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Palestrina in Serbia: Kosta Manojlović and Early Music*

Palestrina v Srbiji: Kosta Manojlović in stara glasba

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IZVLEČEK

Kosta P. Manojlović je bil izredno pomemben za razvoj srbske zborovske glasbe in glasbenega izobraževanja. Med študijem v tujini je spoznal repertoar zahodnoevropske »stare glasbe«, ki je globoko zaznamovala njegovo delo. Članek obravnava njegove priredbe renesančne polifonije, najdene v arhivu Prvega beograjskega pevskega društva (Prvo beogradsko pevačko društvo).

ABSTRACT

Kosta P. Manojlović was a highly significant figure in the development of Serbian choral music and musical education. His studies abroad brought him into contact with repertoires of Western "early music" that had a profound impact on his work. This article discusses his adaptations of Renaissance polyphony found in the archive of the First Belgrade Choral Society.

* An earlier and much shorter version of this article was given as a paper at the 8th International Conference on Orthodox Church Music, "Sacred Sounds of Holiness," at the University of Eastern Finland on 10 June 2019.

Some years ago, it was brought to my attention that there were, in the archive of the First Belgrade Choral Society in Belgrade, Serbia, copies of a number of 16th-century Latin motets, with adaptations of the texts in Church Slavonic.¹ Knowing at the time something of the importance that Western early music had assumed in Serbia during the first half of the 20th century, some years later I was able to pursue this line of enquiry, and should like to record my gratitude to the present Director of the First Belgrade Choral Society, Svetlana Vilić, who generously granted me full access to the archive and dispensed of her time in order to further my investigations. The scores in question include both sacred and secular music, by Western 16th-century composers, and in particular, Palestrina. The fact that they are to be found in this archive at all, the result of the initiative of the composer and conductor Kosta P. Manojlović, is in itself remarkable, especially given that the liturgical works are part of the Western tradition and would thus have no function in the Byzantine rite, but even more so is the provision of Slavonic singing translations. In this article I will discuss these works and the impact that Manojlović's interest in this repertoire had on the subsequent development of contemporary church music in Serbia, and on the history of the choral societies which were (and are) such an important part of the country's musical life.

Kosta P. Manojlović

Firstly, brief biographical details concerning Kosta P. Manojlović are necessary. He was a true "Renaissance man," engaged in multifarious cultural and educational activities. Born in Krnjevo, in the municipality of Velika Plana, in 1890, he was not only a composer, conductor, teacher and musicologist, but he had been sound educated in theology, graduating from the St Sava Seminary in 1910. He subsequently studied under the most renowned of Serbian composers, Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, and also worked as a teacher, in Čuprija and Belgrade. In 1912 he was given a scholarship in order to further his studies in Moscow and Munich, though these studies were intermittent because of the two Balkan Wars (1912 and 1913). He took part in the Serbian army's retreat through Albania in 1915, and it was while recovering from typhoid fever in the Albanian town of Fier that he completed his *Liturgija za muški hor* (*Liturgy for Male Choir*), begun in Kragujevac at the beginning of World War I. He was subsequently stationed on Corfu, where he founded a military choir.

In 1917 Manojlović continued his studies at Oxford University, earning the degree of Bachelor of Music, and returning to Serbia in 1919, where he endeavoured to perpetuate the legacy of Mokranjac through his involvement with choral societies in Serbia, and, indeed, Yugoslavia, but especially through his work as conductor of the Beogradsko pevačko društvo (Belgrade Choral Society).²

It was at Oxford that Manojlović was introduced to the music with which we are concerned here. He became a member of the Oxford Bach Choir, then directed by one of his lecturers, Percy Hugh Allen, and thus continued and deepened his interest in

1 I thank my friend and colleague Professor Bogdan Đaković for this information.

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

and soloists, which was broadcast, and which must have been no small undertaking given the scant knowledge of this repertoire (and above all appropriate performance practice) on the part of performers at that time in Serbia;⁵ it is obvious that his work with Eugen Schmitz on Bach performance was of a deep and lasting influence. The choir was also of sufficient level to perform far more modern music as complex as Taneyev's cantata *John of Damascus*.⁶ The performance of the *Christmas Oratorio* was given in Serbian; as was common at that time in Great Britain, works with German texts were given in translation, and Manojlović would seem to have followed this path, inviting the composer Stanislav Binički to undertake the task of translating.⁷

