg sela* [*Musical oeuvre of our village*] and the 1937 "Južna Srbija u svetlosti muzike" ["South Serbia from a musical perspective"], revealed the presence of a specific set of beliefs and values that were repeatedly reaffirmed. Manojlović was undoubtedly strongly devoted to the idea of cultural *rapprochement* of the Balkan peoples, but his attention from the early 1920s onward was primarily oriented towards Slavic nations and their unification in the fields of art, education, and science (ethnography). Moreover, from the 1924 foundation of the South-Slav Choral Union to the outbreak of World War II, this music scholar never lost his fervor for the ideal of All-Slavism and South-Slavism, its narrower version, sharing his views with numerous intellectuals from liberal, and, particularly, conservative circles (see VEŠIĆ 2016: 127–140).

Manojlović's vision of All-Slavism was grounded on an assumed great, regenerative role of Slavs in 20th century history, their future cultural superiority over traditionally dominant Western European peoples, and the need for constituting their own authentic political and social order and culture. This vision was expressed through his work on the foundation of the All-Slav Choral Union¹⁷ and, to a degree, in an article on the musical *oeuvre* of Yugoslav peasants (MANOJLOVIĆ 1929). In this publication, Manojlović spoke openly about the necessity of protecting musical folklore of the Yugoslav peoples as a means of creating a potent and, at the same time, autochthonous Yugoslav or South Slav culture and nation which, in his opinion, "should expand to the shores of the Black Sea, connecting the Slavic South directly with the great Slavic Russia" (1929: 64). Although unorthodox in certain aspects, Manojlović's interpretations of All-Slavism were mostly in line with those propagated by conservative Yugoslav intellectuals and state-supported organizations such as Soko Kraljevine Jugoslavije [Sokol of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia], Narodna odbrana [National Defence], Kolo srpskih sestara [Circle of Serbian Sisters], etc. (see VEŠIĆ 2016: 147–160). It was also in accord with the views of Tadeusz Zieliński, correspondent of the Institute of Balkan Studies and ardent proponent of the Slavic *Risorgimento* seen as the "Fourth Renaissance" in world history.

However, the fact that Manojlović insisted on Slavic unification, excluding non-Slavic Balkan peoples from his perspective, did not conform to the ideals

17 See AY, Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY-F66-363-607, Kosta P. Manojlović, Secretary-General of the SSCU, Circular letter to the members of SSCU, February 7th, 1925; AY, Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY-F66-363-607, Report and speeches of Kosta P. Manojlović from the 1st Congress of the All-Slav Choral Union in Poznań, Poland, May 21st, 1929; MANOJLOVIĆ 1933.

advocated by the ideologues of the Institute of Balkan Studies. Yet his views were not in complete opposition to theirs. The common ground for Manojlović's All-Slavism and the concept of Balkan revival espoused by the Institute's leaders was the idea of the need of cultural and political emancipation of South-Eastern European peoples, their close collaboration, and their decisive commitment to the realization of autochthonous social, political, and cultural development. In addition, both perspectives were based on a rejection of derogatory narratives about this part of Europe and its culture and inhabitants, either explicitly, as was the case with ideologues of the Institute of Balkan Studies, or more indirectly in the case of Manojlović. Also, they were both the result of a revival of concepts from the past – 19th-century Pan-Slavism and ideas of Balkan unification – that were remodeled and adapted to the political circumstances of the interwar period. Finally, it should be pointed out that both sides believed that the Balkans was, and should once again become, the core of European civilization, through either Slavic or Balkan upheaval. Certain analogies in these currents of thought probably help to explain their intertwining in the public field obvious not only among correspondents of the Institute for Balkan Studies, but also in some conservative circles (for instance, among the group gathered around the journal *Nova smena* [*New Generation*]).

Concluding remarks

An analysis of the program and narrative of the Institute for Balkan Studies and Kosta P. Manojlović's divergence from it is important on several levels. Broadly speaking, it points to the diversification of stances about Yugoslav cultural and political development in the public field between the two World Wars, especially among conservatives. This would certainly be more noticeable if other positions in the political spectrum of the time were put into perspective. At the same time, this analysis reveals a tendency towards an amalgamation of distinctive views that belonged to the same ideological currents, instead of their mere coexistence. This is a significant characteristic given the historical and political context of the mid-1930s in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. As I indicated in my doctoral dissertation (VEŠIĆ 2016), the trend of polarization typical in the Yugoslav public sphere at the time stimulated political regroupings, ideological shifts and, finally, the merger of dissimilar factions or sub-factions. In particular, this trend led to the aggregation of individuals, intellectual circles, and organizations, despite their ideological differences. The example of Kosta P. Manojlović and the Institute of Balkan Studies confirms this assumption. The social,

political and ideological grounding of the narratives promoted by Manojlović and the Institute's ideologues certainly needs further explication, not only in the context of Yugoslavia, but also in the interwar milieu of South-Eastern and Central Europe.

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KOSTA P. MANOJLOVIĆ AND CHURCH MUSIC

Kosta P. Manojlović's and Serbian Church Chanting*

VESNA PENO

Ecclesiastical singing was one of Manojlović's principal interests. His works reveal that he was preoccupied with discovering the origins and historical development of singing that accompanies worship in the Serbian Church, and that he was also interested in melographic works. Due to his extensive experience with singing, acquired at the Belgrade Seminary, he developed an excellent method for redacting the unpublished works of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac. He truly admired Mokranjac, who introduced him to the knowledge of music, which is why he always subscribed to the manner of singing perpetuated by Mokranjac in his works (in singing practice, this manner was known as "Belgrade" variant). Manojlović's efforts in searching for and preserving Serbian musical monuments were not without results; one can also mention his pioneering effort in the field of musical paleography. Each of these roles of Manojlović's deserves separate study. This paper might be seen as a prolegomenon in that it envisions more complete reviews of Kosta P. Manojlović's contributions in the future.

"An idealist romantic", as he really was (MANOJLOVIĆ 1948), Kosta Manojlović transformed his sympathies for the creativity, traditions, and past of Serbian peasants into a personal mission of developing national culture. One particularly important part of that culture at the turn of the 20th century was the ecclesiastical singing tradition. Without assuming the necessary critical distance, Manojlović adopted from his predecessors the theory of distinct Serbian ecclesiastical singing, which was motivated by patriotic emotions and national religious identity in the second half of the 19th century, and continued to promote it further in his written works and lectures (MANOJLOVIĆ 1921, 1924, 1925, 1946). Both his published works about the history of Serbian church music and manuscripts of his lectures from the Bogoslovija Svetog Save [St. Sava Seminary] and Muzička akademija [Music Academy] in Belgrade are

* This paper is part of research done on the project *Serbian Musical Identities Within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (No. 177004), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

compilations of the findings of previous studies rather than the results of original research: this is particularly evident in his arguments for the originality of Serbian ecclesiastical singing, i.e. its national characteristics. Manojlović was familiar with all published works on the history of ecclesiastical singing. He was especially fond of papers written by passionate researchers of Serbian antiquity, Archpriests Lazar Bogdanović (1893) and Dimitrije Ruvarac (1898, 1924, 1926). Manojlović also quoted papers on the state of contemporary singing practice, as well as prefaces in anthologies of ecclesiastical chanting by Tihomir Ostojić (1896), Gavriilo Boljarić, and Nikola Tajšanović (1891).

Manojlović reached only a few original conclusions regarding the history of singing. The fact that the Serbs adopted ecclesiastical chanting from eastern Christians, primarily from the Greeks,¹ was unquestionable for Manojlović. The general emancipation of Serbian folk elements into ecclesiastical songs, the clearest “reflection of the Serbian national soul”, according to Kornelije Stanković (1862, 1994), resulted in the separation of Serbian people from Greek cultural centers and the Serbian acceptance of Western cultural models, as Kosta Manojlović believed.² One of the main “national musical characteristics” of Serbian ecclesiastical chant, as Manojlović claimed, was its “nice and wide line of melody, which is especially evident [...] in the *Heruvimska pesma* [*Cherubic Hymn*], as well as in *Dostojno jest’* [*It is truly Meet*], the hymn dedicated to the Holy Theotokos, and the *Koinonikon*.” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1935: 11).

However, more than all the other proponents of the distinct nature of Serbian folk singing, Manojlović objectively concluded that Serbian melodies, despite their centuries-long preservation in oral tradition, still have discernible Greek origins (1923: 165).³ Manojlović often emphasized the importance of

1 In the “Predgovor” [“Preface”] to Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac’s *Opšte pojanje* [*General Chant*], Manojlović quotes Jules Jeannin (*Mémoires liturgiques Syriennes et Chaldéennes / recueillies par Dom Jeannin O. S. B.* Paris: Leroux, 1925–1928) and says that catabasis on Holy Cross Day is essentially an ancient Syrian song from the 5th or 6th century AD. Besides Syrian influence, and without further argumentations, Manojlović mentions influences of the Armenians and other Eastern nations on the development of Serbian ecclesiastical song. He also claims that there are many common elements between Serbian ecclesiastical music and Gregorian chant, especially between the Ambrosian chant *Te Deum Laudamus* and the Serbian song of the same name sung in the sixth tone, which he describes in detail (MANOJLOVIĆ 1935: 7–8).

2 In *Žitije Svetog Simeona* [*Life of Saint Simeon*], Saint Sava mentions the singing of Greeks, Georgians, Bulgarians, and Serbs at the funeral of St. Simeon, his father; Manojlović has interpreted this fact as evidence that by the end of 12th and the beginning of 13th century there was already a distinct Serbian ecclesiastical singing practice (MANOJLOVIĆ 1923: 157).

3 A certain Nikola, former teacher and singer in the church of Holy Virgin Mary in the town of Bitolj, had sung for Manojlović from a neumatic score in a compilation edited by Bulgarian musician Nikolaj Trandafilov Slivnenac printed in Bucharest in 1847. This neumatic anthology was gifted to Manojlović by Josif Cvijović (1878–1957), Bishop of Bitolj and later Metropolitan of Skoplje. Manojlović concluded that there was a common singing tradition in the Greek and Serbian churches, with the Greek and Slavonic languages, respectively, at its core (MANOJLOVIĆ 1923: 159–160).

comparative study of Greek and Serbian singing, just like Tihomir Ostojić who was the first to claim, in 1896, that Serbian studies of Byzantine music could not be established appropriately without serious study of Greek-Serbian chanting connections (OSTOJIĆ 1896: 11).

A faithful student of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, Manojlović did not express his personal aesthetic judgment of Greek singing unambiguously, although he did claim that the incorporation of national character in the ecclesiastical singing practice of the Serbian Church entailed the rejection of “disliked elements of Greek singing”, as written in his “O crkvenoj muzici kod Srba” [“On Serbian ecclesiastical music”] (MANOJLOVIĆ 1921: 112). “Vibrations of the throat, sobbing, and crying” were integral to a singing manner that, according to Manojlović, was a Greek, or “oriental”, remnant in Serbian singing. Melismas, which Mokranjac consciously excluded from his melographic inscriptions because he thought of them as distasteful and outdated in the context of new musical tendencies in Serbia, remained a characteristic of the so-called Karlovci variant of melody, as Kosta Manojlović claimed.

The more comfortable life of the priests, monks, and other clergymen, as well as their experience of global culture and secular life of Germans and Hungarians, had made the Karlovci variant of Serbian Orthodox ecclesiastical singing much more secular, so the line of melody is often fuzzy, and the unnecessary repetition of certain musical phrases results in monotony (MANOJLOVIĆ 1923: 169–170).⁴

Seduced by Mokranjac’s magnificence, Manojlović also accepted the ruling stereotype of the two variations of Serbian ecclesiastical singing. Nevertheless, it was he who pointed out the lack of difference between the chanting styles of Sremski Karlovci and Belgrade. This opinion gained importance by the end of the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th century.⁵ It is worth noting that, within the single Serbian Church, split by state borders into two dioceses, the Karlovačka mitropolija [Metropolitanates of Karlovci] and Beogradska mitropolija [Metropolitanates of Belgrade], there was some singing rivalry, which had become quite evident by the time that Manojlović studied at the Belgrade Seminary. Although many church singers from Vojvodina had published numerous annotated volumes of church melodies, students of the St.

4 Manojlović’s claim follows the explanation that the secular features of the Karlovci chant are rooted in the differences of the region lying beyond the Sava and Danube Rivers, which are, in turn, based on the culture and way of life of the Serbian migrants, climate, and geographical traits (MANOJLOVIĆ 1923: 169).

5 The debate about singing in Vojvodina and Serbia unfolded in the pages of various journals in Vojvodina and Serbia (PENO 2016: 134–135).

Sava Seminary in Belgrade, including Kosta P. Manojlović, were not at all familiar with the contents of these publications.⁶ It is also important to note that not even one singer from Vojvodina had ever doubted that “the ancient spring of Serbian Orthodox ecclesiastical singing” was in Karlovci, and that Karlovci singing was “unique and the best among the Serbs” (ANONYMOUS 1898: 157; ŽIVANOVIĆ 1899). By contrast, there were no arguments in favor of the antiquity or exceptionality of “Belgrade” ecclesiastical singing. However, the greatness of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac was more than enough for Kosta Manojlović and Mokranjac’s fellows, who uncritically lavished praise on the “Belgrade” melodic variation.

As Manojlović himself reports in *Spomenica Stevanu St. Mokranjcu* [*Memorial book to Stevan St. Mokranjac*], he had diligently multiplied, collected, and kept his teacher’s melographic work. After his return from Great Britain, he redacted and published these writings under his teacher’s name in 1935, in a collection titled *Pravoslavno srpsko narodno crkveno pojanje. Opšte pojanje* [*Orthodox Serbian Folk Ecclesiastical Singing. General Chant*].⁷ Motivated by the “feeling of filial gratitude” and the need to complete the work of Stevan Mokranjac, Manojlović compiled in one book two singing variants, more manufactured than real: Mokranjac’s (Belgrade) and Karlovci variations. Wanting to record the notated melodies that Mokranjac did not manage to finish, Manojlović allowed his readers to become acquainted with church melodies recorded by Kornelije Stanković and various other, more or less known authors.⁸ Several years before preparing this collection, Manojlović had enumerated the main melographers and editors of collections of Karlovci singing in his *Memorial Book to Stevan St. Mokranjac*. He had also concluded that there were almost

6 Mokranjac and other professors of singing in the Belgrade Seminary did not even mention the existence of those notated books in their annual school reports. The Deacon of Belgrade Cathedral, Milivoj Petrović, an honorary professor of church music in the Belgrade Seminary and close associate of Mokranjac, was a protagonist of this debate. He announced the printing of Mokranjac’s *Oktoih* [*Octoechos*] ten years before it was actually published. This was his way of showing displeasure with the proposal to use the notated *Octoechos* by Karlovci chanters Gavrilo Boljarić and Nikola Tajšanović, which had already been published, to teach church music at the Belgrade Seminary (PETROVIĆ 1897, 1898, 1899).

7 Soon after he came back to the country in 1919, when he became a professor at St. Sava Seminary, Manojlović published Mokranjac’s *Strano pjenije* [*Foreign Chant*] in 1920, based on existing lithographic editions. Preparation of *General Chant* took fifteen years, a process that he described in detail in the foreword to the 1935 edition (MANOJLOVIĆ 1935: 1–4).

8 In Manojlović’s collection one can find melodies from the notated books of Gavrilo Boljarić and Nikola Tajšanović, Tihomir Ostojić, Petar Kostić, Jefta Petrović, and Jovan Kozobarić; from a songbook by an unknown editor with melodies sung at the Sombor Teacher Training School, and from songbooks of Joca Pajkanović, Dimitrije Stojčić, and Lazar Terzin; beside melodies of “Serbian sound”, there are melodies from the collection of Bulgarian musician Manasi Pop Todorov (MANOJLOVIĆ 1935: 5–6).

no differences in melody between the Karlovci and Belgrade variants. Without thorough research, however, he reiterated that Karlovci chant was “characterized by melismas, ornamentals... and a more secular manner”, while this was not the case with Belgrade chant, “which is characterized by a more serious line of melody” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1923: 171).⁹

It is a well-known fact that Mokranjac intervened to “clean up” melodies that he heard from his chosen and reliable informants. Similar to the singers north from Sava and Danube rivers, these informants also showed some tonal variations that Mokranjac, the renowned Serbian composer, educated in the West, boldly rejected as signs of bad taste in music. Melographic inscriptions by this grand old man of Serbian music suppressed the common, “outdated” singing manner in favor of the successful, “more serious and more solemn” Belgrade musical variation. Manojlović expanded upon his esteemed teacher’s melographic work and, therefore, participated in the creation of “Belgrade singing”, but, in his works, he never called this the “more serious and more solemn” melographic stylization, which was quite familiar to him under its true name (MANOJLOVIĆ 1935: 7). He could only state that “Mokranjac did not engage in a comparative study of Serbian and Greek ecclesiastical chants in order to discover what was typically ours”, but he did, emphasizes Manojlović, “use the comparative method in selecting and writing ecclesiastical melodies of the Serbian Orthodox Church and, in doing so, uncovered what was important in the line of melody. This entire work belongs to the sphere of culture and history, and its musical value rests in its harmonizing treatment of ecclesiastical melodies and songs of the Serbian Orthodox Church” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1923: 174). In this sentence Manojlović, Mokranjac’s faithful follower confirmed his own artistic *credo*, which will be further expressed in his church compositions (Đaković 2015: 69–72, 116–118).

Manojlović realized that the creative opus of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac had gained special national status and become part of the national canon canonized, something that no musician of any new generation could or wanted to avoid at the beginning of their artistic career. As such, one can understand Manojlović’s uncritical and ideological commitment to his esteemed teacher. His commitment to Mokranjac and a wish to complete Mokranjac’s work on ecclesiastical singing is illustrated by the fact that Manojlović, while working on *General Chant*, traveled to Studenica monastery to find Mokranjac’s autograph (MANOJLOVIĆ 1935: 2–3).

9 Manojlović’s remark that in the works of melographers from Karlovci one can notice “greater melismatic variations” cannot be generalized, nor it can be ascribed to all writers and chants, either syllabic or developed.

Manojlović could not find Mokranjac's original writings, but was nevertheless responsible for preserving two other sources important for the history of Serbian ecclesiastical singing. In 1934, in the library of the Visoki Dečani monastery, Manojlović discovered Greek neumatic manuscript No. 49,¹⁰ written in 1749 by Jovan Hadži-Hristodul, Protocanonarchos of Larissa.¹¹ In this anthological compilation, Hierodeacon Ananija Dečanac of Visoki Dečani, temporarily residing in Skoplje to study singing under a certain Mr. Ignjat, left an inscription on the lower margin, in ff. 3-18 (PENO 2008).

