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Ivana Perković*

University of Arts in Belgrade
Faculty of Music
Department of Musicology

Biljana Mandić**

University of Kragujevac
Faculty of Philology and Arts
Department of Music

KOSTA P. MANOJLOVIĆ AND THE TEACHING OF LITURGICAL SINGING¹

Abstract: The aims of this paper are to provide new insight into Kosta Manojlović's teaching of liturgical singing, and to interpret the ways in which his work in this field was affected by the historical, social, and cultural milieu of the interwar period in Serbia and Yugoslavia. The first part of the study deals with "facts and figures", mostly

* Author contact information: ivanabperkovic@gmail.com

** Author contact information: biljana.mandic@gmail.com

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from archival data, about Manojlović's teaching career at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology between 1923 and 1937: dates, subjects, scarce data on teaching methods, his rise through the hierarchy, organizational issues, etc., while the second part considers the influence of historical, cultural, and social circumstances on his approach to teaching, syllabi, and Serbian church music in general, based on the study of his writings on Serbian medieval music.

Keywords: church singing education, Faculty of Orthodox Theology, interwar period, music in curriculum of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, position of music teacher in higher education, Serbian medieval literature as "historical archive", *svetosavlje*, medieval idealization.

There are many arguments in favor of researching Kosta P. Manojlović's (1890–1949) engagement in the teaching of liturgical singing. His commitment to church music is well known, not only in the field of pedagogy, but also when it comes to composing and performing, research, editorial and publishing work, organization, and many other activities. Answering the question of Manojlović's importance for the teaching of liturgical singing requires no lengthy discussion. In this article, we will make two strong arguments. Firstly, the teaching of liturgical singing is, or should be, an essential part of the (still unwritten) integral history of Serbian music pedagogy. Ever since the remotest antiquity, church music has been the source of many solutions important for all musicians. We have no need to look any further than Guido d'Arezzo and his introduction of staff notation or "ut-re-mi-fa-so-la" in the teaching of chant in the 11th century to support the importance of church music education for general musical pedagogy. Secondly, music and education have been closely integrated throughout the history of Serbian music. The oldest known documented musical sources, manuscripts from the 14th and 15th centuries, were intended for teaching, as were other neumatic documents created under Byzantine influence. The scarce information about Serbian musical history from the 18th century includes data on schools for church singers organized in many cities inhabited by Serbs.

Yet, apart from occasional case studies, names, years of work, or sketchy information on capabilities, evaluation of results, curricula, etc., not much is known about the complete trajectory of the history of the complex process of teaching church music. What do we know about Kosta Manojlović's engagement in this field? What was the social, cultural, and institutional context of his actions? How did he define the content of his teaching? What were the

special requirements placed before him at the Bogoslovija Svetog Save [St Sava Seminary] and the Pravoslavno-bogoslovski fakultet [Faculty of Orthodox Theology]? Did he make an effort to differentiate his teaching of the subject of Church Singing at the secondary and the academic level, that is, between the Seminary and the Faculty?

To answer these questions, we have defined our research objective as follows: to provide new insight into Manojlović's teaching of liturgical singing, and to interpret the ways in which his work was affected by the historical, social, and cultural milieu of the interwar period.

Our archival research was conducted at the following institutions:

1. Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu [Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade, University of Belgrade],²
2. Arhiv Srbije [Archive of Serbia],
3. Arhiv Jugoslavije [Archive of Yugoslavia].

Other relevant secondary sources were also used.

The first part of this study deals with “facts and figures” about Manojlović's teaching career: dates, subjects, his rise through the hierarchy, organizational issues, etc., while the second part considers the influence of historical, cultural, and social circumstances on his approach to teaching, syllabi, and Serbian church music in general, based on the study of his writings on Serbian medieval music.

The period of Manojlović's engagement in the teaching of liturgical singing coincides with a time when educational structures in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) were rapidly changing in efforts to overcome fragmentation of the school system. A first task for the new state was, as Pieter Troch points out, the general modernization and improvement of the educational system throughout the new kingdom.³ During this interwar period, traditional disciplines (law, philosophy,

² Unfortunately, apart from several miscellaneous items, documents related to Kosta P. Manojlović are not available in the archive of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology. At the time the research for this text was conducted (August – October 2016) his personal file was missing.