Choral Societies in Serbia

Before continuing with the details of the composer's life, it is necessary to explain the role of choral societies in Serbia.⁸ These institutions came about during the course of the 19th century, the oldest being that of Pančevo, founded in 1838, and the Belgrade Society the next oldest. These societies sang (and still sing) not only Serbian and other Orthodox church music, but classics from the Western choral repertoire, and were fundamental in the establishment of a solid choral tradition in Serbia, a tradition that became renowned not only within Serbia but abroad; the Stanković Music Society, for example, included in its repertoire Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* and toured Czechoslovakia, Romania, France, Bulgaria and Hungary, and the Obilić Academic Singing Society gave the *premières* in Belgrade not only of contemporary works such as Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* (1933), but music as venerable as Mozart's *Coronation Mass* (1926).

The Belgrade Singing Society was founded in January 1853 by the music theorist Milan Milovuk, and was later conducted by Mokranjac, and subsequently by many prominent Serbian composers and conductors. Its role in Manojlović's career was of great importance, providing him as it did with a vehicle with which to consolidate Serbian and Slavic choral repertoire in general and also to experiment with Western early music, as mentioned above.

5 More on the composer's engagement with early music may be found in Predrag Đoković, "Kosta P. Manojlović and Early Music: Echoes of the 'Elizabethan Fever' in Serbia," in *Kosta P. Manojlović (1890–1949) and the Idea of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Unification*, eds. Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić, and Aleksandar Vasić (Belgrade: SASA, 2017), 185–198; and, especially, in Predrag Đoković, "The Influence of the European Early Music Movement on Performance Practice in Serbia" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Arts in Belgrade, Belgrade, 2016). I am grateful to Professor Đoković for providing me with a copy of his pioneering doctoral thesis.

6 See Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *Tradition and Avant-Garde: The Arts in Serbian Culture between the Two World Wars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 38–40 for discussion of this period of the composer's life.

7 Đoković, "Kosta P. Manojlović and Early Music," 191.

8 There is an increasing amount of literature concerning Serbian choral societies, including Tomandl Mihovil, *Memorial of the Pancevo Serbian Church Singing Society: 1838–1938*, reprinted with introduction by Vera Carina (Belgrade: Propec, 2008), and Jelena Videnović and Branislav Tikić, *120 Years of the "Branko" Church Singing Association* (Niš: Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, 2008); little material is available in English on this subject, but of interest are the section dealing with choral music in Katarina Tomašević, "Musical Life in Serbia in the First Half of the 20th Century," in *Serbian & Greek Art Music*, ed. Katy Romanou (Bristol and Chicago: Intellect, 2009), 42–45; the detailed history of one of the most emblematic of these, the Singing Society of Pančevo, in Vera Carina, "The Serbian Church Singing Society of Pančevo as part of Serbian Culture," in *Church, State and Nation in Orthodox Church Music: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Orthodox Church Music, 8–14 June 2009*, eds. Ivan Moody and Maria Takala-Roszczenko (Joensuu: ISOCM, 2010), 242–253; and Biljana Milanović, ed., *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (1856–1914): The Belgrade Choral Society Foreign Concert Tours* (Belgrade: SASA/SMS, 2014).

The Work of Manojlović in Serbia

Manojlović's return to his native country enabled him to continue his teaching career, at a time when profound changes were taking place in the educational system of Serbia.⁹ Even while still at Oxford, in 1919, he had made representations to the Minister of Education and Religion, requesting to be employed as a music teacher, and ideally at the St Sava Seminary. He was successful in this, and was employed as a replacement music teacher there, and also music teacher at the Music School in Belgrade. He continued teaching in various institutions for the rest of his life.¹⁰

The composer's concern with education was not limited to his official teaching work; his engagement as conductor of the First Belgrade Choral Society also provided him with a unique opportunity to broaden the horizons of amateur singers in Serbia and introduce them to new repertoire which they would hardly have encountered otherwise. In many ways, the high point of Manojlović's work with the First Belgrade Choral Society would seem to have been what is generally recognized as the first performance in Yugoslavia (and certainly in Serbia) of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* in 1925, which the critic Jovan Zorko saw as a new departure in Serbian singing tradition.¹¹ There was also a well-received concert including English madrigals in 1927, which was repeated two years later, and, as General Secretary of the Južnoslovenski pevački savez (South-Slavic Choral Union) from 1924–1932, he organized concerts by a number of English choirs in Zagreb and Belgrade in 1930.¹²

The Archive of the First Belgrade Choral Society

The materials archive of the Society clearly show the influence of Manojlović's years at Oxford, containing, in addition to the repertoire one might expect by Serbian composers (especially Mokranjac and a substantial number of pieces of his own authorship), Russians such as Tchaikovsky and Grechaninov and works by composers such as Dvořák, Liszt and Schumann, Anglican church music by Geoffrey Shaw and Charles Wood, and some twenty works from the 16th and 17th centuries, and it is on these latter that I intend to concentrate in this article.