Manojlović made a priceless contribution to Serbian musicology by photographing twelve pages from neume compilation No. 93 from the National Library of Belgrade. Manojlović thoroughly studied this manuscript, destined to be destroyed with all other ancient books and documents during German bombing in 1941, and published his pioneering conclusions regarding neume semiography in an article titled "Zvuci zemlje Raške" ["The sounds of the land of Raška"].¹²

An integral study of Kosta P. Manojlović's contributions to ecclesiastical music has not been written to this day, and even those more or less known facts, published in various works, have not been compiled nor critically reviewed. All future researchers in this field should acknowledge several facts. First, although Manojlović's contributions to the historiography of ecclesiastical singing are not very original, it would be useful to thoroughly explore his opinions about his predecessors, the spokesmen for the theory of independent national singing in worship. Second, although Manojlović was aware that there were no significant differences between singing manners within the Serbian Church, i.e. between the singing traditions of Karlovci and the Belgrade Seminary, he had "ideological" reasons for subscribing to a thesis that the Belgrade variant was more appropriate for worship. Manojlović's subjective support for the ruling stereotype is properly understood only in the context of his loyalty to Mokranjac's melographic contribution, which was "canonized" as national singing manner. Third, the description of methods

10 The manuscript is today kept in the Odeljenje za arheografiju Narodne biblioteke Srbije [Archeographic Department of the National Library of Serbia].

11 The inscription is located in f. 124, written in Greek in red ink. It translates as follows: "This book was written on May 16th, 1749 by me, unlearned Jovan Protocanonarchos of Larissa. You pious Christians, who sing, praise God in the highest, singing and celebrating tri-solar common hymns to Theotokos by Jovan Hadži, Christ's servant." Under the inscription, the year 1749 was written in sepia and black ink. This manuscript is today kept in the Archeographic Department of the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade.

12 The same manuscript was mentioned by Milenko Živković (1932) and Svetozar Matić (1932). Manojlović also mentioned the so-called *Beogradska psaltikija* [*Belgrade Psaltika*] in his 1946 paper "Za tragom naše stare svetovne i crkvene muzičke umetnosti" ["On the trail of our old secular and ecclesiastical musical art"].

that Manojlović used in redacting the chants that he printed under his teacher's name also requires original study. It is important to establish how Manojlović treated chants that had not been written down before him. Fourth, Manojlović's contacts with renowned scientists and creative contributors to national culture, with whom he participated in the collection of musical antiquities, have not been properly explored yet either. New research is needed to complete the picture of Manojlović as a man truly devoted to the musical past of the Serbian people.

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The Church Choral Music of Kosta P. Manojlović Between Quotation and Imaginary Church Folklore

BOGDAN ĐAKOVIĆ

The very complex activity of Kosta P. Manojlović (1898–1949) in Serbian church music between the two world wars – as composer, editor, and publisher of the music of other authors, together with his musicological efforts and conducting practice – makes him a highly important figure in national cultural history. In contrast to his older colleagues, Miloje Milojević and Stevan Hristić, who extensively applied western influences to Serbian music, Manojlović stayed true to the musical styles of his predecessors. As the most faithful follower of Stevan Mokranjac, he dealt with his teacher’s historical role and work, while his own output was inspired by folklore, choral music, and choral conducting.

Manojlović’s basic aesthetic *credo* was dominated by rather conservative principles. Original creativity constituted the peak of his work; to paraphrase Bartok, this took the shape of “imaginative church folklore”, deeply inspired by Serbian chant. In cases where he quotes traditional melodies, the original chant often undergoes thematic development, occasionally embellished with polyphony. Much more than his teacher, Manojlović almost systematically used various techniques of polyphony, such as canon, fugato, imitation, and free polyphony, creating through them different kinds of structural contrasts (MARKOVIĆ 1990).

The quoted lines, or “imaginary church folklore” phrases, play the basic melodic aspect of the rich harmony, full of dissonant sounds or blocks of parallel chords and chromatic tones colored by an archaic modality (STEFANOVIĆ 1990). The use of different treatments of added chordal tones means that even homophonic structures receive some polyphonic qualities, which, together with the modern harmonic language utilized, elaborates upon Mokranjac’s principle of “harmonic polyphony”.

Manojlović wrote choral church music all his life, making simple harmonizations, using chant motives to only a limited degree, or making original music. Rather than understanding this creative situation as a phenomenon of “stylistic incoherence”, his whole output can be defined as three delicately close compositional modes of the same aesthetic approach, mainly

characterized by neo-Romantic elements, and revealing equal aptitude for both liturgical and concert usage.

There is no doubt that the criterion of length, together with the liturgical context of the particular text used, was crucial for Manojlović's choice of creative approach. It is possible, though, that pieces from a certain period which share stylistic similarities were influenced by certain harmonic features such as "impressionistic" around 1925 and 1930. This was the case with his rather conventional approach in chant arrangements composed shortly after his return from studies in England, as well as with his very mature creative gestures towards the end of his life, marked as they were by a fine balance between simplicity and subtle usage of contemporary music ideas.

In the manuscript *Prilozi za moju biografiju* [*Materials for my Biography*], as well as in his other text "O srpskoj crkvenoj muzici" ["On Serbian ecclesiastical music"] published in *Vesnik Srpske crkve* [*Bulletin of the Serbian Church*] in 1921, Manojlović writes about his *Liturgija za muški hor* [*Liturgy for Male Choir*] composed in 1915–16 in Kragujevac and Albania, which unfortunately has not been wholly preserved. Absolutely fascinated by some of its parts, Miloje Milojević writes that "it is difficult to find an example with a more sophisticated polyphonic approach in Serbian church music literature by domestic composers" (MILOJEVIĆ 1933: 130).

Milojević cites only the first page of Manojlović's *Heruvimska pesma* [*Cherubic Hymn*] as an example to illustrate this opinion in his article "Muzika i pravoslavna crkva" ["Music and the Orthodox Church"]. This composition, dated "Kragujevac, 1915", can be found in Božidar D. Lukić's anthology *Partiture nacionalno-patriotskih i verskih pesama* [*Scores of Patriotic and Religious Songs*] as the only available full copy of this part of the *Liturgija za muški hor*.

Many aspects of the *Heruvimska pesma* reveal unique compositional solutions. Although short (115 bars), this piece systematically achieves "homophonic polyphony", contains four highly elaborate lines for male choir and a dominantly romantic harmony with discreet usage of chromaticism, and features an unusual sequence of tonalities for the three main parts, *Iže heruvimi* [*We who mystically represent the cherubs*] (in F minor), *I životvorjašče* [*And who sing to the Life-Giving Trinity*] (D sharp minor), and *Vsjakoje ninje* [*Let us now lay aside all earthly cares*] (F sharp minor). The most original elements are the change of "color" by means of the tonalities used, and the dramatic importance of the middle section, where Manojlović, in a break from tradition, repeats the verse "trisvjatuju pjesan" ["*thrice-holy hymn*"] numerous times. The richness of this polyphonic structure filled with chromaticism and motivic work all together creates the impression of "symphonization" of this vocal genre. The constant pulsing of the same rhythm measure in the *Andante religioso* tempo provides an aesthetic connection with traditional chant, here

modernized through the use of the compositional elements cited above. Writing in 1919, Dr. Vojislav Janić acknowledged the value of this work, declaring that the whole of Manojlović's *Liturgija* had been written with great understanding of the church service, delivering a "true interpretation of church ritual" (JANIĆ 1919: 118).

Stylistically close to this composition is the traditional set of movements that comprise his *Opelo [Requiem]* (1934), dedicated to King Aleksandar Karađorđević, which is quite similar to the music of his fellow composers Marinković, Binički, and Milojević. The dominant homophonic structure with rare polyphonic elements is mainly colored by modal harmonies, similar to the legacy of the New Russian Choral School (Rachmaninoff, Chesnokov, Kastalsky) and less akin to the impressionistic world of Stevan Hristić's highly original approach.

One of Manojlović's most interesting pieces is the monumental *Stihira srpskim svetiteljima [Sticheron for the Serbian Saints]* (1943), which beautifully represents his extremely powerful way of quoting Serbian chant. It is a complex *cantus firmus* based composition, which again displays "symphonization" of the choral genre. Musically, it can be used equally as a communion hymn in liturgies celebrating Serbian saints and as a highly artistic concert piece.

As Manojlović confirms, the text of the *Stihira*, written by Jovan Georgijević, was taken from the collection *Srbljak* (1871), with some small changes. Manojlović published this melody in his redaction of Mokranjac's book *Pravoslavno srpsko narodno crkveno pojanje. Opšte pojanje [Orthodox Serbian Folk Ecclesiastical Singing. General Chant]* (1935). The melody came from the priest Mihajlo Popović, who composed ("tailored") it during the war in Paris using the 5th Mode of the Octoechos. Another, much simpler version of this melody appears in *Srbljak* by Branko Cvejić (1970). Nenad Barački made an interesting comment on Popović's version: "This kind of 5th mode melody has many individual characteristics [...] and, as Kosta Manojlović has adapted it, it is very difficult to sing and even more difficult to sing well." (BARAČKI 1938: 40). In complete contrast to the quite unusual version of this melody written by Popović, Nenad Barački has almost "mechanically" adjusted it to the rules of the 5th mode (as revealed by the songs *Volsvi persidstviji [Magi, Persian Kings, having clearly learnt]* and *Tebe odjejuščagosja [He Who clothed Himself with light]* making it – in his own words – "accessible to every chanter." It is easy to understand why Manojlović chose the more complicated monodic version as the starting point for his serious choral piece. Having retained the original melody unchanged as his basic musical material, the composer built an original composition upon it. In this elaborate synthesis of melographic and artistic work, music is mainly based on different polyphonic techniques to "paint" the glory of the most important Serbian saints. Manojlović uses rich

harmonic language, transpositions of selected parts of the chant in new tonalities, and, above all, various types of imitation of traditional harmonic polyphony, to the techniques of fugato and canon, to combinations of parallel thematic expositions with the dominant polyphonic texture. Reaching cantata-like monumental proportions in this *a cappella* structure, the composer uses the chant base to achieve complex musical dramatization. Through delicate artistic treatment, some of the *Stihira*'s fragments are given special roles of initial, transitional, or final parts, which results in a number of highly contrasting blocks, with the final climax reached in the last phrase, sung in unison: “*Upravite Otečestvo pristaništu spasenija i prosite mir od Boga roda našemu*” [“*Guide the Fatherland towards the harbour of salvation*”].

This piece was written in the war year of 1943, and the composer was most probably inspired by actual events, the rescue by the German Army of relics of Serbian saints from the hilltop monasteries of the Fruška Gora as they were about to be demolished by Croatian Ustaše. The remains of St. Lazar were taken from Vrdnik Monastery, those of St. Uroš from Jazak, and the relics of St. Stefan Štiljanović from Šišatovac, and all were brought to Belgrade Cathedral. Although the *Stihira*'s text has never lost its religious, national, and historical significance, Manojlović's choral version was first performed only recently, 70 years after it was composed. The *Stihira* was recorded – but not performed live – by the choir of Radio Belgrade, conducted by Tamara Petijević.

As a choir conductor, Kosta P. Manojlović was mostly attached to the musical tradition of the Orthodox Church, but he was also very keen to promote other less well-known music, both sacred and secular. He spent his longest period as a practical conductor (1920–1931) dedicated to church services with the Beogradsko pevačko društvo [Belgrade Choral Society]¹ at the Saborna crkva Svetog Arhangela Mihaila [Cathedral Church of the Holy Archangel Michael] in Belgrade. Apart from leading this ensemble in regular Sunday and festal services, Manojlović took part in the enthronements of Serbian Patriarchs, funerals, and various services for high-ranking officers, renowned artists, as well as founders, conductors and members of the choir (PETROVIĆ 2004). He organized a total of twelve “sacred concerts” of Orthodox Church music.

One musical critique that Manojlović wrote in 1932 on the subject of Orthodox Church music, “Duhovni koncert Prvog beogradskog pevačkog društva” [“Spiritual concert of the First Belgrade Choral Society”], allows us to understand how important he found the subtle inner religious feeling as the sole artistic concept in performing this music genre. Manojlović felt that Lovro Matačić's conducting of Mokranjac's famous sticheron *Tebe odjejuščagosja* and Stevan Hristić's *Opelo* [*Requiem*] used stylistically unusual

1 Renamed the Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo [First Belgrade Choral Society] in 1923.

techniques that were counter to sound traditional practices, such as broad rhythmic freedom and invented elements of the *bocca chiusa* technique. Manojlović went on to lament: “Why does Mr. Matačić pursue effect for its own sake, when the music suffers [...] instead of employing all the possible means that serious polyphonic music allows. [...] that specific need for effect was never in favor before the war [...]” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1932: 7).

This “healthy” conservative attitude, so close to Manojlović’s musical personality, was borne out on many occasions. Critiques spoke of how “Mr. Manojlović never seeks cheap effect nor insists only on the surface aspects of the performance; he always tries to find inner meaning, rather than settling for anything on the outside. Not a single piece in the program, not one conductor’s gesture (not even one note in music!) seeks applause. [...] Each of his concerts brings something fresh and new, some deep artistic adventure and experiment.” (BINGULAC 1929: 219).

Although a faithful follower of the artistic and cultural efforts of Mokranjac, Kosta P. Manojlović never reached the “classical” stature of his great teacher, but he did successfully introduce Serbian Orthodox church music to new and creative combinations of the chant tradition, delicate historical traces of Western and Orthodox choral art, and discrete aspects of contemporary musical style. He achieved this specific creative combination by employing a number of compositional procedures, as well as through the general form of *a cappella* choral construction, which never covered the hymnodic element, regardless of whether he had merely harmonized a chant or written his own music in a style close to that of the traditional source. Even more importantly, the very specific historical circumstances after the composer’s death in 1949 contributed to the fact that choral conductors and singers never used the opportunity to give Manojlović’s choral music the endorsement it deserved.

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Re-envisioning Tradition: Ideology and Innovation in Early Twentieth-Century Church Music in Serbia and Bulgaria

IVAN MOODY

The question of what constituted “modernism”, of precisely how the arts could be relevant to modern man, and to newly-emergent nations, is one of fundamental importance to any examination of artistic theory and practice in the Balkans at the beginning of the 20th century. Given the relatively recent establishment of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Serbia as nation-states in the accepted Western European sense,¹ it was inevitable that the arts would be dragooned into the quest for the building-up of a distinctive national identity. This quest was complicated, however, in all four cases, by the advent of the idea of modernism, which, in the Balkans, meant a particularly rich cross-fertilization of both ideas.

In this paper I shall limit my discussion to the way in which this cross-fertilization affected church music in Bulgaria and Serbia – a segment of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, so to speak. Bulgaria as a modern country may be said to have begun in 1878, with the proclamation of the Third Bulgarian state (TODOROVA 2009). Its art music began to manifest itself as a serious cultural phenomenon a few decades later, with the work of the cosmopolitan Pancho Vladigerov (1899–1978) and his fellow composers Dimitar Nenov (1901–953), Veselin Stoyanov (1902–1969), Lyubomir Pipkov (1904–1974) and Marin Goleminov (1908–2000), who were as cosmopolitan as Vladigerov himself, studying abroad and then returning to their native country (KOSTAKEVA 2006: 107–111). None of these composers can be described as a “nationalist”; rather, they tend to be classified as “Bulgarian classicists”, and modernism *per se* was not a concept with which they were much concerned – rather, they constituted the building blocks of a Bulgarian national musical identity by the mere fact of having had a thorough education in music, and of having brought it back and applied it to their own situation in their native country.

Modernism was, however, a matter of vital interest to others concerned

1 For a good English-Language summary of the situation see GLENNY 2001.

with the arts. Particularly important in this was the architect and writer Chavdar Mutafov (1899–1954). He too was a cosmopolitan, having studied engineering (1908–1914) and architecture (1923–1925) in Munich, marrying the author Fani Popova-Mutafova (1902–1977), returning to Bulgaria much impressed by the ideas of Kandinsky and, more generally, the aesthetics of expressionism. His vision was too radical for the time, and he was thought to be dangerous, actually being considered under the communist regime to be a fascist. In music, a genuinely modernist stance would only come with the work of later composers such as Konstantin Iliev (1924–1988) and Ivan Spassov (1934–1996).

The parallels and contrasts between Mutafov and the Serbian Ljubomir Micić (1895–1971) are interesting. Micić's trajectory was quite different from that of Mutafov. He was educated in Zagreb, where he was secretary of the Srpsko srednjoškolsko udruženje [Serbian High School Association] in 1913–1914, and in 1918 attended the “great historical assembly of Slav Peoples” in Prague, after which he became a prolific author of artistic and philosophical tracts and essays.² What really changed the direction of his work was his involvement with the arts magazine *Zenit* [*Zenith*], which began in February 1921, and continued, in Zagreb and Belgrade, until December 1926. In this publication he explored a number of ideas, including the Balkanization of Europe and the notion of the Balkans as the “sixth continent”, but his subsequent work with Zenit Editions sought to situate Yugoslav art within a European context, and this caused him to be dismissed from his official position in Zagreb in 1922. He spent nine years in France, from 1927–1936, and after his return to Belgrade was relegated to all but insignificance, though he maintained a voluminous international correspondence, harking back to his achievements with *Zenith*.

It would be difficult to argue that Serbian composers at this time, especially those interested in the composition of church music, sought the “Balkanization of Europe”, but it would be true to say that composers such as Petar Konjović (1883–1970) and Stevan Hristić (1885–1958), trained abroad as they were, had an interest in establishing a particular vocabulary for the composition of sacred works. The “Byzantine modernism” of a good deal of Serbian architecture of the period, notably in the work of Momir Korunović (1883–1969) and Branko Tanazević (1876–1945) (See ILLUSTRATION 1) is not so precisely evident in the work of these musicians, though there is, as I have argued elsewhere, a certain parallel to be found in the music of the younger composers Milivoje Crvčanin (1892–1978) and Milenko Živković (1901–1964) (MOODY 2014: 109–110).

2 A detailed biography of Ljubomir Micić is available at <http://www.avantgarde-museum.com/en/museum/collection/ljubomir-micic~pe4475/>.



ILLUSTRATION 1. Momir Korunović, Stara pošta [Old Post Office], Belgrade. Building begun in 1928; destroyed by bombs in 1944.