³ Cf. Pieter Troch, *Education and Yugoslav Nationhood in Interwar Yugoslavia: Possibilities, Limitations and Interactions with Other National Ideas*, Ph.D. Diss., Ghent, Ghent University. Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, 2012, 99–170.

Available online: <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/4267482/file/4336097.pdf> [accessed 16 May 2019].

liberal arts) held their ground, while natural sciences and engineering developed more slowly.⁴

The end of the 1910s and beginning of the 1920s were marked by important events for institutions in the field of Orthodox theological education. In 1920 the St Sava Seminary was moved to the Fruška Gora town of Sremski Karlovci. The same year (December 15th, 1920), after several decades in which adequate solutions had been sought for higher theological education in Serbia, saw the first lectures for students of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade. One year earlier, Kosta P. Manojlović returned to Serbia from Oxford, where he had obtained the degree of Bachelor of Music. While still at Oxford, Manojlović wrote to the Minister of Education and Religion (July 15th, 1919), asking for the position of music teacher, preferably at the St Sava Seminary, which was “the most natural” proposition for this alumnus of the Seminary, now highly educated in music.⁵ Starting from October 1919, he was hired as a substitute teacher of music at the Seminary and teacher at the Muzička škola [Music School] in Belgrade (and remained at the Music School until 1937). After the Seminary had moved to Sremski Karlovci, Kosta P. Manojlović became a substitute teacher at the Druga muška gimnazija [Second Belgrade High School].⁶

⁴ Cf. Nikša Nikola Šoljan, “The Saga of Higher Education in Yugoslavia: Beyond the Myths of a Self-Management Socialist Society”, *Comparative Education Review*, 35/1, 1991, 131–153.

⁵ Interestingly, in his letter to the Minister of Education and Religion, dated July 15th, 1919, Manojlović wrote: “I am honored to ask the Minister of Education and Religion for appointment as a music teacher, preferably in Saint Sava Seminary in Belgrade” (Archive of Yugoslavia [AY], Ministry of Religions of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY- F69-15-38). Ljubomir M. Davidović was the Minister at the time. However, the Government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was reshuffled on August 16th, 1919, and the portfolios of education and religion were separated. Since Manojlović, apparently, received no response, the new Minister of Religion (Tugomir Alaupović) received a new letter from Miloje Milojević, dated September 12th. In it, Milojević writes about Kosta Manojlović: “[He] wrote to me about his problems, and asked me to help him with his teaching position at this Seminary, and he is absolutely necessary at this school...I take the liberty of informing you that I have passed on his letters to the Rector of the Seminary Mr. Dobrosav Kovačević, through Mr. Jovan Zorko” (AY, Ministry of Religions of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY-F69-15-38).

⁶ Manojlović’s teaching load was high as early as 1923, and he wrote about this to the Minister of Education in October 1923. The head teacher of the Second Belgrade High School, Miloje Milojević, supported him (AY, Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY-F66-669-1127).

The first curriculum of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade did not include church singing, and was duly modified in 1923. The first teacher, in an evidently short-lived and unsatisfactory solution, was Gavriilo Milošević, priest and member of the Crkveni sud [Ecclesiastical Court] in Belgrade. He taught for less than a month, from October 26th to November 15th, 1923,⁷ and was succeeded by Kosta P. Manojlović, who remained in the post for quite a long time (almost a decade and a half).⁸ Archival documents reveal that Manojlović's work at the Faculty in Belgrade was neither monotonous nor easy, and that the conditions were not optimal. Church Singing was taught for two years (four semesters) in the first two years of study. Students did not have a homogenous background or pre-existing knowledge: some of them, for example alumni of theological seminaries, had five or even six years of training in church singing under detailed and ambitious curricula.⁹ By contrast, the Faculty could also enroll students who had completed only secondary school and had no training in church singing. Therefore, Manojlović had the difficult task of coping with learners at different levels, who probably also varied in how musically inclined they were, whether they were able to reproduce a tune, had a sense of rhythm, to say nothing of their personal preferences. The decision of the Faculty Council on prerequisites for students taking examinations in their final year of studies, that is, almost two years after completing church singing courses, is telling: "Candidates not trained in church singing prior to their enrollment in the Faculty of Theology are required to attach a certificate [...] attesting that they have learned to sing the eight modes of Serbian chant, before taking examinations in the last year of their studies".¹⁰ This decision shows that it was commonplace for students to sit final examinations without sufficient knowledge of church singing, indicating that the organization of teaching and exams in Church Singing in the first and the second year must have been a challenging job for Kosta P. Manojlović.