Those works I was able to locate in the Society's archive are as follows:

- Two motets by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: *Exaudi Domine* and *Ego sum panis vivus*;
- One motet by Orlandus Lassus: *Iniquos odio habui*;

9 Pieter Troch examines these in detail in his thesis, "Education and Yugoslav Nationhood in Interwar Yugoslavia: Possibilities, Limitations and Interactions with Other National Ideas" (Doctoral dissertation, Ghent University, Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, 2012), 99–170, <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/4267482/file/4336097.pdf>.

10 The composer's teaching career is examined in detail in Ivana Perković and Biljana Mandić, "Kosta P. Manojlović and the Teaching of Liturgical Singing," *New Sound* 53, no. 1 (2019): 19–36, http://www.ojs.newsound.org.rs/index.php/NS/article/view/No.53_19-36/3.

11 Jovan Zorko, "Missa Papae Marcelli od Palestrine," *Srpski književni glasnik* 15, no. 5 (1925): 384–387; apud Đoković, "Kosta P. Manojlović and Early Music," 189.

12 Ibid., 192.

- One motet by Clemens non Papa: *Erravi sicut ovis*;
- One motet by Robert White: *O Praise God in His Holiness*.

In addition, there are a number of secular works:

- Two canzonettas by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: *Da così dotta man' and Ah, che quest' occhi miei*;
- Two madrigals by Claudio Monteverdi: *Quel augellin che canta* and *Ah! Dolente partita*;
- One madrigal by John Wilbye: *Adieu Sweet Amaryllis*;
- *Lullaby* by William Byrd.

The archive's catalogue shows that there are further works, by John Bull, Giovanni Croce, a further motet by Clemens non Papa (*Tristitia obsedit me*), two further madrigals by Monteverdi, John Morley's setting of words from the Song of Songs *O Amica mea*, Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, a madrigal by Francis Pilkington, and a work by Henry Purcell. These I was not able to locate, and indeed not all of them are immediately identifiable from the sometimes rather unclear entries in the catalogue, but with the exception of the other motet by Clemens non Papa, it proved possible to find all the sacred music which had initially aroused my interest.

The scores for these works were prepared by the choir's clear and methodical copyist, Stevan Klokić, from whose dating of the copies one may see that this repertoire was in use from the late 1920s to 1931 – in other words, throughout the tenure of Manojlović. 1931 was the year in which he felt obliged to resign as the conductor of the choir, but the foundation of the new Pevačko društvo "Mokranjac" (the Mokranjac Choral Society) enabled Manojlović to continue his work and even to perform Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, as mentioned above. It was also the year in which he published a substantial article on early English music;¹³ it is clear that his enthusiasm for such repertoire was far from diminished.

As far as the Renaissance motets in the archive are concerned, judging by the works that have been preserved, Manojlović's procedure was to choose works with texts taken from the Scriptures so that translations into Church Slavonic would be readily available; settings of texts unique to the Roman rite would have presented a far greater challenge on account of the lack of correspondence with those in the Byzantine rite, and at all events, the performance of liturgical music was complicated in the Serbia of this period. Western music, even when setting sacred texts, did not have the overtones of the "official" Serbian Orthodox Church, and was therefore deemed acceptable concert fare. Palestrina's four-part setting of *Exaudi Domine* comes from his *Motecta festorum totius anni liber primus*, published in Venice by Antonio Gardano in 1564. This collection, as David Crook has noted, "mirrors the practice at the Sistine Chapel in 1616,"¹⁴ and this particular text is part of the offertory from the rite for the dedication of a church (see Musical example 2).

13 "Istorijski pogled na muziku u Engleskoj," based on the work of Ernest Walker. See Đoković, "Kosta P. Manojlović and Early Music," 193.