In Bulgaria, the idea of any kind of modernism applied to church music after the advent of communism was completely impossible to implement – with the exception of a few incursions by Filip Kutev (1903–1982) and Dimitar Tapkov (b. 1929) – until the experimental work of three younger composers, Ivan Spassov (1934–1996), Alexander Tekeliev (b. 1942) and Velislav Zaimov (b. 1951). In all three cases there is a genuine attempt at reconciling a sacred vocabulary with elements of modernism, which in general results in a chromaticism that is far beyond the capacity and willingness of most church choirs to attempt, as one might also observe of Crvčanin and Živković in Serbia. But in Serbia there was greater continuity, as the sheer volume of sacred music (in which category I include concert music on sacred texts) demonstrates (ĐAKOVIĆ 2015). That continuity is a unique characteristic, in that at the same time it includes a remarkable interest in experimentation, in engaging with new ideas and forging a new vocabulary by bringing them into contact with tradition.

And it is here that Kosta P. Manojlović enters. In Manojlović we have a renaissance man, someone who was interested in what Serbian music might become, and on what basis (MANOJLOVIĆ 1923), and who was also curious enough to leave his native country in order to study in Oxford in 1917. Manojlović returned from his studies in 1919, and endeavored to perpetuate the legacy of Mokranjac through his involvement with choral societies in Serbia, and, indeed, Yugoslavia, but especially through his work as conductor of the Beogradsko pevačko društvo [Belgrade Choral Society]³ (MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ

3 Renamed as the Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo [First Belgrade Choral Society] in 1923.

1984: 38–39). Not only did Manojlović work to continue what Mokranjac had begun, but he brought back the fruit of his education in Oxford, performing western early music, both sacred and secular, with regularity. The high point of this initiative was what seems to have been the first performance in Yugoslavia of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* by Palestrina in 1925, but the archive of the First Belgrade Choral Society also contains a number of other renaissance choral works, by composers such as Clemens non Papa, Lassus, Marenzio and Monteverdi, as well as the English madrigalists. Many of these sacred works include a Slavonic singing translation of the text as well as the original Latin.⁴

These scores were prepared by the choir’s copyist, Stevan Klokić, from whose dating of the scores one can see that this repertoire was in use in the late 1920s, and up to 1931, throughout Manojlović’s tenure. What is noteworthy

here is the interest in early music as part of an educational project, but also as a contributing factor to the solid grounding of Serbian music in the models of the past, both East and West – following the example of Mokranjac himself. After Manojlović felt obliged to resign as conductor in 1931, the foundation of the new Pevačko društvo “Mokranjac” [Mokranjac Choral Society] enabled him to continue this work, and their level of skill was such that they were able to perform Bach’s *Christmas Oratorio*.

4331 ПРВО БЕОГРАДСКО ПЕВАЧКО ДРУШТВО

УСЛИШИ ГОСПОДИ МОЛИТВУ МОЈУ
= EXAUDI DOMINE =
(МОТЕТ)

Giovanni Pierluigi di Palestrina
(1524–1594)
Legato

EXAMPLE 1. Palestrina, *Exaudi Domine* [Услиши Господи].

4 I am grateful to Svetlana Vilić, current director of the First Belgrade Choral Society, for providing me with access to its archive.

It is clear from his interest in pre-classical repertoires that Manojlović saw them as a fundamental element in his work as a conductor, but it is also true that their influence may be seen in his own music. The prime example of this is his extraordinary *Stihira srpskim svetiteljima* [*Sticheron for the Serbian Saints*], dating from 1943, whose thoroughgoing use of counterpoint and fugal episodes, not to mention its technical difficulty, makes it unique in Serbian choral literature.

13

Оти - фа - ни Шти - аи - но - ви - чѣ, ки - аи - киѣ џѣ - аѣ - ни - че при - го -
Сѣе - фа - не Шти - аи - но - ви - чѣ, ве - ли - куј џѣ - леб - ни - че при - хо -

Оти - фа - ни Шти - аи - но - ви - чѣ, ки - аи - киѣ џѣ - аѣ - ни - че при - го -
Сѣе - фа - не Шти - аи - но - ви - чѣ, ве - ли - куј џѣ - леб - ни - че при - хо -

Оти - фа - ни Шти - аи - но - ви - чѣ, ки - аи - киѣ џѣ - аѣ - ни - че при - го -
Сѣе - фа - не Шти - аи - но - ви - чѣ, ве - ли - куј џѣ - леб - ни - че при - хо -

poco rit. Maestoso $\text{♩} = 88$ *Melodia ben marcato*

mf аа - цѣмъ куѣи - еѣ еѣ - ро - ѡ; ѡа -
- гѣа - шѣмъ н'ше - бѣе - еѣ - ро - ѡ; сѣа

mf аа - цѣмъ куѣи - еѣ еѣ - ро - ѡ; ѡа -
- гѣа - шѣмъ н'ше - бѣе - еѣ - ро - ѡ; сѣа

mf аа - цѣмъ куѣи - еѣ еѣ - ро - ѡ; ѡа -
- гѣа - шѣмъ н'ше - бѣе - еѣ - ро - ѡ; сѣа

mf аа - цѣмъ куѣи - еѣ еѣ - ро - ѡ; ѡа -
- гѣа - шѣмъ н'ше - бѣе - еѣ - ро - ѡ; сѣа

ѡѡѡ, ѡа, ѡѡѡ Пѣ - три Ко - рѡ ѡѡѡ
аѡѡ, сѣа аѡѡ Пѣ - три Ко - рѡ ѡѡѡ

ѡѡѡ Пѣ - три Ко - рѡ ѡѡѡ, ѡа, ѡѡѡ Пѣ - три Ко - рѡ ѡѡѡ, ѡѡѡ
аѡѡ Пѣ - три Ко - рѡ ѡѡѡ, сѣа аѡѡ Пѣ - три Ко - рѡ ѡѡѡ, ѡѡѡ

Melodia ben marcato

mf ѡа, ѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ, ѡѡѡ
сѣа, ѡѡѡ аѡѡ, ѡѡѡ

Melodia ben marcato

mf ѡа, ѡѡѡ ѡѡѡ, ѡѡѡ
сѣа, ѡѡѡ аѡѡ, ѡѡѡ

EXAMPLE 2. Manojlović, *Stihira srpskim svetiteljima*, p. 13.

Manojlović's interest in early music also, and naturally, extended to Serbia's Byzantine heritage⁵ as well as folk music (MANOJLOVIĆ 1953). But it is his love of western renaissance polyphony, and the effect it had on his own work, that of deepening and strengthening the aesthetic he had already absorbed from his teacher Mokranjac, that is truly individual. There is little use in attempting a

5 Were it not for the twelve photographs of the 15th-century anthology, manuscript *Beogradska psaltika* [*Belgrade Psaltika*] No. 93 from the Belgrade National Library, destroyed by bombs in 1941, we would have no physical evidence of its existence (see STEFANOVIĆ 1975: 19, 173).

strict categorization of the extent of modernism, which is in any case so variable in its definition, amongst Serbian composers of this period, but this aspect of Manojlović's work, while it certainly distances him from the experimental attitude of a composer such as Josip Slavenski, does not automatically make him a traditionalist or a reactionary. It would be enough to note his work promoting contemporary music with the Udruženje prijatelja umetnosti "Cvijeta Zuzorić" [Cvijeta Zuzorić Association of Friends of the Arts] to demolish such an idea.⁶ Rather, his musical vocabulary shows that, while he valued hugely his Serbian musical heritage, he was alert to possibilities of deepening his own relationship with this heritage by studying vocabularies and techniques of the past.⁷ In this, I would argue, we may indeed find a parallel with the similar quest that characterized the work of the architects Korunović and Tanazević, and that what it represents is in fact a kind of proto-postmodernism.

The work of Stevan Hristić (1885–1958) shows that the (non-exclusive) use of modality could be seen as a marker of modernity, and with a composer like Milenko Živković (1901–1964), one sees a very conscious attempt to create a modern vocabulary that is simultaneously an homage to the past – this is very clear from the title alone of his extraordinary, experimental *Vizantijska liturgija* [Byzantine Liturgy] from 1935. An interest in polyphony in a more general sense is characteristic of the work of Miloje Milojević (1884–1946) and Milivoje Crvčanin (1892–1978), as is, in parallel, a genuine sense of drama, in Milojević's case achieved through harmonic structures suggestive of composers such as Mahler or Strauss. In fact, we are faced in the work of these composers with a very particular aspect of what has been called "moderated modernism" (MEDIĆ 2007: 279–294; MOODY 2010 and 2011). Manojlović's work could also, I suggest be placed within this category, whose characteristic combination of intellectual curiosity and artistic daring, in the search for the cross-fertilization of the ancient and the modern, is clearly evident in his work.

The incipient possibility of such a cross-fertilization in Bulgaria, certainly visible in the work of a number of painters active in the mid-19th century, notably Nikola Obraziposov (1829–1915) (see ILLUSTRATION 2), did not come to a similar fruition in Bulgarian music. The newly-awakened spirit of Bulgarian nationalism was expressed musically in the continuation of the Byzantine chant tradition, with texts in Slavonic, by Bulgarian composers such as Joasaph of Rila and Neofit of Rila. With the arrival of polyphonic choirs, only Dobri Hristov (1875–1941) and Petar Dinev (1889–1980) attempted anything like a reconciliation between western polyphony and Byzantine tradition. Certainly,

6 See Kosta Manojlović, *Prilozi za moju biografiju* [Materials for my Biography] (manuscript) referred to in MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1984: 40.

7 For further discussion of his style, see TOMAŠEVIĆ 2009: 232–233.

after the Orthodox Church became the object of the Communists' hatred from 1940 onwards, experimentation in this field was necessarily abandoned. For Mutafov, the spiritual in the 20th century was inevitably transfigured by the new world of machines, of technology, ushered in by the new century, and in his writings for the journal *Zlatorog* he tried to transmit these ideas to a non-specialist audience.

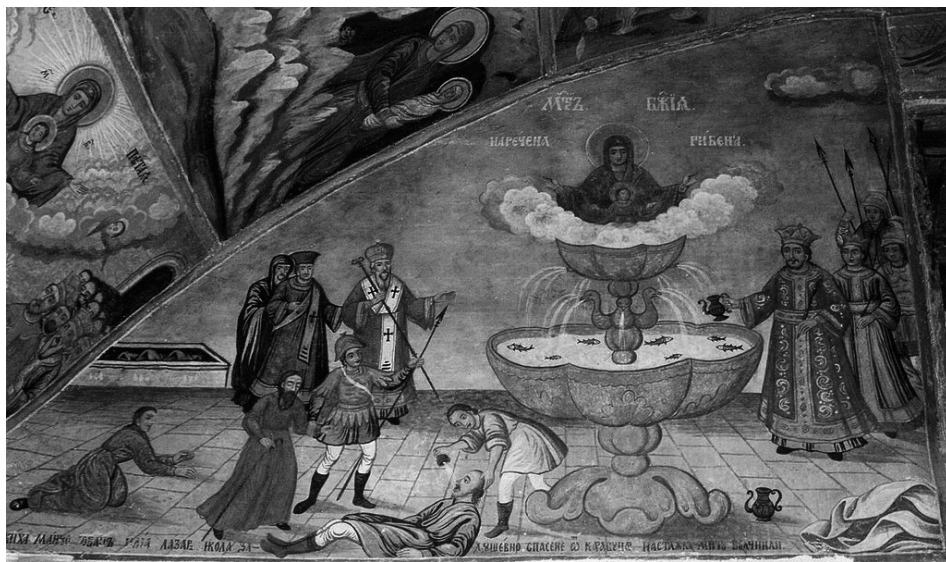


ILLUSTRATION 2. NIKOLA OBRAZOPISOV, *Massacre of the Innocents*, Belyova Church, 1869.

While perhaps the work of the author and painter Nikolai Rainov (1889–1954)⁸, who had studied theology at the Sofiyska duhovna seminariya [Sofia Theological Academy], tentatively explored the dialogue between symbolism and the avant-garde may perhaps be seen as an analogue for the work of Hristov and Dinev, in reality a synthesis only occurred with the later work of Mutafov and others of similar inclinations.

As Sanja Bahun has said, “Regardless of their manifesto-pronouncements, the artists insouciantly crossed movement boundaries, synthesizing in their work avant-garde strategies that would have looked irreconcilable in other contexts: Mutafov blended expressionist themes and futurist aesthetic strategies into a unique brand of literary and artistic cubo-expressionism [...]” (BAHUN 2012: 33). There is, in effect, no musical parallel in Bulgaria for this kind of experiment: the spiritual was completely excluded, and the arrival of the

8 For a brief essay summarizing the controversy around Rainov’s work, see KIRILOVA 2014.



ILLUSTRATION 3. Nikolai Rainev, *Landscape*.

avantgarde was heralded by the work of the concert music of such composers as Konstantin Iliev (1924–1988), who made himself as unpopular with the Communist Party as Mutafov.⁹

Work of any kind of obvious spiritual inspiration, evoking the Bulgarian past, would not become apparent until much later; even when the repertoire of *balgarski raspev* [Bulgarian chant] was employed, as it was on occasion by Filip Kutev (1903–1982), it was really as an aspect of the burgeoning, state-supported interest in the country’s folk heritage. Kutev was the founder, with his wife, in 1951, of the State Ensemble for Folk Song and Dance, known later as the Filip Kutev Ensemble, inspired by the Soviet folk group Pyatnitski, and his ideas were the foundation of the newly-harmonized Bulgarian folk music, an artificial *narodna muzika* [folk music], that subsequently became so famous throughout the world,¹⁰ and was intended to raise “the level of folk music to that of Western art music” (SILVERMAN 2004: 215).

I should like to return to Sanja Bahun’s discussion of modernist literature. She says:

9 For further detail, see MOODY 2014: 55–56.

10 For further detail, see KIRILOV 2010.

One may detect [...] relaxed attitudes toward the politics and practice of modernism throughout the Balkans, usually with good effects. This artistic inter-positionality was informed by Balkan modernists' liminal-transitory location in the symbolic system, but also fostered by the dynamics of historical compression. It is this 'historical compression' in the Balkans, however, that also relegated Bulgarian modernism to oblivion: with the notable exception of [Geo] Milev [1895–1925], all authors that are now being consolidated into a Bulgarian modernist corpus went unnoticed (or denounced) for decades because of Communist cultural politics. Compression fosters compression: the eventual publication of Nikolai Rainov's collected writings in 1989 coincided with the appearance of the first samizdat anthology of Bulgarian postmodernism (KRASZTEV 342). This publishing coincidence can be bitterly lamented or regarded as a curiosity. Far more useful than any of these options, I suggest, is to treat such temporal conflations in fringe-modernisms as a call to reassess our perception of literary history (BAHUN 2012: 34).

Bahun makes similar points with regard to Yugoslav modernisms, and while I would dispute her use of the phrase "fringe-modernisms", as belonging to an outworn and unhelpful historical narrative of the "center" versus the "periphery",¹¹ her observations here are provocative if we consider her description of "artistic inter-positionality" as applicable to music. Indeed, it is the rich array of possibilities afforded by this "inter-positionality", this freedom to move from one modernist current to another, and to mix them with the heritage of the past in profoundly interesting and provocative ways, that makes the investigation into these processes in the Balkans of such vital interest. The indefatigable Manojlović stands, for us, at a crossroads, one signpost pointing to *Slavia Orthodoxa*, another to the West, one to Modernism, another to National History. He is a symbol of the uniqueness of what was possible in Serbia during his lifetime, and as such an indicator of ways in which research into the cross-currents between artistic movements and communist and post-communist politics, as well as the re-examination of the idea of the Balkans as a "fringe", may progress and provide us with perspectives on a series of phenomena still little-understood and certainly under-appreciated.

11 Though it should be pointed out that quite another perspective emerges from other work by Bahun, notably BAHUN-RADUNOVIĆ, POURGOURIS 2006: xii–xx.

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KOSTA P. MANOJLOVIĆ AS A CHOIRMASTER, CRITIC AND PEDAGOGUE

Kosta P. Manojlović – The Oxford Years

VERICA GRMUŠA

This paper deals with a lesser known period in the life of Kosta P. Manojlović, the years between 1917 and 1919 that he spent studying music at Oxford University. It collates the scarce information from records of Oxford University's New College, including dates of examinations Manojlović passed and the score of his final BMus exercise, a setting of Psalm 137, *Na rjekah vavilonskih* [*By the Waters of Babylon*].

The paper further focuses on the correspondence between Kosta P. Manojlović and his colleague and close friend, Miloje Milojević (1884–1946), Serbian composer, professor at the Srpska muzička škola [Serbian Music School] in Belgrade and Muzička akademija [Music Academy] in Belgrade, and one of the most prominent figures in Belgrade's musical life at that time. The paper could thus be subtitled “Manojlović in the realm of Miloje Milojević”, as it provides insight into their close collaboration. Manojlović's four letters to Milojević span the entire period of Manojlović's Oxford studies.¹ They contain information about his composing and conducting, as well as the circumstances that led to Manojlović's appointment to posts he took upon returning to Belgrade: the Choirmaster of the Beogradsko pevačko društvo [Belgrade Choral Society]² and University Teacher of Skills at the Pravoslavno-bogoslovski fakultet [Faculty of Orthodox Theology] in Belgrade.

More importantly, these letters shed light on Manojlović's cultural and social activism, giving details of his lecture recitals and choir performances promoting Slavic repertory in United Kingdom. I situate his work in the context of the lesser known cultural activism that accompanied the political activities of the Jugoslovenski komitet [Yugoslav Committee], formed in the United Kingdom at the outbreak of the First World War to lobby for international support for the unification of all South Slavs within one independent state.

1 The letters are held in the Miloje Milojević Family Collection. I am indebted to Vlastimir Trajković (1947–2017), Professor of Composition at Belgrade University Faculty of Music and grandson of Miloje Milojević, for allowing me access to this collection.

2 Known as the Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo [First Belgrade Choral Society] since 1923.

Musical events, often neglected in historical accounts, played an important part in this context, particularly in years preceding Manojlović's studies in Oxford. While delving into the discourse on nationalism, I point to the seemingly small details in Manojlović's letters pertaining to performance and gender, highlighting the need for these to be incorporated more readily into both musicological and historical studies.

The Oxford Records

Manojlović moved to New College, Oxford, after spending two years at the Munich Hochschule für Musik [Music Academy].³ He studied with Professor Sir Hugh Percy Allen,⁴ to whom he dedicated the copy of cantata *By the Waters of Babylon* kept in the library of the Belgrade Fakultet muzičke umetnosti [Faculty of Music]. This cantata, for bass solo, two choruses, and orchestra was Manojlović's final BMus exercise, submitted to the Secretary of Faculties in September 1919. The degree of BMus was conferred (in absence) on March 3rd, 1921, and the score deposited a week later.⁵ While Manojlović omitted instrumentation details in the Belgrade copy, instrumentation in the Oxford copy shows he planned it for a large orchestra and 400 singers. The exclusion of these details from the Belgrade copy suggests his realistic expectations for the still modest concert scene in Belgrade in 1938, which often conditioned the compositional opus of contemporary composers.