The archival documents show that Kosta P. Manojlović was not satisfied with his academic standing. Prior to his engagement at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology, he wrote to the National Assembly about the perceived injus-

⁷ Čedomir Drašković, "Četrdeset godina Bogoslovske fakulteta u Beogradu", *Bogoslovlje*, V/1-2, 1961, 3.

⁸ Manojlović's personal file is available in the Archive of Serbia [AS], Ministry of Education, AS-G-183, F-VIII-66.

⁹ Ivana Perković and Biljana Mandić, "Paradigma usmeno/pisano i pedagogija crkvenog pojanja u srpskim bogoslovskim školama", *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku*, 53, 2015, 40-46.

¹⁰ Čedomir Drašković, op. cit., 3

tice done to “teachers of skills” (*učitelji veština*) by requirements about entitlement to a housing allowance and cost of living supplement.¹¹ For the first four years of his engagement, between the academic years 1923/24 and 1926/27, he taught part-time at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology. This was when his initiative for the Odeljenje za crkvenu muziku [Department of Church Music] appeared for the first time. In a letter dated October 29th, 1924, he wrote to Pavle Popović, Chancellor of Belgrade University (full text in Figure 1):

By a decision of the Council of Professors of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology I have been appointed teacher of Church Music. The curriculum of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology does not treat Church Music as part of separate department, but only as a single subject, and more on a practical basis, and this is not how it should be at a university; and as it is of scientific interest to determine the origin, development, and characteristics of our national church music, I take the liberty of drawing your attention, Mr Chancellor, to the fact that work should be done to create the Department of Church Music, which would be treated on a purely scientific basis, as it is at foreign universities.¹²

¹¹ “Regarding the position of ‘*učitelji veština*’ [‘teachers of skills’] and their rights in the civil service, as well as under the Law on Cost of Living Supplements for Civil Servants and Civil and Military Pensioners [...] it is my honor to address the Assembly with the following petition: Why should a secondary school teacher, who holds a secondary school diploma and has passed all examinations in the University, receive appointment as teacher and enjoy all the rights of that position, while a ‘teacher of skills’ with the same qualifications – secondary school diploma and a degree from a Conservatory or Academy, which have the rank of University because these provide the highest level of education in the arts, or even more, completes his artistic education at the University, and his diploma is equivalent to a doctoral degree... is appointed a part-time teacher? I am discussing a legal anomaly in principle, although I have personal experience in the matter... I graduated in 1910 and enrolled in the Munich Hochschule für Musik [Munich Academy of Music] in 1912, where I stayed until the beginning of 1914. In 1917 I finished my national service and went to England, where, at Oxford University, I completed my musical education in 1919 as Bachelor of Musik [sic!], a title equal to the Doctorate in Philosophy awarded by German Universities. This perverse logic of the law [...] places me under Art. 6 of the Law on Cost of Living Supplements, which denies me an entitlement to a housing supplement, among other things... I take the liberty of addressing the National Assembly with the plea to... correct the legal injustice for ‘lecturers of skills’, especially for those with the highest professional qualifications.”

Letter dated October 20th, 1922 (Archive of Yugoslavia, Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, AY-F66-669-1127).

¹² AS, Ministry of Education, AS-G-200, F-169-1936.