14 David Crook, "Proper to the day: Calendrical ordering in post-Tridentine motet books," in *Mapping the Motet in the Tridentine Era*, eds. Esperanza Rodríguez-García and Daniele V. Filippi (London: Routledge, 2018), 23, doi:10.4324/9781315463094-2.

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УСЛИШИ ГОСПОДИ МОЛИТВУ МОЈУ
=EXAUDI DOMINE=

(MOTET)

Giovanni Perluigi di Palestrina
(1524 - 1594)

(1524 & 1594) Legato

Moderato

СОПРАН

АЛТ

ТЕНОР

БАС

У-сли-ши Го спо-ди, Го
Ex au-di mi ne Do

У- Ex сли-ши Го До

- спо-ди ми-не мо-лит-ву ра-ба тво-
mi nes ces ser-vi lu

- спо-ди мо-лит-ву ра-ба тво- je го,
mi nes pre ces ser-vi lu i,

У Ex сли-ши Го спо-ти
au-di Do mi

je го, у ex сли-ши Го спо-ти
i, ex au-di Do mi

у ex сли-ши Го спо-ти мо-лит-ву ра-ба
au-di Do mi nes ces ser-vi

спо-ти ди не Го спо-ти ди не
mi nes Do mi nes

сли-ши Го До спо-ти ди не
au-di Do mi nes

пснД-4331

Musical example 2: Palestrina, Exaudi Domine/Usliši Gospodi.

The text is based upon the Book of Daniel, chapter 9, verses 17 and 19. *Ego sum panis vivus* comes from the *Motectorum quatuor vocibus, liber secundus* published in Milan by the heirs of Francesco and Simone Tini in 1587. It is a text used for Corpus Christi, a feast generally unknown in the Eastern Churches, though not in the Slavic Catholic world, as the research of Maria Takala-Roszczenko has shown,¹⁵ but what is important in this context is that the origins of the text are in the Gospels, and specifically the Gospel of John, chapter 6, verses 48–52a. The text of the Lassus motet, *Iniquos odio habui*, comes from Psalm 118, verses 113–4, and was published in *Modulorum Orlandi de Lassus quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonis & denis vocibus modularum secundum volumen*, by Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard in Paris in 1565. There is a second part to this work, *Declinate a me*, but Manojlović chose to adapt only the first. Also from Psalm 118 (verse 176) is the text of *Erravi sicut ovis* by Clemens non Papa, a responsory verse sung at second Vespers on the First Sunday of Lent (Musical example 3).

The challenge of adapting an elaborate polyphonic work original written in Latin to Slavonic might be thought to be considerable, but Manojlović achieves the transition in all cases with great elegance; he makes the melismata coincide in the two languages as far as possible, only occasionally altering them on account of different stress or the need for an extra syllable, as may be clearly seen by comparing the Church Slavonic and the Latin in both the Palestrina and the Clemens above. In all these cases, this is facilitated by the syllable count in the Latin and Slavonic texts being almost identical, and so it was possible to underlay the editions with both. Thus, *Exaudi Domine* has 60 syllables, while its Slavonic version, *Ušliši Gospodi*, has 57. *Ego sum panis vivus* has 52 syllables in Latin, while the Slavonic version, *Az jest hleb životni*, has 41. *Iniquos odio habui* by Lassus has 39 syllables in Latin and 40 in Slavonic, as *Zakono prestupnija voznenavidjeh*, while Clemens's *Erravi sicut ovis* has 32 in its Latin version and exactly the same number in Slavonic, as *Zabludih jako ovča*. While it is not clear from precisely which editions Manojlović made his adaptations, it is reasonable to assume that he took over the dynamic and other performance indications from them. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that the Clemens motet has the indication “pas lent” – the use of the French language would otherwise be extremely surprising in this context.