The Yugoslav Idea in United Kingdom during World War I

Starting from the early 19th century, when the Illyrian Movement was formed by Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872), the Yugoslav idea was propagated in the South Slav region in various shapes and forms. Manojlović's composing and performing activities at the beginning of the twentieth century follow the growing intellectual action for unification among South Slavs. Early twentieth-century South Slav intellectuals, who were in general less interested than politicians in

3 Manojlović studied in Munich under the same professors as Milojević had done some years earlier, Richard Meier-Geshrai and Friedrich Klosé.

4 The New College register of candidates for degrees in Music holds no materials dating before the 1930s. The entry for Manojlović (reference UR 2/9/3) gives only the dates of his examinations: November 27th, 1917, June 11th, 1919, and August 27th, 1919. The records do not hold full details of his professor, but only give the initial "H".

5 The shelfmark is MS. Mus. Sch. Ex. b.60. Ana Stefanović analyzed this work in detail based on the Belgrade copy (STEFANOVIĆ 1990).

the domination of one center over another (DJOKIĆ 2003: 5),⁶ typically understood Yugoslavia as a “mostly cultural union of kindred, but separate nations” (TRGOVČEVIĆ 2003: 223). However, although the cultural arena was less contentious than the political scene, there was no consensus on the model for the creation of a Yugoslav cultural identity. Wachtel describes three models for a common Yugoslav culture in interwar Yugoslavia, identifying a new culture combining the elements of the existing “tribal” cultures as the dominant cultural paradigm of a synthetic Yugoslav culture (WACHTEL 2003: 239).⁷ This model often manifested itself among composers through a renewed interest in folk-song arrangements and an expansion of the territories their song collections covered.⁸

Unification efforts were not confined to local territories. At the beginning of World War I, the Yugoslav Committee was formed in London to lobby for public international support of unification of all South Slavs in one independent state. It was headed by Ante Trumbić, co-founder of the Hrvatsko-srpska koalicija [Croat-Serb Coalition], and included politicians, journalists, jurists, and professors from South Slav territories, as well as members of emigrant communities in the United States and South America. The Yugoslav Committee received diplomatic and some financial support from Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić and his government, particularly at the beginning of the war. Notable Britons involved with the Committee included Robert William Seton-Watson and Henry Wickham Steed, founders of the Serbian Relief Fund that gave medical assistance to Serbia (its activities will be elaborated on below).

In its publications, the Committee relied on cultural and linguistic similarities to justify its calls for political autonomy (ROBINSON 2011: 11). It published *The Southern Slav Bulletin* and organized exhibitions and lectures. The most notable exhibition was by the Croatian sculptor and architect Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962), known for his endorsement of the Yugoslav idea,⁹ held

6 It has to be pointed out that there cannot be a clear-cut distinction between intellectuals and politicians in the region at this time. For instance, Milan Grol (1876–1952), apart from being a leading member of the Samostalna radikalna stranka [Independent Radical Party] prior to 1918 and then of the Demokratska stranka [Democratic Party], eventually becoming its president, was also a theater critic and director of the Belgrade Narodno pozorište [National Theater] in the 1920s

7 The other two models would be based either on an existing culture (most likely Serbian) or a new culture not based on existing tribal cultures.

8 Manojlović was one of many composers who continued the work started by the previous generations of composers. Franjo Kuhač (1834–1911) was one of the first South Slav composers who collected and published a folk-song collection, titled *Južnoslovenske narodne popjevke* [South Slav folk songs] (1878–1881), encompassing the whole territory of what was to become Yugoslavia. At the time that Manojlović was arranging folk songs in Oxford, Petar Konjović (1883–1970) was working on *Moja zemlja* [My Country], a collection of one hundred songs composed from 1905 to 1925. Milojević was doing the same in Paris, publishing his seven-song collection there in 1921.

9 For an analysis of Meštrović’s work in the Yugoslav context, see WACHTEL 2003.

in 1915 at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. While historians have dealt with various cultural activities that accompanied the Committee's political work, there is no mention of music,¹⁰ although this body put on many musical events. Of particular interest is a concert organized in London in 1915 by the Serbian Relief Fund,¹¹ titled "Historic Slav Concert, in aid of the starving and homeless Serbian women and children", and featured Czech, Polish, Serbian, and Russian music (see ILLUSTRATION 1 and 2). The high profile of the performers, which included the London Symphony Orchestra and London Choral Society, conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham, bears out the significance attached to the occasion and the Committee's ability to drum up support from important public figures.¹² The main patron of the concert was Queen Alexandra. The program featured the *Uvertira* [Overture] by Stanislav Binički (1872–1942), *Tri srpske igre* [Three Serbian Dances] arranged for the orchestra, and Milojević's song *Solitude*.¹³ A number of events on a smaller scale were also organized throughout the United Kingdom. This context set the tone for Manojlović's compositional and conducting activity during his Oxford years which, apart from coursework, almost completely revolved around traditional folk music and promotion of the Slavic repertory.

Letters to Milojević

During his days in Oxford, Manojlović kept in close contact with Milojević. However, these letters show that at this time they still maintained the professor-student relationship which started while Milojević was Manojlović's teacher in the Serbian Music School in Belgrade.

The first letter held in collection is dated 3. 12. 1917 (see ILLUSTRATION 3). The word "Mr." ("G." in Serbian) in the letter's opening is smaller than the rest and seems to have been added as an afterthought, as if Manojlović wanted to mollify his initially very friendly first-name address. The letter's sombre and

10 The omission of music by historians is not exclusive to Connie Robinson's work. For instance, Andrew Wachtel mentions no musicians in his overview of cultural Yugoslavism (WACHTEL 1998, 2003). Ljubinka Trgovčević focuses on Serbian intellectuals who used linguistics, ethnography, history, and literature to promote cultural bonds, filling the gap in literature in English on the topic. Although she writes about authors, poets, critics, painters and sculptors, her analysis does not include musicians, who collaborated closely with other artists and intellectuals (TRGOVČEVIĆ 2003).

11 I am grateful to Dr. Aleksandar Vasić who provided me with the information and program for this concert.

12 Sir Thomas Beecham (1879–1961) was a prominent English conductor and impresario.

13 The program only provides the English title of Milojević's song *Solitude*. It cannot be ascertained which song it is as there are no songs in the Miloje Milojević Family Collection to match the lyrics provided in the concert program.

nostalgic tone is not surprising, considering the difficult wartime circumstances and the new environment Manojlović had to adjust to.

My dear Mr. Miloje,

...Everything in this small room of mine is sad and full of regret, despite the luscious electric lamp's light. The last piece of coal is burning in the fire place – its crackling echoes the life that is fading away. Everything is in vain. The soul is empty; wishing for the life it never lived, dreaming of the green fields full of flowers, fragrant with lilies and cut wheat, filled with birds' call and the songs of the long gone fairies...

Manojlović further complained of a lack of inspiration and the pain of being a mature student, even questioning his choice of career. He wrote of his first set of exams passed on November 27th, and his hopes of passing the final examination in June 1918.

On the 27th of last month I passed my first exam for the Bachelor of Music degree. There were fifteen of us in the exam. Some old people with grey hair and beards studying for a doctorate, and some for the above-mentioned degree. From 9.30 to 12.30 we had to do the counterpoint test, and from 2 till 5 we did the harmony test and the aural exam.

I thought I had failed miserably, as I was not pleased with what I had written. However, they said it was good and that it had the “artistic” quality. Very good, I said to them. If you are pleased, so am I. And so, I was one of the three people who passed the exam. Well done, you'll probably say. I say it was God's will. All I remember is that the time was passing by quickly and that I only started scribbling when it came to the very end. Maybe that was the moment of inspiration. The last exam will be in June, so I will get the certificate to look for a job in Serbia (Just to get out of this!).

Manojlović was active in promoting Slavic repertory from the very beginning of his studies in Oxford. He gave a lecture recital on South Slav folk music at the local club, and planned another one for the following term. There is no information on the repertory performed, as the sheet music that accompanied the letter has been lost. The content, though, is suggested by Manojlović's clearly articulated Yugoslav idea at that time: directly “flagged” in the title of the Yugoslav folk song collection he edited during his Oxford studies, and mentioned in more detail below. Michael Billig defines “flagging” as process of unambiguous and material marking of objects using the simple and

seemingly banal techniques of citing a nation's name, flag, and emblems (BILLIG 1995: 93). While Manojlović's collection was published in 1921, after the Yugoslav state had already been formed and could have influenced the title, the selection of the songs and the geography they covered was done before that. Rather than focusing on the character of the identity projected, I explore the format and context of the performance. This was a song lecture-recital, with Manojlović lecturing, playing, and singing. This all-encompassing role is yet another parallel with Milojević, who, unlike most composers at that time, not only collected and arranged folk songs but also toured Serbia and Yugoslavia, giving lecture recitals with his wife, the soprano Ivanka Milojević (1881–1975).¹⁴

Manojlović's choice of genre confirms the well-known role of song as an "emblem of unity" (BOHLMAN 2011: 18), due largely to its poetic component and link with the vernacular tradition. I highlight, however, Manojlović's passing comment about the audience in these lecture recitals, consisting only of women.

On the 7th of this month I gave a lecture on folk music in the club here – only girls were in the audience, and I should give one more next month in another club. I prepared it in haste, illustrated musically with a *drombulje* [jaw harp] and piano. I also sang, with pathos like Chaliapin, while Gođevac played the piano nervously.

This corroborates the historical position of art song as a suitable genre for the engagement of women, whether as salon hostesses, performers, or even composers.¹⁵ Despite the link between song and national narratives, performers in general are, as groups, neglected in musicological studies, while women remain neglected in historical accounts and studies on nationalism. As McClintock points out, while "the invented nature of nationalism has found wide theoretical currency, explorations of the gendering of the national imagery have been conspicuously paltry." (MCCLINTOCK 1996: 260).¹⁶ She further argues that, as a gendered discourse, nationalism cannot be understood without a theory of gender power that makes visible women's active participation in

14 Of particular importance are the eight lecture-recitals the Milojevićs gave during their two-month long melographic tour of present-day Macedonia and Kosovo in 1928.

15 The Lied's historical association with femininity has been well documented in scholarship (CITRON 1987; KENNY & WOLLENBERG 2015).

16 McClintock offers a fourfold strategy of feminist theory of nationalism: investigating the gendered formations of sanctioned male theories; bringing into historical visibility women's active cultural and political participation in national formations; bringing nationalist institutions into critical relation with other social structures and institutions; and paying scrupulous attention to the structures of racial, ethnic and class power that continue to bedevil the privileged forms of feminism.

national formations (Mc CLINTOCK 1996: 261). As well as being in the audience, both South Slav and British women gave a number of small scale art-song recitals throughout United Kingdom as performers; these garnered the interest of audiences and reviewers.¹⁷ This extended salon culture, where both song and women played an important part, emerges as a more potent vehicle for spreading both national ideas and music than it has been given credit for in scholarly discourse, and ought to be investigated further.

Manojlović finished the letter by lamenting on how little he had managed to compose at Oxford: “This is all I did so far. There are some folk songs waiting in silence for me to call on them. And the ‘originals’ are asleep, maybe for good, who knows.” The “folk songs” he refers to are the seven songs that were to be published in Belgrade in 1938 as *Pesme naših rodnih strana* [*Songs of our home regions*].¹⁸

The second letter in the archive is dated almost a year later, 21. 11. 1918, but contains clear references to the pair’s correspondence in the meantime. It starts with a reply to Milojević’s critique of the songs that Manojlović had previously sent him:

Maestro caro mio,

I received the letter. I know very well that my scribblings are still just that and that it is not the style I want technically, but it is all still forced, and your “Big Bertha” bombarded me forcefully at long range, hence under such conditions I could not prepare my defense properly. Somehow I got my head out of it all and you can now edit my work in the background. I had just begun to think that my piano scribble was fit to be played, when you bombarded me again. I did not want to compose the entire piano piece, I just wanted to portray the playful dark-eyed and blue-eyed beauties. But one thing I hope is true, that it was written well for the piano. Is it so? If not, I will mobilize all my power for the next one!

The letter also refers to their ongoing discussion about the album of folk song arrangements I referred to above, which Manojlović edited and which was eventually published in the UK in 1921 as *Jugoslovenske narodne pesme*

17 Miss Vivien Edwards’ lecture recital on Serbian Folk Song, held at the Leeds Arts Gallery on December 5th, 1916, was described as of an event of “more than a passing interest” (ANONYMOUS 1917: 42). “An hour of Serbian Song”, held at Cambridge Examination Hall on August 16th, featured various performers, including Miss Vivien Edwards. The programme included “folk songs, national songs, modern Serbian songs and an aria from a Croatian opera.” (ANONYMOUS 1916: 468).

18 The collection contains the following songs: *Lep Ivo*, *Dremala*, *spavala*, *Serenada*, *Makedonac*, *Zora zori*, *Soko*, *Mladost* [translated respectively as *Handsome Ivo*, *She slept and dreamed*, *Serenade*, *The Macedonian*, *The Dawn is Breaking*, *The Falcon*, *The Youth*]. These songs belong mostly to the *sevda-linka* genre, also favored by Petar Konjović (STANIMIROVIĆ 1988: 205).

[*Yugoslav Folk Songs*]. The album consisted of 43 songs, translated by Rosa Newmarch (1857–1940), an English writer on music,¹⁹ and featured a cover designed by Ivan Meštrović.

It seems there will be no one to translate six songs from your last letter for the album because, as you will see, Mrs. Newmarch has not yet translated the seven songs I gave her in August, and she returned them to me this morning as I asked for them. She did not reply if she would translate these six songs, but it does not seem likely. I am sending my songs to you so you can choose what you want – especially *Dremala, spavala* is interestingly phrased – and then return them as soon as possible because I will need them. *Makedonac* should be transposed to F minor. Are at least these seven songs written pianistically, for heaven's sake?

The last two songs mentioned confirm Milojević's continued mentoring and critique of the piano accompaniments of Manojlović's folk-song arrangements.

The third letter, dated 23. 2. 1919, marks the first occasion that Manojlović wrote about his conducting, detailing the concerts he gave with the choir he formed of theology students:

After a lot of struggle, we finally managed to give a performance of church music on February 2nd, here in the New College Chapel at 8.30 pm. There were a lot of people in the audience, and important ones, too. The program was the same as previously in London, we only added *Večeri tvojeja tajnija* [*Of Thy Secret Supper*].²⁰ The reception was great. *Heruvimska pesma* [*Cherubic Hymn*] went as one could only wish for.²¹ On February 9th we gave in the Cathedral a short service where we sang a couple of items. On the February 17th we went to Birmingham.

It also gives us the number of students in the choir and details of the reception by the audiences:

19 Rosa Newmarch (1857–1940) was an English writer on music. While she is best known for championing Russian and Slovak music in Great Britain, she promoted the music of a number of other composers, including Jean Sibelius (BULLOCK 2011).

20 He does not specify what setting he refers to.

21 *Heruvimska pesma* [*Cherubic Hymn*] is the troparion normally sung at the Great Entrance during the Orthodox Christian liturgy. A number of Serbian composers set it to music.

I was never as pleased with a performance as then. We gave our best, with 30 singers (Grdanički was the tenor). I was told that when we started the first big “Amen”, the bishop of Birmingham nearly fainted with delight. The next day the press reported that the audience was stunned. Particularly with “Iže” which, according to reviews, went from a *perdendosi* to a great crescendo, and then disappeared in the corners of the Cathedral.²² I repeat, I was never as happy with singing as I was then. In the evening we had a concert in the Cathedral, repeating the success. The theology students will be returning home soon (not all of them hopefully) so I will not have the choir any more.²³ That is why we hope to give two or three more concerts in Reading and Manchester before they leave. Still, nothing is confirmed.

I highlight, however, Manojlović’s passing comment about the uncertain future of his choir. This is a stark reminder that any conclusion on his, or for that matter anyone else’s, cultural activism needs a nuanced interpretation. In this particular case, the ending of Manojlović’s choral activity should not be interpreted as a particular change of course, but simply as a result of having no performers.

Manojlović also quotes in full a telegram sent to him from Thessaloniki by Risto Odavić, at that time Head of Umetničko odeljenje Ministarstva prosvete [Ministry of Education’s Arts Department]: “Thessaloniki, February 18th, ‘919: Inform Kosta Manojlović, the musician, that he has been appointed Conductor of the Belgrade Choral Society and that the Faculty of Orthodox Theology needs him to teach music there. Please inform me in a cable when he can come to Belgrade. Risto Odavić.”²⁴ The post at the Belgrade Choral Society seems to have been a highly coveted one. Manojlović, alluding to warring factions at the Belgrade Choral Society, tells Milojević he does not want to accept the post and instead asks for advice on the course of action they should take together:

For now I will not answer anything until I get their conditions from Belgrade in writing, then we can arrange things as we think fit. My first requirement will be that you are appointed Conductor, not me. In any case I want to make it understood that we stand behind each other.

22 “Iže” is part of *Heruvimska pesma*.

23 A number of students from Serbia studied theology in Oxford, one of which, Dragomir Maričić, signed as a witness the score of Manojlović’s BMus exercise deposited in Oxford.

24 Risto Odavić (1870–1932) was a Serbian writer and political figure in Yugoslavia. He worked as a playwright at the Narodno pozorište [National Theater] in Belgrade, Director of the Državna štamparija [State Publishing Company], Member of Parliament, Head of the Ministry of Education’s Arts Department etc.

Whether this appointment to the Belgrade Choral Society was a thorny issue for the two composers can only be speculated, but apparently Milojević failed to reply to this letter. Manojlović wrote again on March 17th, 1919, asking for answers and the manuscripts of his songs.

What is this strange silence that makes me think you are angry with me? Is there some devil's work at play, so you did not reply to my cable dated three weeks ago asking for the score of seven folk songs I arranged for piano accompaniment and sent to you in November last year, nor to my letter that followed? You did not even let me know if you received those songs in the first place (*Lep Ivo, Dremala, spavala, Serenada, Makedonac, Zora zori, Soko, Mladost*), so I am worried, though I sent the letter by registered mail.

