

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

edited by
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Institute of Musicology SASA
Belgrade, 2017

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. PERIĆIĆ 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.

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- 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 PRO-SVETE, odavale su dužnu počtu GENERACIJE i GENERACIJE srpske OKLADINE, koja je ginula za čast i ime srpske u PROSLAVI, a u narodno-oslobodilačkoj borbi platila krvavo OSLOBODILJE svoga naroda NEBOJAMA 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 ILIĆEM, Pretsedništvo Narodne skupštine demokratske federativne Srbije, na čelu sa Dr. SIBIRSKIM 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 FRESCI iz manastira MILEŠEV, koja je krasila dvoranu Muzičke akademije i bila osvećena na dan otvaranja Muzičke akademije, nisu ni NEMLI, 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. Oudnovata 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 Niji CRUBA, svakako krasni 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 ZAKON i da ne dopuštate da se u školu unese SAKON LASCE, KARDIJA, KREBD 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.

Drugu

Aleksandru Rankoviću, ministru unutrašnjih
poslova FNRJ

B e o g r a d

Muzička akademija u Beogradu pridružuje se mnogobrojnim četnicima upućenim Vama i organima Narodne vlasti, što ste uspeli da privedete Narodnom sudu izdajnika našeg naroda Draža Mihailovića

Služeći okupatoru i udružen s ostalim narodnim izdajnicima i zločincima ovih kategorija, Draža Mihailović uči se u istoriju kao vinovnik najvećih nečesta koje su zadesile naš narod. Od ~~svih~~ kame njegovih koloska izobilje su živote hiljade nevinih žrtava našeg naroda. Svi rodoljubivi ~~rodoljubivi~~ građani naše domovine s ne-trpljenjem očekuju pravednu prerudu Narodnog suda nad ovim izdajnikom koji je kroz četiri teške godine okupacije, u krvavoj apreziji Nedicev-kim i Ljoticev-kim bandama, kaljao čast srpskog naroda. I srpska muzika izgubila je jednog od svojih naj-čajnijih pred-tavnika, Vojislava Vučkovića u tom besomučnom i životinj-ckom klanju najboljih šizova našeg naroda od strane ovih krvnika.

Mi pred-tavnici srpske muzike apelujemo na Vašu i našu narodnu vladu da poduzmete sve da što pre dodje u ruke naših Narodnih vlasti i drugi krvoločni izdajnik naših naroda bude saveli-ć.

Beograd, 21 maja 1946

Smrt fašizmu sloboda narodu.

Jovan Cravenicki
Kylin g. Majeti
Ignacija Kunt
Cveta Knajin
Zecank Zamrold
Mirala toja
Miroslav Janković
Antonijs Dajent
Kupca Urdap
Born Born

Mirana Brkovic
Marta Majubek
Stevan Ristic
Stevan Ristic
Zeljka Zunt
Mirna Jankovic
Jovan Cravenicki

ILLUSTRATION 3b. Page 1 of the Resolution sent to Aleksandar Ranković, to congratulate him on capturing Draža Mihailović, dated May 28th; signed by faculty members (but not by Kosta P. Manojlović).

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 разграничене између Италије и Југославије Југославије и Италије.

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 свога проблема.

Јан Славенски
Светлана Крај
Франца Уршт
Милка Тоја
Младрај Висаревић
Засавка Вилијамовић
Јурица Шлегар
Симонија Шлегар
Иво Драгојевић
Никола Милошевић
Петар Милошевић
Предраг Милошевић
Милошевић

Радван Кривошевић
Михаило Милошевић
Редовни члан
Михољко Милошевић
Корнелија
Марија Милошевић
Ераковић
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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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