Robert White's *O Praise God in His Holiness* is a more curious case. This work, a setting of words from Psalm 150, is preserved in British Museum, Additional Mss 30480–4 (the institution which holds this manuscript is charmingly described in the transcription as the “Britich Museum”), and is underlaid in Manojlović's version with Slavonic text only. One is led to surmise from this that while singers in Serbia were clearly perfectly competent in Latin, English was thought at that time to be beyond them. The fact that the two secular songs by Palestrina retained their Italian texts suggests both that Italian was considered easier to pronounce by Serbs and also that finding a suitable

15 See Maria Takala-Roszczenko, “The Italo-Byzantine Roots of Ruthenian Hymnography for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist,” in *Creating Liturgically: Hymnography and Music; Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland, 8-14 June 2015*, eds. Ivan Moody and Maria Takala-Roszczenko (Joensuu: ISOCM, 2017), 219–227; and Maria Takala-Roszczenko, “The ‘Latin’ within the ‘Greek’: The Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the Context of Ruthenian Eastern Rite Liturgical Evolution in the 16th–18th Centuries” (Doctoral dissertation, University of Eastern Finland, 2013), http://epublications.uef.fi/pub/urn_isbn_978-952-61-1302-9/index_en.html.

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ЗАБЛУДИХ ЈАКО ОВЧА

≡ERRAVI SICUT OVIS≡

ПСАЛАМ 118 ст. 176

(MOTET)

[illegible]

Musical example 3: Clemens non Papa, Erravi sicut ovis/Zabludih jako ovča.

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ГЛЕ ПТИЧЕ ТАМО ПЕВА

- QUEL AUGUELLIN, CHE SANTA-
(MADRIGALE)

Claudio Monteverdi

Grazioso

СОПР. I
Гле, ти-че та-мо пе - - - ва на гра-ни

СОПР. II
Гле, ти-че та-мо пе - - - ва на гра-ни

АЛТ
Гле ти-че та-мо пе - - - ва на гра-ни

ТЕНОР

БАС

СИ
крас-но, ве-се-ло шу-мом пе - - - ти

СИ
крас-но, ве-се-ло шу-мом пе - - - ти

А
крас-но, ве-се-ло шу-мом пе - - - ти

Т.

Б.

ПБНД-4334

Musical example 4: Monteverdi, Quel augellin/Gle ptiče tamo peva.

Прво БЕОГРАДСКО ПЕВАЧКО ДРУШТВО

2958

УСПАВАНКА

- Lulla by, my sweet little baby -

William Byrd
1588

Slow - Лагано

[illegible]

Musical example 5: Byrd, Lullaby/Uspavanka.

translation would have presented considerable difficulties. However, the fact that Monteverdi's *Quel augellin che canta* (see Musical example 4) and *Ah! Dolente partita* are provided with singing translations in modern Serbian rather goes against such a supposition.

The Serbian version of the Byrd *Lullaby*, a consort song, is perhaps not so extraordinary in this context, given that poetry intended to help babies fall asleep tends to be broadly similar over the world; nevertheless, the context of the original – a lament for the massacre of the innocents under King Herod – is entirely missing (see Musical example 5). Given the much shorter length of the Serbian text, it is not surprising that Manojlović here uses a great deal of melismata, whereas in the Latin-texted pieces very little adjustment is necessary in that respect.

The following list shows the Latin originals of the sacred pieces and the Slavonic translations, together with the syllable count.

Palestrina: Exaudi Domine

Motecta festorum totius anni liber primus, Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1564.

Exaudi Domine preces servi tui, illumine faciem tuam super sanctuarium tuum Domine, et propitios intende populum istum super quem invocatum est nomen tuum Deus.

(Syllable count 60)

Услиши Господи молитву раба твојего, просвети лице твоје во храмје свјатјем твојем, и вонми милостиво глас вјерних твоих јако призивајушче свјатоје имја твоје Боже.

(Syllable count 57)

Palestrina: Ego sum panis vivus

Motectorum quatuor vocibus, liber secundus, Milan: heirs of Francesco and Simone Tini, 1587.

Ego sum panis vivus. Patres vestri manducaverunt manna in deserto, et mortui sunt. Hic est panis de caelo descendens: si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non morietur.

(Syllable count 52)

Аз јест хлеб животни. Отци ваши јадоса ману в пустини и умроша. Сеј јест хлеб сходјај с небесе: да ашче кто от него јаст, не умрет.

(Syllable count 51)

Lassus: Iniquos odio habui

Modulorum Orlandi de Lassus quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonis & denis vocibus modulatorum secundum volumen, Paris: Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard 1565.

Prima pars:

Iniquos odio habui et legem tuam dilexi, adjutor et susceptor meus es tu, et in verbum tuum supersperavi.

(Syllable count 39)

[*Secunda pars*, not adapted:

Declinate a me maligni et scrutabor mandata Dei mei.]