In 1927/28 his position had changed, and he became “University Teacher of Skills” (univerzitetski učitelj veština) and four years later in 1931/32 he progressed to the position of “Senior University Teacher of Skills” (viši univerzitetski učitelj veština).

Manojlović’s course catalogues published in annual University Calendars are rather *sparse in details, without comprehensive* descriptions, topics, goals, outcomes, or learning resources. An analysis of his catalogues between 1923/24 and 1936/37,¹³ that is, courses covering almost a decade and a half, shows three basic models:

1. Octoechos and History of Serbian Orthodox Church Singing and Church Choral Music (in 1923/24)
2. Octoechos (for 1st year students) and Strano pjenije [General Chant] (for 2nd year students), between 1924/25 and 1934/35. The year 1928/29 stands out, since there are just four modes (modes 5 to 8) mentioned for the whole school year.
3. History of Church Music, Octoechos and General Chant (after 1935/36).

His annual reports also show differences in the number of lessons per week (four in 1923/24, two between 1924/25 and 1936/37, four after 1936/37, and so on), lecturing rooms, yearly schedule, and consultation days. A comparative table based on University Catalogues and archival data on Kosta Manojlović’s career (Table 1) shows his course catalogues as well his academic positions at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade.

Very few further conclusions can be drawn from these course catalogues: one of them is that Manojlović had relied on the general arrangement of teaching curricula in theological seminaries (Octoechos first and Opšte i Praznično pojanje [General and Festal Chant] later) and that he had used Mokranjac’s published collections as text books. We also know that he used a piano in teaching, since the Faculty had asked the University to fund piano repairs:

Senior University Teacher Kosta Manojlović reports that the piano used by students when studying church music and singing is out of tune and some keys are broken due to the extensive use of the instrument, and it needs to be repaired...¹⁴

¹³ University Catalogues for 1923/24, 1924/25, 1925/26, 1926/27, 1927/28, 1928/29, 1929/30, 1930/31, 1931/32, 1932/33, 1933/34, 1934/35, 1935/36 and 1936/37.

¹⁴ AS, Ministry of Education, AS-G-200, F-II-44.

To continue our discussion of Manojlović's teaching philosophy and approach to teaching, we now turn to his writings, particularly regarding his plans for introducing more research tools into the study of Serbian sacred music. He advocated the introduction of scientific methods, firstly in establishing factual bases and then turning to the interpretation of data, to identify patterns of influence and causal relationships. In his opinion, this was the only acceptable and credible method for an academic approach to Serbian sacred music. Thus, his first and last years spent at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology were marked by his teaching interest in history, as may be seen from his catalogues and courses in History of Church Music. Even later, when he transferred to the newly established Muzička akademija [Musical Academy] in Belgrade, founded in 1937, Kosta P. Manojlović continued his lectures in Serbian Church Music.¹⁵ Yearly schedules, catalogues and teaching plans show that composition students were required to attend a one-year course "On Serbian Church Singing Styles" in the third year of their studies. Manojlović's plan was to teach "forms of Orthodox Church Music".¹⁶

Certainly, Manojlović's writings on church music require critical interpretation. As our historiographical model is synchronic rather than diachronic, Manojlović's texts will be considered from the contextual angle in this study.

Of course, these are quite different and broad topics. For our present purposes, we will narrow the subject to an in-depth analysis of one of the cornerstones of Manojlović's historiography, his thesis that medieval Serbian chant was somehow *different* from Byzantine, Greek (his own term), or other Orthodox sacred music, already in the 12th and 13th centuries; that is, at the time of the first Archbishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church, St. Sava. This contextualization will be based on literary and textual analysis, as well as on an analysis of discourse and rhetoric.

Manojlović's years spent at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology were marked by a strong symbiosis of the religious and national traditions in Serbia. There were constant clashes between Yugoslav pan-nationalism and the specific nationalist demands of Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian ethnicities.¹⁷

¹⁵ Cf. Ivana Perković, *80 godina Muzičke akademije/Fakulteta muzičke umetnosti*, Beograd, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2017, 26.

¹⁶ AS, Ministry of Education, AS-G-210, F VIII-IX.