Manojlović ends the letter assuring Milojević of his friendship and loyalty, adding short details of his latest compositions, the Minuet and Scherzo from his String Quintet and the fugue *Pastir* [*The Shepherd*] for soprano, contralto, and piano. Upon returning to Belgrade later that year, Manojlović accepted the post of Conductor of the Belgrade Choral Society, which did not seem to hinder the two composers' continued close collaboration.

Conclusion

This paper surveys Oxford University records for information on Manojlović's studies. It complements the scarce data available with Manojlović's letters to Miloje Milojević, Manojlović's teacher at the Serbian Music School in Belgrade. The letters clearly reveal their professor-student relationship at that time, with Manojlović still sending his works for Milojević's approval.

The World War I context in general, and the idea of South-Slav unity in particular, dominated Manojlović's years at Oxford. This affected the sombre mood of Manojlović's letters to Milojević and shaped his compositional and conducting activity. Manojlović focused on the folk tradition and collaborated with eminent advocates of the idea of South Slav unity at that time, namely Ivan Meštrović and Miloje Milojević, which resulted in publication of the *Jugoslovenske narodne pesme* collection.

Manojlović also gave small-scale lecture recitals with the folk song repertory, where he lectured, sang, and played. The exclusively female audience in these recitals reflects women's historically central role in 19th-century salon culture and song repertory. However, it also calls for further

exploration of the role of women as both audiences and performers in this extended version of salon culture deployed as a means of cultural activism accompanying the construction of national identity and creation of nation-states. Manojlović further promoted the Slavic repertory through his choir of male theology students at Oxford. Manojlović organized and conducted a number of well received performances with this choir, only having to stop when a large group of students graduated and left Oxford. This is a stark reminder of the role of performers as agents in creating musical discourse, calling for the performance, rather than music as work, to be explored in a nuanced historical analysis.

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ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Porodični fond Miloja Milojevića [Miloje Milojević Family Collection] (Belgrade, Serbia)

APPENDIX

SERBIAN RELIEF FUND

HISTORIC SLAV CONCERT

IN AID OF THE

Starving and Homeless Serbian Women and Children

CONDUCTORS:

Mr. THOMAS BEECHAM

Mr. ARTHUR FAGGE

M. EMIL MLYNARSKI

M. WASSILI SAFONOFF

THE LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

AND

THE LONDON CHORAL SOCIETY

SOLOISTS:

Mme. D'ALAVAREZ

Mme. LEA PERELLI

M. VLADIMIR ROSING

M. JULIAN BONELL

M. BENNO MOISEIVITCH

M. LEO STROKOFF

At the piano

M. MANLIO DI VEROLI.

Organist

Mr. C. H. HEMPLING.

RUSSIAN SACRED MUSIC

FIRST TIME IN ENGLAND

SERBIAN NATIONAL MUSIC

CHAPPELL GRAND PIANOFORTES.

ILLUSTRATION 1. The first page of the program notes for the concert organized in London in 1915 by the Serbian Relief Fund.

Section II.—POLISH.

1. (a) "Anielli" Symphonic Poem *L. Rozycki*
(b) Scherzo from D minor *S. Stojowsky*

THE LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA.

Conductor—EMIL MLYNARSKI.

2. (a) Etude, Op. 10, No. 3, in E major } *Chopin*
(b) Fantasia, Op. 49, in E minor }

BENNO MOISEVITCH.

3. Mazurka from Opera "Halka" *Monuszko*

THE LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA.

Conductor—EMIL MLYNARSKI.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.

Section III.—SERBIAN.

(First time in England)

(Arranged by Mr. HUBERT BATH.)

1. (a) Overture *Stanislaw Benitchki*
(b) Three Serbian Dances *National*

THE LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA.

Conductor—Mr. THOMAS BEECHAM.

2. Serbian Song ... "Solitude" ... *Miloye Milojevitch*

Mme. LEA PERELLI.

At the piano - HUBERT BATH.

It was in the autumn that my hero asked my hand from my father; in autumn I was received to this home. And in the autumn, alas! he left me and went to the army.

Rememberest thou, beloved one, those sweet days and our love? Oh, solitude; oh, wretched me! Shalt thou come home soon, sweet hero!

ILLUSTRATION 2. The fourth page of the program notes for the concert organized in London in 1915 by the Serbian Relief Fund.

12. Linton Rd

3. XII. 1917 r.

Oxford

Драги мај Милоје,

Ситудета књига бије о прозорста
окна а, на отишину дучара црвентас
влат. Тесева влада влати а кроз
дучу која би штепа да дучи нешто
где док то собне болуцате Марко са
Шарица срешу прозетим дучима. То
друдо краја "Српска" нештовно влега у
моје вола "у коме, се одредају сенте
Моје мајке" и "Сетана". Све је у овај мо-
"и" собним нештовно и штово вола

ILLUSTRATION 3. Kosta Manojlović's letter to Miloje Milojević, dated 3. 12. 1917.

Kosta P. Manojlović and Early Music: Echoes of the “Elizabethan Fever” in Serbia

PREDRAG ĐOKOVIĆ

Kosta P. Manojlović is widely regarded as having made an extraordinary contribution to the development of musical culture and improvement of musical education in the context of efforts to modernize Serbia and promote its cultural advancement. Most of his work was devoted to various aspects of national music, from melography, the practice of collecting and arranging traditional folk and church music and efforts to define a national musical style, to dealing with issues of performance practice and musical life in general. The only field that Kosta P. Manojlović seems to have been less active in is that of old, or early, European music. And yet, although he was not particularly interested in this type of music, his curiosity in this regard was greater than that of most of his contemporaries. This is only understandable when one considers that between 1917 and 1919 Manojlović studied in England, where Renaissance and Baroque music entered the musical mainstream after the Great War. Today, when early music is in the focus of many of European and American musicologists, the need seems to be justified to shed some light on early music in Serbia, although it was a rarity there, as well as on the work of an extraordinary individual such as Kosta Manojlović. As any significant documents regarding Manojlović's English years are lacking, one can only reconstruct the circumstances under which he was introduced to the repertoire of pre-Classical music. By contrast, archival information, particularly related to the musical life of Belgrade between the two World Wars, permit one to determine how Manojlović applied his English experience (with early music) in Serbia and to what extent it enriched his artistic and pedagogical views.

Amid English musical traditionalism

Twenty years before Kosta P. Manojlović's arrival in Oxford, at the very end of the 19th century, in English music there occurred a renaissance, led by composers Edward Elgar and Ralph Vaughan Williams, which was caused by the

desire to re-evaluate national culture. The search for a national music idiom in the context of the new works entailed breaking away from the English devotion to the romantic music academism of German provenance (led by Mendelssohn and Brahms). Instead, British composers turned to their own traditional music, and were especially inspired by so-called Golden Age of English music, the period from Dunstable to Purcell (WALKER 1907: 313). The nation's return to its own early music begun in 1895, the year that marked the bicentenary of the death of Henry Purcell, England's greatest composer. For this occasion, students of the Royal College of Music in London staged his opera *Dido and Aeneas*, in addition to many concerts of his music (HASKELL 1996: 36). Early vocal music was performed particularly widely after the first critical editions of medieval and Renaissance music appeared, such as *English Madrigal School* (Stainer & Bell Ltd., 1913), *The Old English Edition* (J. Williams, 1889), or *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1899). Thus, the English madrigal tradition came to life again, which received additional impetus by the tercentenary of William Shakespeare's death in 1916. At the time, early music in Britain was successfully promoted by the several noted individuals. The most significant was Arnold Dolmetch, a musician who performed throughout England with his family and students on period instruments he made himself. One of the concerts he played in 1916 was in aid of the Serbian Hospital (DOLMETSCH 1957: 121). After the First World War, "Elizabethan fever" was at its peak, with a national competitive choral festival founded in honor of William Byrd in 1923. In the years to follow, hundreds of amateur and professional choirs would take part in this festival (ROCHE 1983). The music of Johann Sebastian Bach also became a part of the standard concert repertoire of many English choirs, as evidenced by the establishment of Bach's choral societies.¹

This is only a part of English musical life in which Kosta Manojlović found himself.² He became a member of the Oxford Bach Choir, probably upon invitation by its choirmaster Hugh Allen, who also taught Manojlović at New College (MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1990: 46). It is uncertain what kind of impact early European music might have had on Manojlović, who was primarily dedicated to his study of Serbian music. However, since he encountered a setting that nourished traditions of old music, especially religious music, Manojlović, who had studied theology and was himself a traditionalist, could

1 Conversely, Handel's music was continuously present in England. His oratorios in particular never ceased to be an integral part of English musical life.

2 However, the splendor had gone by the time Manojlović arrived in England. The country could not escape a number of serious effects of the World War, particularly on its social and artistic life, due to "the actual mourning over death and disaster or the general feeling for the distress of the nation." Concurrently, "the war may have helped towards a fuller appreciation of pure choralism." (ANTCLIFFE 1920: 344, 346).

recognize the importance of English musical traditionalism, which not only favoured early music, but was also an inspiration for a new generation of the British composers. Was Kosta Manojlović himself not a prototype of such a musician, in the context of Serbian music? If we take into account his knowledge and arrangements of Serbian church music, as well as of traditional songs, one can say he was.

Professor Percy Hugh Allen, organist of New College, Oxford, and a generally accepted authority on music, was a prime source of information on Manojlović's pre-Classical repertoire.³ Deep affection for Bach was the main characteristic of Allen's involvement with music, though it did not prevent him from performing works from every epoch, and of widely different character, with enjoyment (ARMSTRONG 1946: 75). Allen "was the influence, unnoticed that guided musical thought in England as well as musical activity." (WOOD 1950: 294). Upon Allen's death, Thomas Armstrong stated he had had "a wide and detailed general knowledge of music, with unique and specialized insight into Bach, and pre-Bach era, coupled with immense experience in the actual handling of music itself [...]" (ARMSTRONG 1946: 74). As a member of the Oxford Bach Choir, Manojlović could witness first-hand Allen's competence and mastery. Since this choir, according to the English choral tradition, regularly performed major Baroque oratorios, particularly for Christmas and Easter, in their residence at the Sheldonian, it is most likely that during his stay in Oxford Manojlović participated in performances of works such as Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* and *Passions*, or Handel's *Messiah*. One of those performances took place on December 2nd, 1917, several months upon his arrival to Oxford (ANONYMOUS 1918: 39). There is no doubt that Manojlović, at least occasionally, must have attended lavish Anglican vespers in the New College chapel, if for no other reason than to listen to Hugh Allen as organist.⁴ Allen worked on an intimate scale, yet the New College Carols "have affected in the course of time an enormous public." (ARMSTRONG 1946: 73). As an organist, Allen was familiar with modern playing technique, as well as some principles of so-called historical performance, alluding to the playing techniques from the era of Frescobaldi and Bach (WOOD 1950: 291). The fact

3 Pre-Classical music, particularly works by J. S. Bach, was a part of Manojlović's education at the Hochschule für Musik [Music Academy] in Munich. In 1913–1914 he attended Professor Friedrich Klosé's lessons on double counterpoint and fugue. Klosé advised the young Serbian to play as much Bach as possible. Manojlović concurrently attended lessons on interpretation of Bach's music given by University Professor Eugen Schmitz (MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1990: 38).

4 One might assume that, despite being in the heart of an Anglican country, Manojlović primarily attended Orthodox Church services. It is known that he founded and conducted a choir comprised of Serbian theology students at Oxford University. This choir not only gave concerts, but also participated in church services at Oxford and elsewhere (MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1990: 43).

that Manojlović dedicated the score of his final BMus exercise, a setting of Psalm 137, *Na rjekah vavilonskih* [*By the Waters of Babylon*], to Hugh Allen and the Oxford Bach Choir, speaks volumes about how much Manojlović valued and understood the authority of his professor.

Humble but important innovations at home

After returning to Belgrade, Manojlović witnessed a gradual modernization of musical life in the city, with increasing interest in pre-Classical music. This forceful transformation entailed a sharp departure from well-known pathetic, national-romantic repertoire on the one hand, and assimilation of modern European tendencies, coupled with an increase in performing standards, on the other (PEJHOVIĆ 2004: 9). There is no doubt that this musical revolution in the capital of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later to become the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was carried out by Serbian musicians educated at various conservatories throughout Europe, as well as by a number of foreign musicians who either visited Belgrade or settled there.

Most of these musicians were familiar with and followed the revival of early music in Europe and the “back to Bach” slogan (JOVANOVIĆ 1994: 97). The leading esthete of the day, the scholar Pavle Stefanović, wrote about early music as a modern movement in music of that time and pointed out the difficulties in style and interpretation which Serbian musicians met with while performing Baroque music (SIMIĆ-MITROVIĆ 1988: 258). Interwar Belgrade heard for the first time some masterpieces by Johann Sebastian Bach, as well as by his sons, Scarlatti, Vivaldi, Händel, Palestrina and other old masters. It was not realistic to expect Serbian musicians to be specialists in interpretation of early music as only a few European musicians of that time were – Wanda Landowska, Arnold Dolmetsch or Günther Ramin, harpsichordist who played in Belgrade (ĐOKOVIĆ 2016: 120). They were, above all, deeply engaged in searching for a specific Serbian, or Yugoslav, national musical style, and, by performing various repertoires, including early music, they endeavored to educate the capital’s audience and enhance the quality of its musical life in general.

However, three great names of the Serbian musical scene stand out for their achievements in presenting not only famous pieces by the old masters, but also their lesser-known works. Miloje Milojević led Univerzitetско kamerno-muzičko društvo *Collegium Musicum* [University Chamber Musical Society *Collegium Musicum*], who performed many pre-Classical works for the first time (TURLAKOV 1986: 230). The pianist Emil Hajek played Bach’s *Well-Tempered Clavier* live on Radio Belgrade, and his radio program on interpretation of the Baroque repertoire, and particularly on Wanda Landowska’s style, was heard by a wide

audience (JOVANOVIĆ 1994: 109). It was Kosta P. Manojlović who first performed madrigals in Serbia and brought other English experiences with early music to the country. Furthermore, it seems that English “music archaeology” inspired Manojlović to search for Serbian medieval chant manuscripts.

Manojlović’s important initiatives in this field were developing in several directions: interpretations, written works, lectures and, the least known of all, promotion of period instruments. Manojlović prepared or conducted only a few concerts of Renaissance and Baroque vocal music by the two choirs which he led at different times, the Beogradsko pevačko društvo [Belgrade Choral Society]⁵ and the Pevačko društvo “Mokranjac” [Mokranjac Choral Society].

The first such concert, in 1925, featured the performance of no less formidable a work than Palestrina’s *Missa Papae Marcelli*. This choice can probably be traced back to Manojlović’s experiences under his beloved teacher Stevan Mokranjac, who had studied with A. Parisotti in Rome and mastered the vocal counterpoint employed by Palestrina and other renaissance composers (as borne out by Mokranjac’s own compositions). Interestingly, Manojlović entrusted the conducting of this mass to Lovro Matačić, probably because Manojlović was aware that Matačić was far more experienced in conducting Roman Catholic church music. While the newspaper *Politika* reported “the performance of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* was a great date of this concert season” (V. N. 1925: 4), Jovan Zorko praised the singers’ diction which marked the end of the old singing tradition (ZORKO 1925: 385).

If the concert of Palestrina’s music was perhaps related to Mokranjac, the First Belgrade Choral Society’s concert of English madrigals in 1927 was the fruit of Manojlović’s original artistic idea, undoubtedly and directly inspired by his English years. The works of William Byrd, John Bull, George Woodward, Charles Wood, Robert Whyte, John Wilbye, Thomas Weelkes, Thomas Morley, Henry Palmer, and Henry Purcell were sung.⁶ It was a critically acclaimed concert about which even Milojević himself said that it possessed “certain stylistic objectivity in interpretation” (MILOJEVIĆ 1927: 215). The author of the article in *Politika* reported that “the choirmaster has approached the study of the madrigals with love and knowledge, and undoubtedly achieved a great success with his choir.” (V. N. 1927: 7). Following the custom of the day, before the concert of English madrigals Manojlović arranged a brief retrospective of English early music presented not by himself, but by the British Envoy in Belgrade, Howard Kennard, whose presentation

5 Renamed as the Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo [First Belgrade Choral Society] in 1923.

6 The name Galcot was also among these names. The composer in question is most likely John Wall Callcott (1766–1821), a well-known composer of glees and catches, as there is no evidence of a composer by the name Galcot. (WALKER 1907: 234).

in Serbian was published in its entirety in the Belgrade press (ANONYMOUS 1927: 7). The same program was sung two years later at an exhibition of British modern art (MILOJEVIĆ 1929: 10).



ILLUSTRATION 1. Program of the old English music performed at the opening of the modern British art exhibition in 1929

Kosta Manojlović conducted only one major vocal and instrumental work by Bach, the *Christmas Oratorio*, which he performed in 1937 with the Mokranjac Choral Society, Radio Belgrade's orchestra, and a number of well-known soloists. The concert was broadcast by Radio Belgrade, but no review of the performance seems ever to have been published. However, the interpretation of Bach's famous oratorio was peculiar in that Manojlović's choir sung it not in the original German, but in a Serbian translation. Singing Bach's pieces in English, for example, was common practice in England in the first half of the 20th century and even later, although the modern approach of historically informed performance has almost completely abandoned this practice. The English custom, again, might have influenced Manojlović's work. Translation of the *Christmas Oratorio* from German into Serbian for the Belgrade premiere was entrusted to Stanislav Binički, presumably because he had studied music in Germany.⁷

Even more unusual by today's standards, some Roman Catholic motets were translated into Church Slavonic for performance. Such is Palestrina's motet *Exaudi Domine preces servi tui* (translated as *Услиши Госѡогу раби ѿвоја*), which Manojlović performed with the Mokranjac Choral Society (PEJOVIĆ 2004: 211). Although Church Slavonic, the old liturgical language of the Orthodox Church, could not be readily understood by the audience, translation was supposed to improve comprehension of the motet's text. However, translating non-Orthodox sacred music to modern Serbian was out of the question, as the Serbian Orthodox Church did not use the vernacular in its church services until the 1980s. By using translations, particularly for religious music, Manojlović evidently wanted to draw the audience's attention to the spiritual message conveyed by the music.

Reception of English music

Although he held no more concerts solely of early music, Kosta P. Manojlović did add the odd English madrigal or motet to concerts with a mixed repertoire. With the First Belgrade Choral Society he performed English Christmas carols in a very interesting thematic concert at Christmas 1929. Along with the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Bulgarian traditional and more recent Christmas songs, his choir sang English carols by Wood, Palmer, and Woodward, which Manojlović might have heard played under Hugh Allen in the New College chapel (ĐAKOVIĆ 2004: 89).