Законо преступнија возненавидјех, закон же твој возљубих, помошчник и заступник мој јеси ти: на словеса твојеја уповах.

(Syllable count 40)

Clemens non Papa: Erravi sicut ovis

Liber Primus Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum, Antwerp: Tielman Susato 1553.

Erravi sicut ovis quae periit; quaere servum tuum, Domine, quia mandata tua non sum oblitus.

(Syllable count 32)

Заблудих јако овча погибшеје; взишчи раба твојего Госпо

де, јако заповједи твоих, не забих.

(Syllable count 32)

Robert White: O Praise God in His Holiness

Ps. 150, from BM, Additional Mss 30480–4 (“British Museum”).

Underlaid with Slavonic text only.

O praise God in his holiness: praise him in the firmament of his power. Praise him in his noble acts. Praise him according to his excellent greatness. Praise him in the sound of the trumpet, praise him upon the lute and harp. Praise him in the cymbals and dances, praise him upon the strings and pipe. Praise him upon the well-tuned cymbals, praise him upon the loud cymbals. Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord. Amen.

Хвалите Бога во свјатих јего, во утврђенији сили јего. Хвалите јего на силах јего, хвалите јего по мноштву величестија јего: Хвалите јего во гласје трубњем, хвалите јего во псалтири и гуслех. Хвалите јего в тимпањеси лицје, хвалите јего во струнах и оргање: хвалите јего в кимваље доброгласних, хвалите јего во склицанија. Всакоје дишание да хвалит Господа. Амин.

And in the following list, in order to be as complete as possible, I present the texts of the secular works:

William Byrd: Lullaby

William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets, & songs of sadness and piete*, London, 1588.
Underlaid with Serbian text only.

Буји, баји, моје чедо драго, ти чедо драго, ох, нашто плач тај? Буји баји ој, буји баји пај ох?
Ти чедо ми драго буји пај.

[Original English text, complete:

1.

My sweet little Baby, what meanest Thou to cry?
Be still, my blessed Babe, though cause Thou hast to mourn,
Whose blood most innocent to shed the cruel king has sworn;
And lo, alas! Behold what slaughter he doth make,
Shedding the blood of infants all, sweet Saviour, for Thy sake.
A King, a King is born, they say, which King this king would kill.

Refrain:

O woe and woeful heavy day when wretches have their will!
Lulla, la-hulla, lulla, lullaby.

2.

Three kings this King of kings to see are come from far,
To each unknown, with offerings great, by guiding of a star;
And shepherds heard the song which angels bright did sing.
Giving all glory unto God for coming of this King,
Which must be made away — King Herod would Him kill.

Refrain.

3.

Lo, lo, my little Babe, be still, lament no more:
From fury Thou shalt step aside, help have we still in store;
We heavenly warning have some other soil to seek;
From death must fly the Lord of life, as lamb both mild and meek;
Thus must my Babe obey the king that would Him kill.

Refrain.

4.

But thou shalt live and reign, as Sibyls have foresaid,
As all the prophets prophesy, whose mother, yet a maid
And perfect virgin pure, with her breasts shall upbreed
Both God and man that all hath made, the Son of heavenly seed,
Whom caitiffs none can 'tray, whom tyrants none can kill.

Refrain.]

Monteverdi: Quel augellin che canta*Il quarto libro de madrigal a cinque voci*, Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1603.

Quel augellin che canta
 si dolcemente
 e lascivetto vola
 hor de l'abete al faggio
 et hor dal faggio al mirto,
 s'havesse humano spirto,
 direbb': Ardo d'amore!
 Ma ben arde nel core
 e chiam'il suo desio
 che li respond':
 ardo d'amor anch'io!
 Che sii tu benedetto,
 amoroso, gentil, vago augeletto!

Где (п)тиче тамо пева
 на грани красно весело
 шзном летанкој са букве јели,
 а с'јеле часом мирти.
 Да зборит знаш,
 рекла ти: љубав ме тре!
 Слама ме бол, и јад!
 Срцет'пламти у огњу
 и женка твоја то зна, и вели
 Ој: гле, љубав мене,
 и мене младу, љубав тре!
 Ја благослов ти дајен, красна тичице,
 Ој, драга мила, ој заљубљена!

Monteverdi: Ah! Dolente partita*Il quarto libro de madrigal a cinque voci*, Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1603.

Underlaid with Serbian text only.