¹⁷ Cf. Pieter Troch, *Education and Yugoslav Nationhood in Interwar Yugoslavia: Possibilities, Limitations and Interactions with Other National Ideas*, op. cit., 8–10.

In the Serbian case, the process of “identification by the nationalizing state had a fundamental impact on the relations between religion and nationhood... This has come to expression in the sacralization of the nation, that is, the use of religious symbols in nationalist ideologies, and in the nationalization of religion, that is, the adoption of nationalist discourse in adaptations of religious thinking to modernity.”¹⁸ During the third and fourth decade of the 20th century St Sava was promoted as the one of the key figures in the Serbian Orthodox Church, and “all the credit for the creation, maintenance and survival of the Serbian nation” was given to him.¹⁹

At exactly the same time, Kosta P. Manojlović was one of the first authors who recognized the relevance of Serbian medieval literature for expanding the horizon of otherwise modest knowledge of medieval music. He was interested in the genre of the *žitije* (*vita*), the life of a saint, based on historical or legendary data about that particular person. The genre of the *žitije* is hagiologically oriented and directed toward the identification and description of distinct attributes of a saint, with a clear narrative structure. However, it is marked by a certain “metaphysical historicism”, and the depiction of the “eternal” side of the person. Biographical data are, from the perspective of genre itself, less relevant than religious ideals.²⁰

The “historical sensitivity” of a hagiography and its descriptions of specific situations from everyday life, a saint’s personality, attitudes, and emotions, must have been attractive (as they still are) for researchers interested in the origins of Serbian music in medieval times. In this sense, one of the most representative and most frequently cited passages comes from the *Žitije Stefana Nemanje – Svetog Simeona* [*Life of Stefan Nemanja – St Simeon*] written by his son, Rastko Nemanjić, subsequently canonized as Saint Sava. The author describes the ceremony that was carried out after the death of Simeon:

After the morning service was over and after countless monks had assembled, they began to chant ordinary hymns around the revered body, and did as is said: ‘Those who fear the Lord honor Him.’ Then many nations came to bow down in

¹⁸ Pieter Troch, “The Intertwining of Religion and Nationhood in Interwar Yugoslavia: The School Celebrations of St Sava’s Day”, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 91/2, 2013, 236.

¹⁹ Maria Falina, “Svetosavlje: A Case Study in the Nationalization of Religion”, *Schweizerische Zeitschrift Für Religions- Und Kulturgeschichte*, 101, 2007, 521.

²⁰ Cf. Ivana Perković, “Musical references in Serbian hagiography (*žitija*) and liturgical poetry (*Srbljak*)”, in: R. Klugseder, J. Borders et al. (eds.), *Cantus planus*, Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012, 316–317.

worship and to praise him with songs. Greeks were the first to sing, then came Armenians, then Russians, Bulgarians, and then we again, his flock collected.²¹

Interpretations of this section differ. As has been mentioned, Manojlović believed that “in the time of Christianization there was Serbian singing, and it was different from Greek or the singing of other nations”.²² The figure of St Sava was so important for Manojlović that he insisted on St Sava’s involvement in the creation of a distinct Serbian chant, based on Byzantine foundations. After Manojlović’s time, interpretations of the passage quoted above began to diverge, with some directly conflicting opinions emerging (with far-reaching consequences on the study of the issue).²³

Why did Manojlović treat medieval literature as a “historical archive” that he drew on to prove his thesis about the early distinctiveness of the Serbian chant? Firstly, let us consider facts in the quoted passage written by St Sava.

1. “Countless” (*bez broja*) monks gathered after matins;
2. They sang in accordance with the prescribed monastic traditions (ordinary chants, i.e. those for monks, not for the secular public);
3. The singers sang with dedication and were careful to give homage to the deceased (*časno pojati, sa velikom čašću*);
4. The gathering was of a pan-Orthodox character, as representatives of the monastic community of Mt Athos were present (*mnogi narodi*).