Could this important Serbian musician might have held more concerts with early and traditional English music on the repertoire? Even though pre-

7 See an announcement for the concert in *Politika* of 30th March 1937, p. 18.

Classical music was not the primary focus of Manojlović's oeuvre, there is evidence corroborating the claim that neither amateur nor professional musicians were particularly inclined to play early music, and certainly not English music, early or otherwise. This is only understandable given that the majority of Serbian and Yugoslav musicians between the wars were educated in Central European countries where French and, particularly, German music were dominant. In a similar vein, Kennard, the British Envoy, stated in his lecture that "English music, unfortunately, is little known here". A possible explanation was offered a few years later by Milenko Živković in his review of the concert of an excellent English duo that performed in Belgrade in 1937 with support from the British Foreign Office. Praising their musicality and technique, he almost anticipated the reaction of the audience in claiming that "this moderate English temper cannot move us Southerners much" (ŽIVKOVIĆ 1937a: 2). Branko Dragutinović thought the problem lay with deep-set stereotypes. In his review of a very successful concert of English early music by students of Muzička škola "Stanković" [Stanković Music School], he claimed that "the concert of English 17th and 18th century music again refuted a deep-rooted belief popular not only here, but in general, that the English nation was not musical" (DRAGUTINOVIĆ 1934: 12). Noting that the music in question was brilliant, regardless of who might oppose it (seemingly it was Miloje Milojević, an untouchable judge, that he had in his sights), Dragutinović added: "the beauty of English 16th and 17th century madrigals and the value of Henry Purcell's musical drama are known only to a narrow circle of experts" (1934: 12).

There is no doubt that Kosta Manojlović spoke in favor of English music. It is likely that, while serving as General Secretary of the Južnoslovenski pevački savez [South-Slav Choral Union] from 1924 to 1932, he himself facilitated concerts by English choirs in Yugoslavia. After being invited by the Society, a choir formed of singers from a number of English choirs performed in Zagreb and Belgrade in 1930, where they were joined by local choirs. Audiences from both cities had the rare opportunity of hearing English madrigals sung by English singers (DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1930: 4).

Issues with performances of early music in Serbia at the time of Kosta P. Manojlović may or may not be related to these stereotypes. For example, the relatively small number of performances of oratorios, passions, or great masses may have been caused by the inadequacy of the performing forces available. Productions of major Baroque vocal and instrumental pieces demand a large performing apparatus, and assembling one must have been a daunting task in interwar Serbia. On the other hand, one should not exclude the possibility that foreign sacred music was not readily accepted by Serbian audiences due to its unfamiliar, non-Orthodox heritage (TOMAŠEVIĆ 2009: 105).

Kosta P. Manojlović's major written work on early English music is his article "Istoriski pogled na muziku u Engleskoj" ["Historical overview of English music"], written in 1931.⁸ In this important study, the author examines the details of the so-called "Golden Age" of English history and music in the time of Queen Elizabeth I and her successors. Manojlović attributes the rise of the new musical style in England in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which he had to some extent witnessed himself, to the revival and popularization of early English music that Parry, Stanford, Elgar, Holst, Williams, and others reinterpreted in their music. According to Manojlović, the case of John Ireland is a paradigm of the whole generation, since "the 16th century was an integral part of his soul" (MANOJLOVIĆ 1931: 77). In his study, Manojlović does not give his personal views on music in England, apart from madrigals, of which he says that "the artistry of the English madrigal delights us even today." Introducing, as he puts it, the hidden musical abilities of the English people to the Serbian and Yugoslav reader, Kosta Manojlović seemingly summarizes his impressions about his own English years saying that "making music is nowhere so widely spread, and in such a way, as it is in England." The editor of the *Muzički glasnik* [*Musical Gazette*] printed the essay as a separate booklet, praising it and claiming its value would be even greater if it made its readers change their "ingrained opinion about the English race not being musical". In 1940, Kosta Manojlović published two essays, "Počeci muzike u Engleskoj" ["The beginnings of music in England"],⁹ and "Renesans engleske muzike" ["The renaissance of English music"],¹⁰ both of which were based on material from his 1931 essay.

Keeping pace with Europe

Kosta Manojlović belonged to the generation of Serbian musicians who shared their knowledge through lectures. He stood out in a subject that no other Serbian musician explored: period instruments. He could have learned about leading instrument-makers, workshops, and the revival of old instruments in general from foreign magazines he subscribed to, such as the English *The Musical Times* and French *Revue musicale* (ĐAKOVIĆ 2004: 24).

8 Manojlović based this essay on "A History of Music in England" by Dr. Ernest Walker (1870–1949) who, according to Stana Đurić-Klajn, was Manojlović's professor at Oxford (ĐURIĆ-KLAJN 1971: 128). He was a composer and pianist, and for many years an examiner and member of the Board of Studies for music. "Walker's life was spent almost entirely in Oxford, and to Oxford music he devoted himself with a never-flagging zeal" (DENEKE 1951: 1).

9 *Britanija*, 1940, br. 2, 24–26.

10 *Danica*, 1940, br. 4, 19–20.

As a part of the tenth Musical Lesson at the Kolarčev narodni univerzitet [Kolarac People's University], Manojlović held a lecture about old masters and period instruments (DRAGUTINOVIĆ 1937: 7):

Prof. Kosta Manojlović pointed out the Asian origin of string instruments; he mentioned their various forms as used by the Egyptians, Assyrians and Babylonians, Jews, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Arabs, Greeks, Celts, Scandinavians, and Romans, and their transformations in the South of Europe. He explained the group of viol instruments, in particular *viola d'amore* and *viola da gamba*, and presented the development of the harpsichord and other keyboard instruments that preceded the modern piano. Finally, he briefly introduced the composers (Couperin, Ariosti, Buxtehude, Purcell, Handel, and Bach) whose pieces were played at last evening's music lesson.

It was customary to illustrate these lectures with musical examples. In this case, the music was provided by the Leipzig Trio, a leading German early music ensemble with an international reputation, which promoted new playing standards within the growing early music movement in Europe. This was the first concert played on copies of historical instruments in Belgrade (*viola d'amore*, *viola da gamba*, and harpsichord), and Manojlović obviously played a significant role in organizing it. According to Branko Dragutinović and Milenko Živković, the concert met with an enthusiastic reception. Manojlović's lecture on the history of keyboard instruments, particularly those heard at the concert, was seen as reflecting his status of an expert ("with the necessary knowledge of the subject", ŽIVKOVIĆ 1937b: 7). Branko Dragutinović simply said that the Leipzig Trio played with "unreachable stylistic perfection." (1937: 7). Listening to the harpsichordist Günther Ramin¹¹ sent Živković into such transports of delight that he kept repeating to himself, "That is the real Bach!". He proclaimed Ramin's interpretation of Handel's *Chaconne* and Bach's *Chromatic fantasy and fugue* as one of the most important music events Belgrade had ever seen (ŽIVKOVIĆ 1937b: 7).

There is no information about what Manojlović himself thought of the Leipzig Trio's performance. However, only two years after this concert (in 1939), Manojlović, by then Chancellor of the newly established Muzička akademija [Music Academy] in Belgrade, purchased a number of musical

11 Günther Ramin was a favorite student of the famous Leipzig *Thomaskantor* Karl Straube, who, from 1933 to 1945, presented many examples of masterly musicianship. He did this at the organ, on the harpsichord, and, after his appointment in late 1939 as *Thomaskantor*, the most important church musician post in all of Germany, as director of the *Thomanerchor* and Baroque orchestras (KATER 1997: 175).

instruments for this school – and among them was a harpsichord (MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1990: 79). We can thus infer that the performance of the German ensemble and their harpsichordist Ramin was more than influential.¹² This double-manual harpsichord with seven pedals, made by Pleyel of Paris (the same as Wanda Landowska’s favorite instrument), was used by the pianist and harpsichordist Professor Emil Hajek not only in concerts, but also for teaching purposes. This eventually led to the creation of a harpsichord study course for pianists, and, later, to the creation of the Department of Harpsichord at the Music Academy. His purchase of the harpsichord clearly shows that Kosta Manojlović was well aware of the growing importance of early music and the “back to Bach” movement in Europe, as well as of the revival of period instruments.



ILLUSTRATION 2.
Pleyel’s harpsichord
of the Belgrade
Music Academy,
from Mario
Bjelanović’s private
archive.

12 Before purchasing the harpsichord, Kosta P. Manojlović exchanged several letters with the Pleyel workshop. The intermediary in this transaction was Milan Marković, Head of the Office for Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Paris (Arhiv Srbije [Archives of Serbia], State Music Academy with Secondary Music School, AS-G-210, folder number 2).

Although few in number, Kosta P. Manojlović's initiatives in the field of early music had a significant impact on the musical life in Serbia between the World Wars, and should be valued in the light of musical education in general. Thanks to Manojlović's early vocal music concerts, Serbia and Belgrade heard distant echoes of the "Elizabethan fever" which was gathering momentum during his stay in England. For Kosta Manojlović, performing this music in Serbia was not an easy task – as it has remained to this day – but he was aware that knowledge about the rich repertoire of European pre-Classical period was a prerequisite for gaining a thorough and wide musical education. Kosta P. Manojlović appeared to be a modern musician of his time, and one who incorporated both old and new, both national and foreign, into his creative work, and thus fulfilled the words of his contemporary Miloje Milojević that "our own musical culture can only be improved through interaction with other diverse types of music." (MILOJEVIĆ 1929: 10).

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The Writings of Kosta Manojlović in the Magazines *Muzika* [Music] (1928–1929) and *Glasnik Muzičkog društva “Stanković”/ Muzički glasnik* [Gazette of the Stanković Music Society/ Musical Gazette] (1928–1941)*

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The work of Kosta P. Manojlović (1890–1949), one of the most outstanding Serbian musicians of the interwar period, is extremely versatile. He made a great contribution to Serbian music in many capacities: as a composer (predominantly of choral music), conductor, ethnomusicologist, music historian, music critic, teacher, and organizer of musical life. However, despite its versatility and high quality, his work has rarely been in the focus of Serbian musicology. The most important publication to date is certainly the synthetic and concise essay on Kosta Manojlović as a composer, written by Vlastimir Peričić in his classic 1969 volume *Muzički stvaraoci u Srbiji* [Composers in Serbia]. On the 100th anniversary of his birth, and the fortieth of his death the Katedra za istoriju muzike i muzički folklor [Department for Music History and Music Folklore] of the Belgrade Fakultet muzičke umetnosti [Faculty of Music] published a collection of works *U spomen Koste P. Manojlovića, kompozitora i etnomuzikologa* [Kosta P. Manojlović, composer and ethnomusicologist. In memoriam] (PERIČIĆ ed. 1990). The mere fact that four of the six essays in this volume were written by students of musicology and ethnomusicology reflects the unsatisfactory state of research on Kosta Manojlović's work in Serbian musical historiography. This volume contains writings on Manojlović's work as music critic and music essayist, collector of folk songs and ethnomusicologist, composer of choral and, especially, sacred music, as well as a survey of his life and work. By publishing this volume, the Belgrade Faculty of Music paid an homage to its founder – for it was precisely Kosta Manojlović who had played a decisive role in the founding of the Belgrade Muzička akademija [Academy of Music] in 1937. The volume also, though not sufficiently, makes up for the lack of a monograph on Kosta P. Manojlović in Serbian musicology.

* This paper is part of research done on the project *Serbian Musical Identities Within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (No. 177004), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

Recent musicological research on Serbian interwar music culture has, however, paid attention to the work of Kosta Manojlović. He was the subject of two dissertations by Jelena Milojković Đurić and Katarina Tomašević (MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1984; TOMAŠEVIĆ 2009).¹ Several publications have been written on the music writings of Kosta Manojlović. The starting point for the research of this genre of his work is the 13th volume of *Bibliografija rasprava i članaka* [*Bibliography of Treatises and Essays*], published by the Miroslav Krleža Yugoslav Institute for Lexicography in Zagreb, which contains a selective list of Kosta Manojlović's publications in periodicals (KUNTARIĆ 1984: 480–483). The research of Roksanda Pejović, published in the aforementioned volume issued by the Belgrade Faculty of Music in 1990, has brought to light new data in addition to this selective list of his publications (PEJOVIĆ 1990: 138–142).

The same volume contains a detailed study of Manojlović as a music writer by Roksanda Pejović; she has laid out the fundamental characteristics of his music writings and evaluated his contribution to Serbian music literature (PEJOVIĆ 1990: 101–142). R. Pejović also wrote about Manojlović in *Muzička kritika i esejistika u Beogradu između dva svetska rata (1919–1941)* [*Music Criticism and Essay Writing in Interwar Belgrade (1919–1941)*] with some changes and additions to her previous essay from 1990 (PEJOVIĆ 1999: 119–140).

The author of this article has also recently written about Manojlović, focusing mostly on Manojlović's writings in *Srpski književni glasnik* [*Serbian Literary Magazine*] (1901–1914, 1920–1941), one of the most important Serbian literary and music periodicals, as well as his contribution to music writing in all Serbian interwar music periodicals.²

The music writings of Kosta P. Manojlović are not numerous. However, additional research is necessary to complete the list of his texts, while a meticulous analysis of his writings must be made to gain a detailed insight into his work. Neither the complete nor selected works of Kosta Manojlović (or, for that matter, of any other Serbian music writer, except Vojislav Vučković and Stanislav Vinaver) have been published to date.³ This renders research into Manojlović's work even more difficult, but also helps us define future lines of study. The lack of published sources not only hinders interpretation and evaluation, but often makes it completely impossible.

There were altogether seven music periodicals published in Belgrade between the world wars, namely *Muzički glasnik* [*Musical Gazette*] (1922),

1 Jelena Milojković-Đurić has also authored other articles on Manojlović (see the list of publications below).

2 For the titles of these articles see the list of publications below.

3 For data on various editions of complete works of Vučković and Vinaver, see the list of publications below.

Muzika [Music] (1928–1929), *Glasnik Muzičkog društva “Stanković”* [Gazette of the Stanković Music Society], (1928–1934, 1938–1941), renamed *Muzički glasnik* [Musical Gazette] in January 1931; *Zvuk* [Sound], (1932–1936), *Vesnik Južnoslovenskog pevačkog saveza* [Herald of the South-Slav Choral Union] (1935, 1936, and 1938), *Slavenska muzika* [Slav Music] (1939–1941), and *Revija muzike* [Music Review] (1940). Kosta Manojlović published in four of these periodicals (he never published in *Vesnik*, *Slavenska muzika*, and *Revija muzike*). He also served on *Musical Gazette*’s editorial board in 1922, and on that of *Music* in 1928. This paper focuses on his writings published in *Music* and in *Gazette of the Stanković Music Society*/*Musical Gazette*.

In these two periodicals Manojlović published altogether twenty articles (some of them as co-author). Eleven of them were published in *Gazette* and nine of them in *Music*.⁴ All these articles together are representative of Manojlović’s music writing in general terms: they include historical studies, essays, and music reviews, and also reflect his expertise in ethnomusicology, music history, sacred music, essay writing, music criticism, and involvement with the Južnoslovenski pevački savez [South-Slav Choral Union].⁵

The subject of the first of his articles to be published in *Muzika* magazine is ethnomusicological: it is titled “Gusle i guslari” [“The *gusle* and *gusle* players] (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928a). It is a review of the *gusle* players’ competition held in Belgrade, organized by Srpsko kolo [Serbian Kolo] of Alipašin Most, a village near Sarajevo. Here Manojlović praises the qualities of the winner (the Montenegrin Tanasije Vučić). However, he also reflects, though briefly, on the art of playing the *gusle* (phrasing, range of melody, interval structure, problems of monotony and contrast, and especially the relationship between lyrics and melody). He particularly suggests *gusle* players should emphasize the lyrics in order to achieve the high quality displayed by Vučić. This is a short, two-page review. It is nevertheless important for ethnomusicologists, especially in view of the methodology of music writing typical of Manojlović. He was inclined towards neither detailed descriptions nor meticulous presentation. However, this does not prevent us from clearly understanding the subject matter. Discreetly and in few words, Manojlović explains the essence of the art of *gusle* playing to readers of *Music* magazine. His writings in general display moderation, conciseness, and a focus on the essence.

This is the only article concerning the problems of musical folklore Manojlović ever published in *Music* or *Gazette of the Stanković Music Society*/*Musical Gazette*. However, he often wrote reviews of various editions of music

4 These also include his contribution to the survey on the national style in music (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928h). One of the articles in *Music* is signed with an initial “K” (and was presumably authored by Kosta Manojlović).

5 Manojlović’s writings on the South-Slav Choral Union were analyzed in VASIĆ 2014: 160–161.

folklore and compositions inspired by folk music. He reviewed a collection of Bosnian songs edited in 1927 by Ludvík Kuba in Prague (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928c), compositions by Jakov Gotovac (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928f), and the *Pjesmarica* [*Songbook*] by Anton Dobronić (a 1922 collection of Yugoslav folk songs for elementary schools) (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928g). All these critical reviews reflect his expertise in ethnomusicology, but also his capacity of a composer inspired by folklore heritage.

Although Manojlović was actively involved in composing and writing about sacred music, he published only one article on this subject, a review of *Osmoglasnik* [*Octoechos*] by Božidar Joksimović (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928i). Here he reproaches the Serbian Church for using oral methods for teaching traditional chant instead of benefiting from modern achievements in musicology. He calls for a codification of Serbian chant and praises the *Octoechos* by Stevan Mokranjac as the worthiest contribution to that end. Manojlović saw Joksimović's *Octoechos*, however, as an individual effort in recording Serbian sacred music that served no greater purpose.

Like many of his contemporaries, Manojlović was also a Slavophile. Therefore, he often chose to write critical reviews of events involving the music of Slavic nations. *Music* magazine his reviews of the Belgrade premieres of Leoš Janáček's opera *Jenufa* and Dvořák's *Rusalka*.⁶ Manojlović stated that the Belgrade opera house presented "an opera by a Slavic musical genius which is so rarely performed in this house", and even so only by chance instead of this being the fruit of careful repertoire planning (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928j: 299).⁷ He further analyzes Dvořák's composing technique and at the same time finds fault with his style of dramatization.⁸

Hyperbole was rarely characteristic of the style and manner of Manojlović's writing. However, he used it in his critical reviews of the Slavic repertoire of Belgrade's concert halls. On March 9th, 1928, the Belgrade Piano Quartet played the Piano Quartet in E by Sergei Taneyev. Manojlović wrote: "The last movement of this quartet displays the grandeur of celestial dimensions, a satanic and volcanic power. The public could but rarely feel the ultimate and monumental power of this piece interpreted by such a small ensemble." (MANOJLOVIĆ 1928e: 108).