Ах! Зар већ растанкавац! Ах! Мог живита крај је! Зар без теб' ја да жибим? У души мојој,
 гле, смрт ми вазда лебди. Станка нашег час, вај, за ме смрт само значи, нове наде ми даје,
 задњи крај је бесмртна срца мога!

[Original Italian text:

Ah, dolente partita!
 ah, fin de la mia vita!
 da te parto e non moro?
 E pur i' provo
 la pena de la morte
 e sento nel partire
 un vivace morire,
 che da vita al dolore
 per far che moia immortalmente il core.]

Palestrina: Ahi, che quest' occhi miei – Ah, ove moje oči*Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Rome: Simone Verovio, 1589.**Da cosi dotta man'** – Majstora vještom rukom*Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Rome: Simone Verovio, 1589.

Both these songs are provided with translations not intended for singing.

John Wilbye: Adieu, sweet Amarillis

The first set of English Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 and 6 voices, London: Thomas Este, 1598.
Underlaid with Serbian text only.

Ој збогом мила Амарилис! Зар сад О драга Амрамилис! Твој пут ми знај ох силан спрема
вај. Ох, горка гласа, ту за ме нема спаса. Још једном само на растанку драга стобом сад.
Амарилис мила, збогом ти, ох вај, Амарилис драга збогом вај!

[Original English text:

Adieu, sweet Amaryllis, For since to part your will is, O heavy tiding. Here is for me
no biding, Yet once again, ere that I part with you, yet once again, Amaryllis, sweet,
adieu.]

Conclusions

It is difficult to overestimate Manojlović's enterprise in choosing this repertoire for use in the context of the Serbian singing society, or his skill in adapting it. The texts in Slavonic naturally give rise to a very different vocal colour from the Latin originals, but Manojlović was extremely skilful in adhering closely to the character of the original versions, in terms both of the positioning of the text and the use of melismata, and, as may be seen in the list, the syllable count when one compares Latin and Slavonic is generally very close. It would be unjust indeed to consider Manojlović's work in this regard as being merely an eccentric experiment, with no relevance to his activity as a composer within the context of Yugoslavia. On the contrary, his interest in this music, foreign though it was by nationality, language and rite, provided him with a stimulus as a composer that was unique in Serbia during this period. Like his teacher Mokranjac, he had the ability to absorb techniques and approaches from foreign repertoires, and to adapt and import them, as both composer and conductor, in his quest to raise the quality both of musical composition and performance in his native country. Nevertheless, the question of the reception of his activity in this sphere in his native country was possibly not as eager as he would have wished, and certainly the unfamiliarity of the repertoire and the low standards of the performing ensembles would have been a factor in this, as both Katarina Tomašević and Predrag Đojović have suggested.¹⁶

His graduation cantata, *Na reka vavilonskih*, already shows Manojlović's skills as a master of counterpoint, and his later *Sticheron for the Serbian Saints (Stihira srpskim svetiteljima)*, written in 1943 and making uniquely thorough use of imitative writing and fugue, develops this even further (see Musical example 6).

It is also true, however, that both works are intentionally monumental: the composer's true legacy was much more diverse than these hugely impressive fireworks might suggest. He left, in the first place, a lasting impression on Serbian choral culture, both sacred and secular, through his work as a conductor, organizer and administrator of choirs, by means of the introduction of Western repertoire and through the

16 Katarina Tomašević, *Na raskršću Istoka i Zapada: O dijalogu tradicionalnog i modernog u srpskog muzici (1918-1941)* (Beograd, Novi Sad: Muzikološki institut SANU, Matica srpska, 2009), 105; Đoković, "Kosta P. Manojlović and Early Music," 192.

Melodia ben marcato

mf

Гав. но - а
Са во рав но - а

мый, Гав. во рав но - а по - том. мый, Гав. во
ниј, Са во рав но - а по - стол - ниј, Са во.

мый, Гав. во, Гав. во
ниј, Са во, Са во

Melodia ben marcato

Гав.
Са

по. стол. мый, Гав. во
ниј, Са во

рав. но. а. по - том. мый, Гав. во,
рав. но. а. по - стол. ниј, Са во,

рав. но - а. по - том. мый, Гав.
рав. но - а. по - стол. ниј, Са

во. рав. но - а. по - том. стол.
рав. но - а. по - том. мый, Гав. во. рав. но. а. по - стол.
Гав. во. рав. но - а. по - стол.
Са. во. рав. но - а. по - стол.