How can these facts be interpreted in the context of musical historiography? Since idealization is a constituent part of medieval literature and the genre of *žitije*, should we read Sava Nemanjić’s words as a literal description, or as communication? What is the influence of religious motivation and ecclesiastical canon on the articulation of the passage?

²¹ Sveti Sava, “Sabrani spisi” [“Collected Writings”], in: D. Bogdanović (ed.), *Stara srpska književnost u 24 knjige* [Old Serbian Literature in 24 Books], Beograd, Prosveta – Srpska književna zadruga, 1986, 115.

²² Kosta Manojlović, *Spomenica Stevanu St. Mokranjcu* [Memorial Book to Stevan St. Mokranjac], Beograd, Državna štamparija Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1923, 157.

²³ For example, Stana Đurić Klajn held the opposite view, that the passage was not “convincing enough” as to there being a distinct Serbian chant, as monks from different monasteries could have been singing in their own (different) languages but to the same or similar tunes. Cf. Stana Đurić Klajn, *Istorijski razvoj muzičke kulture u Srbiji* [Historical Development of the Musical Culture in Serbia], Beograd, Pro musica, 1971, 30.

To be better able to respond to these questions, one ought to examine the relationship between the real and artistic generalization in medieval literature, as described by historian of medieval literature Dmitry Likhachov.

Artistic methods of abstraction in the Middle Ages are all, in varying degrees, deductive [...] However, apart from medieval artistic deduction, there is also artistic induction [...]

Elements of realism should not be identified with documentary quality. The document and the record do not paint reality, but merely reflect it, while in artistic painting an attempt is made to create an illusion of reality, to 'make' the story more obvious, comprehensible, and conceivable.²⁴

The central axis of St Sava's passage is, in fact, the process of idealization, which is a canonical element of the genre of *žitije*. It is an idealization of the event, in which particular importance is given to monastic respect shown to Simeon Nemanja immediately after his death. We should bear in mind the position of the narrator, his son, who was in the congregation and chanted as a member "of his flock", with love, devotion and praise. One seemingly external element, an ornament in "the background" of this literary "image" – liturgical music – is an important part of personal testimony; it also suggests the existence of a space in which singing was a means of deep and immediate personal expression.

To conclude, when considering the historical relevance of the passage from the *Life of St Simeon*, we can be almost certain that the chanting of numerous monks from Athonite monasteries is a historical fact; probably – but not certainly, because of the practice of "decorating" – there were among them Serbs, Greeks, Georgians, Russians, and Bulgarians (although national identity in the Middle Ages had no meaning, unlike in Manojlović's times or today) it is not impossible that St Sava sang, too. But there is no room for hypotheses about national musical variations, or even about the languages in which the chants were sung, not only because there is no literary indication of this kind, but also because the Church Slavonic language was transnational, the common tongue of many monks (Serbs, Russians, Bulgarians), and because bilingualism (Church Slavonic and Greek, for example) was common.

Manojlović's reading of the quoted passage was influenced by the discourse of *svetosavlje* and the idea of emphasizing the ethnic as part of the

²⁴ Dmitrij Sergejevič Lihačov, *Poetika stare ruske književnosti* [*The Poetics of Old Russian Literature*], Beograd, Srpska književna zadruka, 1972, 152.

Christian.²⁵ The creation of an autocephalous and national church in St Sava's time was interpreted as a reflection of the harmony between Church and State, and this was an authentic Serbian Orthodox answer to rising challenges of the interwar period. Thus, the basic argument of the *svetosavlje* movement, the sanctification of the national, was further intensified by Manojlović's conclusions that Serbian chant had both medieval and national roots, the same purpose as served by the Serbian Orthodox Church. About St Sava Manojlović writes: "and he, a man who had close connections with Byzantium and its culture, had to pay attention to music as part of church rituals. Just as he transposed many [Byzantine] elements into the cultural life of his nation, he also had to do something about music; the above passage from the *Life of St Simeon* serves to confirm that Serbian church singing, as something distinct and different, existed at that time".²⁶ Historical continuity of chant from the medieval times of the Nemanjić state was one of the basic axes in Manojlović's historical view on the distinctiveness of the Serbian chant.