Belgrade opera singer Bahrija Nuri Hadžić wrote in her memoirs about Kosta Manojlović, among other Belgrade music critics of the time. She wrote that they were all high quality experts, very demanding but also very

6 See MANOJLOVIĆ 1928d, 1928j.

7 This work by Dvořák was premiered on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic.

8 On the Slavophilism of Serbian music writers see VASIĆ 2014b.

enthusiastic: "...when they liked something, they were able to display great enthusiasm. They were very emotional critics." (JEVTIĆ 2011: 197). Evidently, Manojlović's review of the performance of Taneyev's work was one such moment, when his excitement got the better of him. In expressing his delight with Taneyev's music in such strong terms, he obviously overestimated its qualities.

But, for the moment, let us return to Manojlović as an essayist. Two of his essays are especially interesting: one on European, and the other on the Yugoslav music.

The November 1928 issue of *Music* was dedicated to Franz Schubert. For that occasion, an essay on Schubert by Robert Pitrou was translated and published, as well as a comparative analysis of Beethoven and Schubert by Paul Landormy. Miloje Milojević also published an extensive essay on Schubert as a *lied* composer, while Kosta Manojlović published, in the same issue, a five-page essay containing a short biography of Schubert, and an analysis of his most important features as composer and a pianist. Manojlović analyzed Schubert's sonata form and aspects of harmonization and melody in his compositions, evaluating the genres he most commonly employed. In this concise and instructive article, Manojlović however ascribed too little value to Schubert's qualities as a composer ("As a composer of instrumental music he is not insignificant"). That certainly is an understatement. However, in the same article Manojlović is full of praise for Schubert's achievements in music.⁹

Josip Štolcer Slavenski is the only Yugoslav composer to be analyzed by Manojlović in the *Gazette of the Stanković Music Society* (in the October 1930 issue) (MANOJLOVIĆ 1930c). In this brief essay Manojlović highly praises the talent, professional career, and success of Slavenski. After a brief review of the composer's biography, he further dwells on his choice of harmonization and musical forms in his most important compositions. At the very end of the essay Manojlović turns the reader's attention to a case involving Slavenski. At the time this essay was written, Slavenski had passed his examination and obtained a license to teach music. However, due to a lack of formal qualifications, he was not promoted to a higher post in the hierarchy of state teachers. Manojlović pleaded for bureaucratic criteria to be disregarded in favor of true artistic achievement.

It is also common knowledge that Slavenski was not liked by some of his colleagues, especially Miloje Milojević, and, to a certain extent, by Mihailo Vukdragović as well.¹⁰ Manojlović, however, held him in a very high esteem.

9 See MANOJLOVIĆ 1928k: 313. This article by Manojlović was analyzed in VASIĆ 2011: 211.

10 See VASIĆ 2005a: 295–298; VUKDRAGOVIĆ 1936: 28.

In the above essay, he praises Slavenski as the only Yugoslav composer who had an international career, was recognized internationally as a great composer, and whose works had been published abroad. Here we see Manojlović not only as an artist and a writer, but also as a person of high human qualities who truly rejoiced in his colleague's talent and success that surpassed his own.

Serbian musicologists have devoted due attention to the contribution Kosta Manojlović made to Serbian music writing in its early phase.¹¹ He blazed a trail for Stana Djurić Klajn, author of the first history of Serbian music, and for all generations of Serbian musicologists to come. In 1938, in three consecutive issues, *Musical Gazette* published his essay on Stevan Mokranjac as a student of music at Munich University, which was based on archival research (MANOJLOVIĆ 1938a, b, c). In the same magazine, he had seven years previously published one of his most voluminous writings, "Istoriski pogled na muziku u Engleskoj" ["Historical overview of English music"], which reflects his qualities of a music historian (MANOJLOVIĆ 1931). In this 22-page essay he gave a survey of the history of music in Great Britain from the earliest times to Gustav Holst, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Cyril Scott, including the main characteristics of English folk music. Serbian music periodicals had initially shown interest in this subject two years before, when the February 1929 issue of *Music* was dedicated to English music. However, there is no article in that issue that can stand comparison to Manojlović's essay, either in volume or in the quantity of information presented. Kosta P. Manojlović obviously did not base this work on research: at the end of his article he enclosed a list of publications. However, on this occasion he did not make a reference to musicology in Great Britain, whereas *Music* often published articles referring to musicology in other countries (in its special editions on Czechoslovak and Polish music culture).¹²

The weak point of Kosta Manojlović's writing is probably his manner of expression. However, outstanding style was altogether rare in interwar Serbian music writing. One can rarely find the sophistication and eloquence of a Pavle Stefanović, or the wit and power of a Stanislav Vinaver that inspires the reader's imagination, or the clarity, discretion, and elegance of a Stana Đurić Klajn. Kosta Manojlović was always focused on his subject, but his style is not too elaborate. He did not strive for embellishment in his writings, in spite of the fact that a more elaborate style could have made his publications more impressive and more popular with the public. Delighted by listening to pieces or performances, he only occasionally gave way to his

11 See PEJOVIĆ 1990; VASIĆ 2012a.

12 These were the 7th and 8th issues of 1928.

emotions, and, in doing so, displayed his side of a music enthusiast, rather than of a music stylist.¹³

The above text presents only a small part of Kosta P. Manojlović's music writings. It is to be hoped that more professional musicologists will in the future dedicate their time to more detailed research of this worthy musician's writings.

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13 Roksanda Pejović has made very suggestive remarks on Manojlović's music writing style (PEJOVIĆ 1999: 121–122).

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Translated from Serbian by Dr. Ranka Gašić

From “Father Figure” to “Persona Non Grata”: The Dismissal of Kosta P. Manojlović from the Belgrade Muzička akademija [Music Academy]*

IVANA MEDIĆ

Although almost all texts in the present volume revolve around the ideas expressed and developed by Kosta P. Manojlović in the interwar period, it is worth analyzing how his efforts aimed at establishing the Belgrade Music Academy (which he accomplished in 1937) and contributing to a comprehensive professionalization of Serbian musical life took an ominous turn with the change of the official state ideology after the end of World War II. Manojlović’s cultural and social activism, and his role as the “father figure” of the Serbian music establishment, unfortunately meant that he would become a “persona non grata” in the changed political and ideological circumstances after the war. The man who was the founder and the first Chancellor of the Music Academy, an erudite professor of history of music, harmony, and Serbian church singing, was forced into retirement aged only 56, on November 25th, 1946.

The circumstances surrounding Manojlović’s premature retirement have not been fully told to date, so I will here provide a detailed account of the events surrounding his dismissal from the Academy. My research is based on archival material of the Belgrade Music Academy (the present-day Fakultet muzičke umetnosti [Faculty of Music]) and Muzikološki institut SANU [Institute of Musicology SASA], where Manojlović spent his final professional days. The main primary sources for this article were Manojlović’s typescripts with his handwritten annotations, preserved (although uncatalogued) at Muzikološki institut SANU. These include the typescript of Manojlović’s autobiography, titled *Prilozi za moju biografiju* [*Materials for my Biography*], which covered the years from his birth until the end of World War I, and then from World War II to 1948 (I will refer to this typescript in the present study as MANOJLOVIĆ 1948).¹

* This paper is part of research done on the project *Serbian Musical Identities Within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (No. 177004), funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

1 A copy of Manojlović’s autobiography kept at the Institute of Musicology SASA is presumably incomplete since there are no mentions of the interwar period (from 1918 to 1941).

The delicacy of Manojlović's dismissal from the Music Academy is attested to by the first lengthy study of his life and work, written by Jelena Milojković-Đurić and published in 1990 in a collection of papers dedicated to his memory edited by Vlastimir Peričić (MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1990: 7–100). In this extensive look at Manojlović's life and his versatile and multi-faceted professional activities, largely based on Manojlović's autobiography (indicating that Milojković-Đurić had access to material covering the interwar period), the author completely bypasses the issue of his dismissal from the Music Academy. Instead, she cuts directly from an account of Manojlović's activities during World War II to a brief mention of his retirement in 1946, and then swiftly moves on to describing his compositions completed in 1946 and 1947. Furthermore, no other papers from the 1990 collection refer to these events from Manojlović's biography; instead, their authors only focus on different aspects of his work (PERIČIĆ ET AL. 1990). One may conclude that, as late as 1990, it was still "too early" to write about the events that led to Manojlović's dismissal from the Academy he had founded.

On the other hand, I had access to archival material concerning the Music Academy of Belgrade until 1945, stored at the Arhiv Srbije [Archives of Serbia] (in its *Železnik Depot*),² as well as the entire documentation from the years 1946 to 1948 kept at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade (the former Music Academy).³ However, when I started examining and photographing the documents preserved at the Faculty of Music, I realized that almost all documents related to Kosta P. Manojlović's premature retirement were, unfortunately, missing. Someone presumably removed them from the folders at some point; one can only speculate that this was done to conceal how the entire fiasco unfolded. I did however photograph some other documents to illustrate this "cautionary tale", which is, therefore, primarily based on Manojlović's unpublished recollections.

* * *

After the liberation of Belgrade in late October 1944, the surviving staff of the Music Academy started gathering order to resume their activities. Manojlović began looking for his colleagues, and found the pianist Emil Hajek (1886–1974) and a few others in Belgrade, while the majority of professors were still away

2 I am grateful to Prof. Ivana Perković, Vice Dean for Scientific Work and International Collaboration at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, for her help in obtaining these documents.

3 I am grateful to Prof. Ljiljana Nestorovska, Dean of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, and Radmila Milinković, Head of the Library of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, for allowing me to access this archival material.

from the capital.⁴ Information on Manojlović's activities during the Nazi occupation is, unfortunately, scarce.⁵

As soon as everyone had returned to Belgrade and reconvened at the Music Academy, it became clear to Manojlović that professors and lecturers who were communists and had close ties to the new government would henceforth be making the key decisions. This group included Mihailo Vukdragović (1900–1967), Mihovil Logar (1902–1998), Stanojlo Rajičić (1910–2000), and others. The young Rajičić insisted that the professors should come up with the new statute of the Academy within 24 hours, which Manojlović argued was impossible.⁶

During the meetings devoted to the new organization of the school, Manojlović often found himself at odds with the new prevailing attitudes. Once he was warned by Emil Hajek: “Kosta, the times when your opinions were relevant are long gone; can’t you see that we live in a completely different time now” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1948: 134). When Mihovil Logar once remarked that they should consult Oskar Danon (1913–2009)⁷ about some important decisions to be made, Manojlović joked: “I cannot believe that Danon will be bossing us around about school matters”, to which Logar replied: “Be careful, Kosta, of what you are saying; you must not attack our leaders” (1948: 135).

Another important figure in the musical life of the time was Mihailo Vukdragović, who had been appointed Chief Musical Director of Radio Belgrade as early as 1937 (VESIĆ 2015: 21), but was now quickly climbing up the ranks of Serbia's new musical leadership, while also maintaining professorship at the Academy. Manojlović remarked in his autobiography that the composers gathered into the new communist clique would often fall silent when he entered the room, because they did not want to be overheard by him.

In March 1945, Petar Konjović (1883–1970), a highly esteemed senior professor and already a fellow of the Srpska akademija nauka [Serbian Academy of Sciences], was appointed Chancellor of the Academy, while Branko Dragutinović became his secretary. In terms of internal organization, the

4 Some professors were hiding in towns and villages throughout Serbia, while others remained in captivity; for example, Predrag Milošević was deported to a prisoner-of-war camp in Warburg and only released in 1945; cf. PERKOVIĆ 2017.

5 Manojlović's biographers usually omit the war years entirely, or only provide a few general remarks. Cf. PERIČIĆ 1969: 244–245; MILOJKOVIĆ-ĐURIĆ 1969: 568–577; MILOJKOVIĆ-DJURIĆ 1990: 7–100; PEJOVIĆ 1974: 525–526; SALAJ 2011: 841–842 etc. I did not have access to archival material related to Manojlović's wartime activities.

6 In spite of Manojlović's objections, a comprehensive reform of the entire system of music education in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was performed abruptly, in September 1945, and overseen by Rajičić and Logar. Cf. PERKOVIĆ 2017.

7 Danon was a former partisan fighter, only 31 at the time, who had been appointed Professor at the Academy and the Director of the Belgrade Opera.

Secondary Music School attached to the Academy was replaced by a Junior (Preparatory) Music School. The campaign against Manojlović started almost immediately: when the new appointments were read out at the faculty meeting, it was revealed that Manojlović had been relegated from full Professor to Senior Lecturer. Konjović immediately said that this had to have been a mistake, to which Manojlović ironically responded with: “If what the Chancellor has said is true, then alright; if not, then please take me to court and prosecute me.” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1948: 136). The next day Manojlović himself intervened with the Ministry of Education, and his former professorship was reinstated.⁸

Manojlović’s next conflict was with the actor and director Vjekoslav Afrić (1906–1980), when the Academy resumed its work in March 1945. Afrić, a devout communist and a partisan fighter, was appointed Senior Lecturer at the Drama Department. He would show up at work wearing his military uniform and insisted that the students’ political education should be more important than academic subjects. Manojlović strongly opposed his attitudes. Afrić orchestrated the removal of the entire Drama Department from the Music Academy⁹ and transferred it to the Narodno pozorište [National Theater], where it remained for several years – until the Pozorišna akademija [Academy of Theatrical Arts] was established in 1949.¹⁰

In his notes, Manojlović remarked that Petar Konjović neither had much power or influence as Chancellor of the Music Academy, nor bothered with it.

-
- 8 In his memoirs, Manojlović also recalled several confrontations with military personnel. For example, one day he caught two young soldiers rummaging through library materials at the Music Academy and warned them against taking anything without permission; this event was witnessed by Rajčić who, unlike Manojlović, did not admonish the soldiers (1948). Then, on his 54th birthday, on December 4th, 1944, Manojlović was stopped by a soldier in the Manjež Park who did not allow him to walk through the park to get to the Academy, but ordered him to take a different route. But then Manojlović saw the same soldier allowing two students to walk through, and yelled at him: “There, you let my students go through the park, but you wouldn’t let me.” Just as he was retelling this story to the secretary of the Academy a few minutes later, two soldiers came in to arrest him, and took him to their quarters in Mišarska Street nearby; this was witnessed by Rajčić and Logar. Manojlović was released later in the afternoon and warned to be careful about what he was saying, because “the soldiers are sensitive” (MANOJLOVIĆ 1948: 137). Rajčić and Logar quickly told Danon and Vukdragović about what had just happened. Manojlović’s daughter Gordana also came to the Academy, where she overheard Logar and the engineer Boško Simonović talking about her father. To Simonović’s argument that “Ever since I have known Kosta, he has always loved Russia and defended it,” Logar responded with “Yes, we know that, but he doesn’t love our comrades” (1948: 139). Rumors were, thus, already circulating at the Academy that Manojlović was a potentially dangerous reactionary.
- 9 On the circumstances surrounding the removal of the drama department, which was done without the consent of the Council of the Music Academy, see PERKOVIĆ 2017.
- 10 The Akademija dramskih umetnosti [Academy of Theatrical Arts] was founded by a decree of the Government of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia on December 11th, 1948, and opened on February 12th, 1949. In 1962 it was renamed the Akademija za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju [Academy for Theater, Film, Radio and Television], and in 1973 it acquired its present title, the Fakultet dramske umetnosti [Faculty of Dramatic Arts].

All matters were resolved within a narrow circle of professors, including Emil Hajek, Mihajlo Vukdragović, Stanojlo Rajičić, Mihovil Logar, Milenko Živković (1901–1964), Ljubica Marić (1909–2003), and Oskar Danon. Manojlović would very often be the only one opposing their decisions. For example, on the one occasion, there was a debate about professors who held multiple jobs. Manojlović argued that professors of the Academy should not serve as head teachers of music schools. However, Petar Konjović, much more adaptable to the new circumstances, decided to allow Miloje Milojević (1884–1946) and Milenko Živković to maintain their positions both as professors at the Academy and head teachers of Belgrade’s Mokranjac and Stanković music schools, respectively, and he secured these appointments for them from the Ministry of Education. This event provoked Manojlović to nickname Konjović “Pero, Knez od Zete” [“Peter, the Prince of Zeta”], after the title of his prewar opera (MANOJLOVIĆ 1948: 140).

Several other events enraged Manojlović, such as the removal of the portrait of Saint Sava from the Great Hall of the Music Academy on July 2nd, 1945; this provoked Manojlović to write in protest to Chancellor Konjović, where he stated that even the Germans did not remove the portrait during the occupation. Konjović investigated the matter and three days later replied to Manojlović that the portrait had been removed by (unnamed) students, and that it would be immediately returned to its old place (see ILLUSTRATIONS 1a and 1b).

The event staged to bring about Manojlović’s dismissal took place on May 16th, 1946. Just a few days earlier, Čedomir Minderović, an official of the Ministry of Education, asked for a list of all faculty members, including information about their education, marital status, length of employment in the civil service, etc. This is the last list with Manojlović’s name on it; as we can see, he was the only one among the full-time professors who had graduated from the Bogoslovija Svetog Save [St. Sava Seminary], which may have played a role in his being considered a reactionary by the new communist leadership of the Academy. The only other former student of the Seminary employed by the Academy at that time was Petar Bingulac (1897–1990) (see ILLUSTRATION 2).

The ensuing sequence of events is presented here as retold by Manojlović himself in his unpublished recollections. The archive of the Faculty of Music does not possess written minutes that would allow a comparison between the official version of the events and Manojlović’s own retelling of them. The faculty meeting on May 16th was scheduled to begin at 6pm, but when Manojlović arrived at 6:20pm the secretary Branko Dragutinović informed him that the meeting had not started yet, and that the Chancellor, Professor Konjović, had excused himself due to illness and asked Manojlović to chair the meeting in his stead. When the meeting was nearing its end, a young lecturer, Dragutin

1945



Gospodinu
PETRU KONJOVIĆU,
rektoru Muzičke akademije u Beogradu

Gospodine Rektore,

RASTRU NEMANJIĆU, sinu SRPSKOG naroda, koji je, kao SVETI SAVA, bio prvi srpski PROSVETILU i kao TAKAV POKROVITELU i ZAŠTITNIK SRPSKE ŠKOLE i PROSVETE, odavale su dužnu počtu GENERACIJE i GENERACIJE srpske OKLADINE, koja je ginula za čast i ime srpske u PROSLOSTI, a u narodno-oslobodilačkoj borbi platila krvavo OSLOBODILJE svoga naroda NEBOJANIM žrtvama, koje su naše rane bez prebola.