во, Гав. во, Гав. во рав - но - а. по - том -
во, Са во, Са во рав - но - а. по - стол -

Musical example 6: Manojlović, Stihira srpskim svetiteljima, excerpt.

Тропар на Духове

Коста П. Манојловић

СОПРАН
АЛТ

Бла - го - сло - вен је - си Хри - сте Бо - же наш, и - же

ТЕНОР

Бла - го - сло - вен је - си Хри - сте Бо - же наш, и - же

БАС

Бла - го - сло - вен је - си Хри - сте Бо - же наш, и - же

5

пре-му-дри лов - ци јав - љеј низ - пос-лав им Ду - ха Свја -

пре-му-дри лов - ци јав - љеј низ - пос-лав им Ду - ха Свја -

пре-му-дри лов - ци јав - љеј низ - пос-лав им ду - ха Свја -

10

та - го и тје - ми у - лов - љеј все - љен - ну - ју,

та - го и тје - ми у - лов - љеј все - љен - ну - ју,

та - го и тје - ми у - лов - љеј все - љен - ну - ју,

14

Че - ло - вје - ко - љуб - че, сла - ва Те - бје.

Че - ло - вје - ко - љуб - - - че, - сла - ва Те - бје.

Че - ло - вје - ко - љуб - - - че, сла - ва Те - бје.

Musical example 7: Kosta P. Manojlović, Tropar na Duhove.

continuation of Mokranjac's work of constructing a choral tradition that would be authentically Serbian but built upon techniques learnt abroad, from a number of sources; this is evident, for example, in his *Opelo* from 1934, which is only intermittently polyphonic, being, as Bogdan Đaković has pointed out, more orientated towards the style of Russian composers of the "New Trend".¹⁷ In the second place, his legacy as a composer would bring together a profound knowledge of the Serbian chant tradition, again based on the work of Mokranjac, and an indisputable technical competence: it is enough to look at a simple setting such as the *apolytikion* for Pentecost to see the way in which he respects the rhythmic flow of the text and at the same time manages to make a contrapuntal setting of a standard Serbian chant (see Musical example no. 7).

As a musician, Manojlović was both highly gifted and eminently practical. His transposition of the sound world of both the Renaissance motet and the liturgical music of Bach into a Serbian context, as part of the great modernist project in pursuit of which he took the decision to study abroad, and which went hand-in-hand, as in the Balkans in general, with the establishment and consolidation of the new nation-state,¹⁸ was without doubt a remarkable achievement.

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17 Bogdan Đaković, "The Church Choral Music of Kosta P. Manojlović Between Quotation and Imaginary Church Folklore," in *Kosta P. Manojlović (1890–1949) and the Idea of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Unification*, ed. Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić, and Aleksandar Vasić (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2017), 153.

18 Further on this, see Ivan Moody, "Re-envisioning Tradition: Ideology and Innovation in Early 20th-Century Church Music in Serbia and Bulgaria," in *Kosta P. Manojlović (1890–1949) and the Idea of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Unification*, eds. Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić, and Aleksandar Vasić (Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2017), 159–169.

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POVZETEK

Kosta P. Manojlović je bil izredno pomemben za razvoj srbske zborovske glasbe in glasbenega izobraževanja. Med študijem v Nemčiji in v Oxfordu se je srečal z zahodnoevropskimi repertoarji t. i. stare glasbe, ki je bistveno vplivala na njegove metode poučevanja in njegov pristop k skladanju sakralne glasbe. Članek postavlja njegovo delo v zgodovinski okvir in podrobno obravnava njegove kompozicije renesančne polifonije na osnovi av-

torjev, kot so Palestrina, Lassus, Marenzio, Byrd in Monteverdi; obravnava tako sakralne kot posvetne Manojlovićeve skladbe, ki so bile najdene v arhivu Prvega beograjskega pevskega društva v Beogradu, pojasnjuje pa tudi njihov pomen za Manojlovićevo pot skladatelja, dirigenta in pedagoga. Prispevek naslavlja tudi vprašanje metode njegovega adaptiranja oz. prirejanja glasbe in na primeru sakralnih del podrobneje predstavi razmerje med izvirnimi skladbami z latinskimi besedili ter njihovimi adaptacijami v slovanskem jeziku.