The picture of Kosta Manojlović's teaching practice that emerges from this research is generally more detailed and enriched with new data and analysis of his work than it was. Unfortunately, it was not possible to follow the long-term effects of his interventions and actions at the Univerzitet u Beogradu [University of Belgrade] as the Faculty of Orthodox Theology was split from the University in 1952. Manojlović had the difficult task of building his career as a university teacher in an environment that was not always supportive of his efforts, especially when it came to his integration of research into teaching, but he did accomplish his task by integrating his knowledge, acting and being. His integration of research and practical work in the field of Serbian chant, even if we may not agree with all his conclusions, was visionary and is still a valid, and the most preferred, approach to this interesting and valuable subject.

²⁵ On *svetosavlje* as integrating national principle cf., for example, Bojan Aleksov, "Nationalism in Construction: The Memorial Church of St. Sava on Vračar Hill in Belgrade", *Balkanologie*, VII/2, 2003, 55–59.

²⁶ Kosta Manojlović, op. cit., 157.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Manojlović's course catalogues and teaching positions at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade

Year	Subject	Manojlović's position
1923–24	Octoechos Historical overview of the development of Serbian Orthodox church singing and church choral music, 4 classes per week, Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays from 6 to 7 pm, and Fridays from 3 to 4 pm.	Part-time teacher
1924–25	Octoechos for the second semester students, 2 classes per week, Monday and Saturday from 9 to 10 am.	Part-time teacher
1925–26	Octoechos for first semester students, 2 classes per week, Mondays and Saturdays from 8 to 9 am. General Chant for third semester students, 2 classes per week, Mondays and Saturdays from 9 to 10 am. Summer semester: same for students of second and fourth semester. Lecture Hall No. 7. Kosta Manojlović will see students before and after lectures in the Professors' Office.	Part-time teacher
1926–27	Octoechos for first semester students, 2 classes per week, Mondays and Saturdays from 8 to 9 am General Chant for third semester students, 2 classes per week, Mondays and Saturdays from 9 to 10 am. Summer semester: Octoechos and General Chant for students of third and fourth semesters, 4 classes per week, Mondays and Saturdays from 9 to 10 am. Lecture Hall No. 1.	Part-time teacher
1927–28	Octoechos for first and second semester students, Mondays from 8 to 10 am. General Chant for third and fourth semester, Saturdays from 8 to 10 am. Lecture Hall No. 1.	University Teacher of Skills
1928–29	Octoechos, Modes Five to Eight for first and second semester students, Saturdays from 8 to 10 am General Chant for third and fourth semester students, Mondays from 8 to 10 am. Lecture Hall No. 1.	University Teacher of Skills

1929–30	Octoechos for first year students, Saturdays from 8 to 10 am. General Chant for second year students on Mondays from 8 to 10 am. Lecture Hall No. 1.	University Teacher of Skills
1930–31	Octoechos for first year students, Saturdays from 8 to 10 am. General Chant for second year students on Mondays from 8 to 10 am. Lecture Hall No. 1.	University Teacher of Skills
1931–32	Octoechos for first year students, Saturdays from 8 to 10 am. General Chant for second year son Wednesdays from 8 to 10 am.	Senior University Teacher of Skills
1932–33	Octoechos for first year students, Fridays from 8 to 10 am. General Chant for second year students on Wednesdays from 8 to 10 am.	Senior University Teacher of Skills
1933–34	Octoechos for first year students, Fridays from 8 to 10 am. General Chant for second year students on Wednesdays from 8 to 10 am. Lecture Hall 15.	Senior University Teacher of Skills
1934–35	Octoechos for first year students, Fridays from 8 to 10 am. General Chant for second year students on Wednesdays from 10 to 12 am. Lecture Hall 15.	Senior University Teacher of Skills
1935–36	History of Church Music for first year students, on Fridays from 8 to 10 am and Saturdays. General Chant from 8 to 10 am.	Senior University Teacher of Skills
1936–37	History of Church Music for first year students, on Fridays from 8 to 10 am and Saturdays. General Chant and Octoechos for first year students from 8 to 10 am.	Senior University Teacher of Skills
1937–38	There were no classes in Church Singing with History of the Church Music. The schedule will be announced later.	Senior University Teacher of Skills