Tome zaslužnom KULTURNO-PROSVETOM radniku odali su dužno poštovanje i poklonili se pred njegovim likom na dan SV. SAVE 1945 g. u svečanoj dvorani Starog Univerziteta: Pretsedništvo NRODA, na čelu sa Dr. IVANOM ILIČIĆEM, Pretsedništvo Narodne skupštine demokratske federativne Srbije, na čelu sa Dr. SIBIRSKOM STANKOVIĆEM, Generalitet slavne Jugoslovenske armije, i strani predstavnici, kao i svi profesori Beogradskog Univerziteta. MUZIČKA AKADEMIJA u BEOGRADU, njeni profesori i studenti, odavali su dužnu počtu ovom velikom sinu srpskog naroda i Akademija je dodeljivala na dan njegove smrti, kao i Univerzitet u Beogradu, šta više, i SVETOSAVSKU KAGRADU.

Lik SAVA SVETITELJA, oživotvoren u živnoj FRESKI iz manastira MILEŠEV, koja je krasila dvoranu Muzičke akademije i bila osvećena na dan otvaranja Muzičke akademije, nisu ni NEKOL, za vreme okupacije, skinuli sa njegovog mesta, iako su ga neprijateljski vojnici, pri povlačenju, IZBOLJIBAH kao i Turci, a da restauracija freske nije do danas još ukinjena. Odnovata isto rija originala u manastiru Mileševu i njegove kopije u Muzičkoj akademiji. Ali se, na žalost, desilo da je danas, u oslobodjenoj, demokratskoj federativnoj Srbiji, lik SVETOJA SAVA skinut sa svoga mesta u dvorani i vucara se ko je gde po akademiji, a to, svakako, nije zaslužila ličnost Kiji CRUBA, svakako kralj i Vaše grudi, Gospodine Rektore. Da li sa Vašim znanjem i dozvolom, Jo spodine Rektore? Pretpostavljam da nije. Ili po samovolju studenata Muzičke akademije? Vase je da to ispitati i na to odgovorite.

Ja bih voleo da čujem da su studenti Muzičke akademije u u Zagrebu skinuli SLIKU biskupa JOSIPA JURJA-STROŠMADERA, a studenti Konzervatorijuma u Pragu SLIKU JANA HUSA sa mesta na koje ih je postavila Školska vlast. Još više bih voleo da čujem da se moglo desiti da je neko od studenata Moskenskog konzervatorijuma samo i pokušao da skine sa svoga počasnog mesta, na koje su ga postavile Školske vlasti, SLIKU organizatora pobede OTACŠTVERE VOJRE velikoga GENERALISIMUSA JOSIPA VISARIONOVICU STALINA, ili pak da su studenti Muzičke akademije u Beogradu skinuli i sklonili iz Vašeg kabina i kancelarije SLIKU narodnog heroja, glavnog rukovodioca narodno oslobodilačke borbe, pretsednika jugoslovenske vlade, Markšala Jugoslavije JOSIPA BROZA TITA, i da Vi, Gospodine Rektore, niste ništa preduzeli da stvari postavite na svoje mesto.

Jer ako ste Vi, Gospodine Rektore, akademska vlast i postavljeni tu da ŠTITE TE ZAKON i da ne dopuštate da se u školu unese SAKON LASCE, KARDIJA, KREK i OSUSTVO SVAKE DISCIPLINE, onda, overen sam, da Vi znate šta Vam je dužnost, Gospodine Rektore, te se nadam da ćete ODMAH narediti da se LIK NAVECE SRBINA demokratske federativne Srbije - bez čijeg se rada ne bi SRPSTVO sačuvalo da danas kao takvo udje u ovu novu državu zajednicu ravnopravnih Srba, Hrvata, Slovenaca, Crnogoraca i Makedonaca - vrati ODMAH na svoje mesto u Dvoranu Muzičke akademije i da vodite računa da se u buduće ovakve pojave ne dešavaju u Muzičkoj akademiji, koja se nalazi na teritoriji federalne Srbije.

Izvolite primiti, Gospodine Rektore, izraz moga poštovanja.

2 jula 1945 g.
Beograd

profesor Muzičke akademije

ILLUSTRATION 1a. Manojlović's protest letter to Chancellor Konjović, dated July 2nd, 1945.

XXXXX
XXXXX

5 јула 1945

Број 251



Господину

КОСТИ П. МАНОЈЛОВИЋУ, ред. проф. Музичке академије

Господине професоре,

Част ми је да Вас известим, у поводу Вашег акта од 3 јула, при-
мљеног под бр. 251/3.VII.1945, да сам, чим сам сазнао за инцидент
са сликом Св. Саве у великој дворани, позвао представнике студен-
ске организације на одговорност. Они су ми изјавили да је слику
скинуо неко од студената без знања студентске организације и да
ће се слика одмах поставити на старо место. То је и учињено.
Извештавајући Вас о том, молим да изволите примити увере-
ње о колегијалном мом поштовању.

ректор Музичке академије.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink.

ILLUSTRATION 1b. Konjović's reply to Manojlović, dated July 5th, 1945. From the Archives of Serbia; document No. G-210, F VII.

Čolić (1907–1987), a devout communist,¹¹ suddenly stood up. Čolić told his colleagues that, since the trial of General Dragoljub-Draža Mihailović¹² (1893–1946) was in progress, the Faculty should prepare a resolution and send it to

11 Dragutin Čolić's political activity started in the 1920s; he was expelled from his grammar school as a leftist. During his studies in Prague he became acquainted with the ideas of the workers' movement, and upon his return to Belgrade joined the Communist Party and founded the journal *Komunist* [Communist] using a pseudonym. Cf. CVETKOVIĆ 2007: 24.

12 Draža Mihailović was a staunch royalist, a former high-ranking officer of the Royal Yugoslav Army. During World War II he commanded the *Jugoslovenska vojska u otadžbini* [Yugoslav Army in the Fatherland] (the official English name for his Chetniks, as adopted by the BBC). Cf. PAVLOWITCH 2007: 64. On the activities of Mihailović before, during, and after World War II see: DIMITRIJEVIĆ & NIKOLIĆ 2004; DIMITRIJEVIĆ & BABAC 2015. Both Mihailović's trial and execution by the Communist leadership after World War II, and his rehabilitation by the Serbian High Court in 2015, provoked much controversy.

had again weaseled out of a tricky situation by leaving the Academy after the concert and skipping the meeting. Vukdragović then managed to persuade a majority of professors to sign the resolution. Manojlović later signed the Trieste resolution, but he was never given the other resolution, although he would not have signed it anyway (MANOJLOVIĆ 1948: 143). Fortunately, these documents have not been removed from the Faculty's archives, so we can see all the professors' signatures (see ILLUSTRATIONS 3a, 3b, 3c, 4a and 4b).

21 маја 1946 г.

367/46

Кабинету
Министра унутрашњих послова ФНРЈ

Београд.

Ректорат Музичке академије у прилогу доставља телеграм другу Александру Ранковићу, министру унутрашњих послова ФНРЈ упућен са састанка Професора Музичке академије одржаног 21 маја т.г.

Оригинал овога документа налази се у архиви Музичке академије.

Смрт фашизму—слобода народу!

СЕКРЕТАР
МУЗИЧКЕ АКАДЕМИЈЕ

Б.Д.

/Б. Драгутиновић/



ILLUSTRATION 3a. Letter to Aleksandar Ranković, dated May 21st, 1946.

САВЕТУ МИНИСТАРА ИНОСТРАНИХ ПОСЛОВА

П А Р И З .

Професори Музичке Академије на овом састанку 21.о.м. протестују против неправде која је нанесена нашем народу предлозима америчких, енглеских и француских стручњака за разграничење између Италије и Југославије.

Солидарисемо се са ставом Југословенске делегације који је израз вере и воље народа Јулијске крајине и свих југословенских народа.

Поздрављамо предлог стручњака СССР који су једини узели за основу свога извештаја стварно стање ствари како га је међународна комисија видела приликом свог боравка у Јулијској крајини, као и изванредни и одлучни говор друга Молотова који је на убедљиви начин штитио интересе народа Јулијске крајине, а тиме и Југославију.

Придружујемо се оправданом захтеву народа Јулијске крајине за прикључење читаве Јулијске крајине и Трста Југославији, што је једино могуће решење правилно решене овога проблема.

Јан Славенски
Светлана Крај
Франца Уршт
Милка Тоја
Младрај Висаревић
Засавка Вилијамовић
Јурица Шлегар
Симонија Шлегар
Иво Драговић
Никола Милошевић
Петар Милошевић
Предраг Милошевић
Милошевић

Радван Кривошевић
Михаило Милошевић
Редовни професор
Михољко Милошевић
Корнелија
Марија Милошевић
Ераст Милошевић
Мерија Милошевић
Јурица Милошевић
Милошевић

ILLUSTRATION 4a. Page 1 of the Resolution against the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Trieste, dated May 28th, 1946; signed by faculty members (including Manojlović).

Another campaign against Manojlović was launched at the same time. In this case, several students, led by the pianist Ružica Radenković (*née* Miodragović), who sat on the Teaching Council, complained against the ideological content of Manojlović's music history lessons. They requested his lectures be vetted and approved by Mihailo Vukdragović, together with Marko Tajčević (1900–1984) and Petar Bingulac (MANOJLOVIĆ 1948: 144). A report of this event reached the Minister of Education, Mitra Đilas (*née* Mitrović, 1912–2001), who questioned Konjović about it. The next step was an invitation for Manojlović to visit Vukdragović (whom Manojlović jokingly called “The Grand Inquisitor”) at Radio Belgrade and to explain to him the content of his lectures and why they did not contain enough Russian music. Manojlović was unrepentant: he said that the students were not interested in music history, although he had devoted much time to preparing materials and stocking the library. In the end, Manojlović handed over his lecture notes to Vukdragović, but he, Tajčević and Bingulac never submitted their report either to the Professors' Council or the Teaching Council.

Manojlović was also aware that there existed a pressure group at the Academy who aimed to translate the latest Soviet histories of music and to use them as the primary course material for students. However, this initiative was halted when Russian musicologist Ivan Martynov, a friend of Dmitri Shostakovich, visited the Belgrade Music Academy¹³ and told the professors that Soviet experts themselves considered those textbooks very poor. While the students continued to use Manojlović's lectures as their main course material, at this point it already became clear to Manojlović himself that he had become a “*persona non grata*” at the Academy. Another faculty meeting was held in June 1946. This time, Emil Hajek suggested that instrumentalists and singers should be taught all theoretical subjects – harmony, counterpoint, etc. – just like students of composition. Manojlović and Stevan Hristić (1885–1958) were the only professors of theoretical subjects who opposed this idea: they had consulted their colleagues, the instrumentalists, who complained that the students would not have enough time to practice their instruments. In the end, 27 professors voted against this proposal, and only 7 were in favor. As testified by Manojlović, on seeing the result of the vote, Vukdragović and Živković became very angry and said that they would make sure that the decision was overturned by the Government officials. Manojlović stood up

13 Ivan Martynov's visit took place in 1945 or 1946; he was invited by the newly-founded Udruženje kompozitora Srbije [Composers' Association of Serbia] (whose inaugural convention took place on February 18th, 1945). Although there are no written minutes of this meeting, it is likely that Kosta P. Manojlović himself met Martynov, because he was a member of the first Governing Board of the Composers' Association, together with Milenko Živković (President), Stanojlo Rajičić (Vice President), Đorđe Milojević (Secretary), Ljubica Marić, and Milan Urošević. Cf. Composers' Association of Serbia – History, <http://composers.rs/en/?page_id=9> [accessed November 26, 2017].

and told Vukdragović that he and Hristić had voted against the proposal, and that it would be undemocratic to overturn a decision voted for by a majority of teachers. At this point Hajek, who had originally formulated this proposal, said that he would withdraw his vote, but then Manojlović told him that he should have done so before voting (MANOJLOVIĆ 1948: 147).

Then, on November 25th, 1946 Petar Konjović invited Manojlović to talk; they met in front of the Opera House and arrived at the Music Academy together. As soon as they entered Konjović's office, Konjović put his hands on Manojlović's shoulders and told him that, regrettably, he had to inform Manojlović of his immediate retirement. Manojlović remained outwardly calm, because he had already seen it coming: Milivoje Crvčanin (1892–1978) had informed him that Milenko Živković, Stana Đurić-Klajn (1905–1986) – a pianist and music historian, then in charge of the Institute of Musicology at the Academy – and others had been spreading rumors about his dangerous reactionary attitude. Manojlović later discovered that more or less everyone at the Academy knew about his forthcoming retirement, and that he was the last one to find out. This reminded him of an earlier event, which took place on September 8th, 1939, when, in a move without precedent, he was removed from his position as Chancellor of the Academy and had to surrender his post to Konjović. Manojlović knew that two men were responsible for this, Ministers Dimitrije Magarašević (1888–1948) and Stevan Ćirić (1886–1955), whom he mockingly called “two Serbs from Lalenland” (i.e. from Vojvodina, the Northern Serbian province, formerly a part of Austria-Hungary; a pun of Manojlović's, because men from Vojvodina are nicknamed “Lale” [Tulips]). Manojlović observed that he had been the only Chancellor of the Music Academy who originated from Central Serbia (Šumadija), and that the Vojvodina lobby had conspired against him since his installment as the first Chancellor of the newly founded Academy. At any rate, Manojlović signed the instrument of his retirement, and Konjović (incidentally or not, another Serb from “Lalenland”, which would add to Manojlović's conspiracy theory) told him: “Perhaps everything will turn out alright.” However, Manojlović replied: “No, Chancellor, I have finished my role in this institution and I will not be coming back” (1948: 150–151).

It is also telling that, after Manojlović's retirement, only five colleagues visited him at home: Marjan Kozina (1907–1966), Ciril Ličar, and Mary Žeželj (1903–1983), and, a few days later, Marija Mihailović (1903–1988) and Petar Bingulac. Everyone else was too afraid to stay in touch with him, because they feared that it would provoke the reaction of the Communist “musical gods”, as Manojlović had mockingly called them. Also, at the faculty meeting at which Konjović told his colleagues about Manojlović's retirement, only Josip Slavenski (1896–1955) stood up and said that they should take some steps to ensure his return; but Konjović said that this would not be possible, and everyone remained silent.

It was almost a year later, in October 1947, that Konjović invited Manojlović to visit him at home. Manojlović had already heard that Konjović was transferring the Institute of Musicology from the Music Academy to the Serbian Academy of Sciences, and he correctly guessed that Konjović would ask him to join the new Institute. Konjović informed him that the Presidency of the Academy would have to approve this appointment. However, soon after their talk Manojlović fell ill, and had to spend several weeks at a cardiology clinic with an enlarged heart and weakened cardiac muscle. In the following months Manojlović heard that some people had allegedly already taken up jobs at the Institute, including Pavle Stefanović (1901–1985), Mirka Pavlović (1924), and Miloš Velimirović (1922–2008).¹⁴ Soon afterwards, Manojlović fell ill again and had to spend several more months in hospital. Only Josip Slavenski and Petar Bingulac visited him during his second hospitalization.

The typescript of Manojlović's draft autobiography ends with his description of how he was preparing Mokranjac's choral works for publication during the summer of 1948. In late 1948, Manojlović finally joined the Institute of Musicology as an associate researcher. However, he only spent a year there, managing to participate in some fieldwork,¹⁵ dying on November 2nd, 1949, aged 58.

As one may conclude from the course of events – as retold in great detail by Manojlović himself and illustrated by preserved archival documents – the reasons for Manojlović's removal from the Music Academy were both political and personal. His firm moral code and refusal to bow to the ideas and requests of the new Communist leadership made Manojlović many enemies. Some of his younger colleagues regarded him as a dangerous old reactionary. Certainly, his past as both student and professor of the Orthodox Seminary, the fact that he neither fought in the Narodnooslobodilačka borba [People's Liberation War] nor joined the Communist Party, and his refusal to sign a petition against General Dragoljub-Dražić Mihajlović, were all seen as evidence of his reactionary beliefs. However, one may assume that other colleagues merely wanted him removed in order to make room for new staff members who had "correct" political backgrounds; for example, Manojlović's chair of Music History was given to Nikola Hercigonja (1911–2000), another young Communist and former partisan. In the final analysis, this story on Manojlović's last years is a sad reminder of how this country has often treated its most distinguished

14 The information that reached Manojlović was not correct, as neither Stefanović nor Pavlović nor Velimirović had taken up posts at the newly founded Institute at that time. The first two employees of the Institute would be Stana [Ribnikar] Đurić-Klajn and Kosta Manojlović in 1948, to be followed by assistants Stojan Lazarević (1914–1989) and the aforementioned Velimirović in 1949. Cf. MOSUSOVA 2010: 154–155; ĐURIĆ-KLAJN 1981: 262.

15 On Manojlović' fieldwork in Macedonia during the year spent at the Institute of Musicology SASA see MILOJKOVIĆ-ĐURIĆ 1967: 11–12.

and worthy individuals, and ignored or undermined their immense earlier contributions, and how changes to political climate and ideology could turn yesterday's luminaries into "personae non gratae".

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Kosta P. Manojlović (1890–1949) and the Idea of Slavic
and Balkan Cultural Unification
Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić, Aleksandar Vasić (eds.)

Published by

Institute of Musicology SASA
Knez Mihailova 36/IV
11000 Belgrade

For publisher

Katarina Tomašević,
Director of the Institute of Musicology SASA

Reviewers

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Cover design

Siniša Stojanović

Technical Editor

Omnibooks

Printed by

Donat Graf

Circulation

300

ISBN 978-86-80639-34-5

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији - Народна библиотека Србије, Београд
78.071.1:929 Манојловић К.(082)
784.4(497)(082)
930.85(497)(082)

KOSTA P. Manojlović (1890-1949) and the Idea of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Unification / edited by Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić, Aleksandar Vasić. - Belgrade : Institute of Musicology SASA, 2017 (Belgrade : Donat Graf). - 240 str. : ilustr. ; 24 cm

"This collective monograph, titled Kosta P. Manojlović and the Idea of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Unification (1918-1941), is the result of research by fourteen scholars from Russia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Portugal, Great Britain, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia, which were partly presented at an international conference organized by the Muzikološki institut SANU [Institute of Musicology SASA] in November 2016." ... --> Preface. - Tiraž 300. - List of Contributors: str. 231-235. - Napomene i bibliografske reference uz tekst. - Bibliografija uz svaki rad.

ISBN 978-86-80639-34-5

а) Манојловић, Коста П., 1890-1949 - Зборници б) Народне мелодије - Балканске државе - Зборници с) Балканске државе - Културна историја - Зборници

COBISS.SR-ID 256243468
