

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

edited by
Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić, Aleksandar Vasić



Institute of Musicology SASA
Belgrade, 2017

CONTENTS

Preface	9
INTRODUCTION	13
Ivana Vesić and Vesna Peno <i>Kosta P. Manojlović: A Portrait of the Artist and Intellectual in Turbulent Times</i>	13
BALKAN AND SLAVIC PEOPLES IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY: INTERCULTURAL CONTACTS	27
Olga Pashina <i>From the History of Cultural Relations between the Slavic Peoples: Tours of the Russian Story Teller, I. T. Ryabinin, of Serbia and Bulgaria (1902)</i>	27
Stefanka Georgieva <i>The Idea of South Slavic Unity among Bulgarian Musicians and Intellectuals in the Interwar Period</i>	37
Ivan Ristić <i>Between Idealism and Political Reality: Kosta P. Manojlović, South Slavic Unity and Yugoslav-Bulgarian Relations in the 1920s</i>	57
THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES/YUGOSLAVIA BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND REALITY	65
Biljana Milanović <i>The Contribution of Kosta P. Manojlović to the Foundation and Functioning of the Južnoslovenski pevački savez [South-Slav Choral Union]</i>	65
Nada Bezić <i>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]</i>	91
Srđan Atanasovski <i>Kosta P. Manojlović and Narratives on “Southern Serbia”</i>	109
Ivana Vesić <i>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)</i>	127

KOSTA P. MANOJLOVIĆ AND CHURCH MUSIC	141
Vesna Peno	
<i>Kosta P. Manojlović's and Serbian Church Chanting</i>	141
Bogdan Đaković	
<i>The Church Choral Music of Kosta P. Manojlović Between Quotation and Imaginary Church Folklore</i>	151
Ivan Moody	
<i>Re-envisioning Tradition: Ideology and Innovation in Early Twentieth-Century Church Music in Serbia and Bulgaria</i>	157
KOSTA P. MANOJLOVIĆ AS A CHOIRMASTER, CRITIC AND PEDAGOGUE	169
Verica Grmuša	
<i>Kosta P. Manojlović – The Oxford Years</i>	169
Predrag Đoković	
<i>Kosta P. Manojlović and Early Music: Echoes of the “Elizabethan Fever” in Serbia</i>	185
Aleksandar Vasić	
<i>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)</i>	199
Ivana Medić	
<i>From “Father Figure” to “Persona Non Grata”: The Dismissal of Kosta P. Manojlović from the Belgrade Muzička akademija [Muzička akademija]</i>	211
List of Contributors	231

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

Katarina Tomašević, PhD, Principal Research Fellow,
Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade
Ranka Gašić, PhD, Principal Research Fellow,
Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade
Leon Stefanija, PhD, full Professor,
Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Ljubljana

Proofreading

Uroš Vasiljević

Advisor for Bulgarian language

Jelica Vesić

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

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 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 Milojević"])

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 Drobnyaković (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 Drobnjaković, 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 SCS/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.

REFERENCES

- ANONYMOUS. "Program Mokranjčevog prenosa", *Politika* September 28 (1923), 5.
- ANONYMOUS. "Kompozitor g. Stevan Hristić postavljen za muzičkog šefa Radio Beograda", *Radio Beograd: ilustrovani list* 10 (1940), 2.
- ČETIRI VELIKA KONCERTA (1922–1923). [Четири велика концерта (1922–1923)] Beograd: Štamparija i knjigoveznica Ace Maksimovića, 1922.
- DUMNIĆ, Marija, JAKOVLJEVIĆ, Rastko. [Думнић, Марија, Јаковљевић, Растко] "Digitalizacija građe Fonoarhiva Muzikološkog instituta SANU", in: R. Jakovljević (ed.), *Fonoarhiv Muzikološkog instituta SANU: Istorijski zvučni zapisi u digitalnoj eri*, Beograd: Muzikološki institut SANU, 2014, 12–25.
- MILANOVIĆ, Biljana S. [Милановић, Биљана С.] *Evropske muzičke prakse i oblikovanje nacije kroz kreiranje nacionalne umetničke muzike u Srbiji u prvim decenijama XX veka*, unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Beograd: Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, 2016.
- MILANOVIĆ, Biljana. [Милановић, Биљана] "Uobličavanje nacionalnog pamćenja: počeci memorisanja Stevana Stojanovića Mokranjca u srpskoj muzici (1919–1923)", *Muzikologija* 23 (2017), 199–215.
- RADINOVIĆ, Sanja, MILOVANOVIĆ, Milan. "Kosta P. Manojlović's Collection of Folk Songs from Kosovo in the Audio Archive of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade", in: *Kosta P. Manojlović and the Idea of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Unification (1918–1941)* (International Conference, Belgrade, November 28–29), book of abstracts, Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2016, 18–19.
- SPASOVA, Rozalina, GEORGIEVA, Stefanka. "Unknown Letters of Jakov Gotovac, Boris Papandopulo and Josip Štolcer Slavenski in Boris Gaidarov's Archives (From the History of Bulgarian-Croatian Music Contacts between the 1920s and the 1940s)", *Arti Musices* 1 (2011), 5–35.
- ТОМАШЕВИЋ, Katarina. [Томашевић, Катарина] *Na raskršću Istoka i Zapada. O dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskoj muzici (1918–1941)*. Beograd, Novi Sad: Muzikološki institut Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, Matica srpska, 2009.

VASIĆ, Aleksandar. [Васић, Александар] *Srpska muzička periodika međuratnog doba u ogledalu korpusa muzičke periodike*, unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Novi Sad: Akademija umetnosti Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, 2012.

VASIĆ, Aleksandar. [Васић, Александар] “Dva pogleda na jugoslovenstvo u srpskoj muzičkoj periodici između dva svetska rata”, *Muzikologija* 17 (2014), 155–166.

VESIĆ, Ivana D. [Весић, Ивана Д.] *Konstruisanje srpske muzičke tradicije u periodu između dva svetska rata: uloga podela u srpskoj političkoj i intelektualnoj eliti*, unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Beograd: Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, 2016.

VESIĆ, Ivana. “Reflections of All-Slavic Political Ideals in Narratives on Music: The Case of Yugoslav Music Journals in the Interwar Period”, in: J. Ballester, G. Gan Quesada (eds.), *Music Criticism 1900–1950*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2018, in print.

VESIĆ, Ivana, LAJIĆ MIHAJLOVIĆ, Danka. “Towards The Inclusive National Music Histories: A Critical Analysis of Serbian Music Historiography From The Late 19th Century Until 1960s”, *The Future of Music History* (International Conference, Belgrade, September 28–30), book of abstracts, Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, Department of Fine Arts and Music SASA, 2017, 90–91.

ZEC, Dejan (ed.). *Serbian Students and Pupils in Great Britain during the First World War*, Belgrade: Centre for Sports Heritage, South East Europe, 2016.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Arhiv Muzikološkog instituta SANU [Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA] (Belgrade, Serbia)

- Petar Krstić’s Personal Collection
- Kosta P. Manojlović’s Collection
- Institute of Musicology’s Collection

Arhiv Jugoslavije [Archives of Yugoslavia] (Belgrade, Serbia)

- Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, F66