Поговоци
 Павле Поповићу, ректору Универзитета

Скупом Професорског Савета Социјалне факултета
 израдили смо за Наставника Црквене Музике. Како Настав-
 ник у нашем Социјалном факултету Црквене музике који
 добила своју засебну Катедру, хоће се извршава само као изредно,
 и више на изјављеној основи, него на Универзитету него изредно
 да буде; и како је од важица интереса изабраног изредно, јавног
 и Народног и савне научнале тако црквене музике, хоће сам
 слободан изабраног Вас, Поговоци Јекићу, да би изредно раде-
 ва на изабраног Катедре за Црквену Музику, која би се
 извршавала на нашој важици основи, као што је то и на
 Универзитетској групи важица.

Како услед Дунавске Немогућности мој изабраног Катедри
 да смо се све до овог времена на старо, и како је на Социјалном
 факултету и да се ради као изабраног Наставник, хоће сам сло-
 бодан изабраног Вас, Поговоци Јекићу, да изјављујемо код Д. Милића
Професорског савета да се учини на рад на Социјалном факултету,
освајања на властима савској Део. Институте и промену савета у
Тимнари.

29. X. 1924
 у Београду

Коста П. Манјоловић
 Наставник музике Део. Институте
 Катедра Наставник Социјалног факултета

Figure 1: Manojlović's letter to Pavle Popović, rector of the University of Belgrade, October 29th, 1924

Summary

In this paper we deal with Kosta Manojlović's engagement in the field of church music education, especially within curricula of the Pravoslavno-bogoslovski fakultet [Faculty of Orthodox Theology] in Belgrade, aiming to answer two research questions: one, regarding different aspects of Manojlović's work at the between 1923 and 1937, and the other, dealing with ways in which his writings on the Serbian Orthodox church music were affected by the historical, social, and cultural milieu of the interwar period.

An analysis of Manojlović's teaching catalogues for the Faculty of Orthodox Theology between 1923/24 and 1936/37, showed three basic models in syllabi organisation: in his early teaching career, he was teaching two subjects "Octoechos" and "History of Serbian Orthodox Church Singing Church Choral Music" (in 1923/24); as mid-career teacher (between 1924/25 and 1934/35) he was teaching "Octoechos" and "Strano pjenije", while in the last years spent at the school Manojlović's teaching subjects were "History of Church Music" and "Octoechos and General Chant".

However, the most important aspects of Manojlović's teaching philosophy are not available in syllabi of his courses. For that reason, we turned to his published writings, having in mind his plans for introducing more research tools into curricula of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology. He advocated the introduction of scientific methods: in his opinion, this was the only acceptable and credible method for an academic approach to Serbian sacred music. Among many subjects in the field of Serbian Orthodox music, Kosta P. Manojlović wrote about the relevance of Serbian medieval literature, and he was one of the first authors who recognized the importance of this subject for expanding the horizon of otherwise modest knowledge of medieval music. We explain the ways in which some of his readings of the genre of *žitije* (vita), the life of a saint, were influenced by the discourse of *svetosavlje* and the idea of emphasizing the ethnic as part of the Christian, without taking into account the process of idealization, which is a canonical element of the genre of *žitije*.

The picture of Kosta Manojlović's teaching practice presented in this article is generally more detailed and enriched with new data and analysis of certain aspects of his work. Unfortunately, it was not possible to follow the long-term effects of his interventions and actions at the Univerzitet u Beogradu [University of Belgrade] as the Faculty of Orthodox Theology was split from the University in 1952. Manojlović had the difficult task of building his career as a university teacher in an environment that was not always supportive of his efforts, especially when it came to his integration of research into teaching, but he did accomplish his task by integrating his knowledge, acting and being. His integration of research and practical work in the field of Serbian chant, even if we may not agree with all his conclusions, was visionary and is still a valid, and the most preferred, approach to the subject.