



*Kosta P. Manojlović*

**KOSTA P. MANOJLOVIĆ  
AND THE IDEA OF SLAVIC AND BALKAN  
CULTURAL UNIFICATION  
(1918–1941)**

International conference

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Musicology SASA  
Belgrade, 28–29 November 2016

**BOOK OF ABSTRACTS**



Institute of Musicology SASA



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## CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

## MONDAY 28 NOVEMBER

### REGISTRATION

*Institute of Musicology SASA, Knez Mihailova 36, 4th floor*  
**9.00-10.30**

### OPENING CEREMONY

*Great Hall of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Knez Mihailova 35, 2nd floor*  
**10.30-11.00**

- Academician Dejan Despić (Fellow of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department of Fine Arts and Music)
- Dr. Melita Milin (Director of the Institute of Musicology SASA)

### SESSION 1

*Great Hall of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Knez Mihailova 35, 2nd floor*

**On the Integration of Slavic and Balkan Nations and Culture in Theory and Practice (1918–1941)**

**11.00-12.00**

Chair: Vesna Sara Peno, Institute of Musicology SASA

- Ivan Ristić (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, PhD student /Department of History/): Between Idealism and Political Reality: Kosta P. Manojlović's Ideas about the Yugoslav-Bulgarian Reconciliation and the South-Slav Unity in the Light of the Political and Cultural Relations Between the Two Countries in the 1920s
- Ivana Vesić (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade): The Balkans as the Core of European Civilization? Kosta P. Manojlović's Collaboration with the Institute of Balkan Studies in Belgrade (1934–1941)
- Stefanka Georgieva (Trakia University, Stara Zagora): The Idea of Slavic Cultural Unity in Bulgarian Musical Culture Between the Two World Wars

**12.00-12.15 Discussion**

### COCKTAIL

*Mezzanine Hall of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Knez Mihailova 35, 1st floor*  
**12.15-14.00**

## SESSION 2a

*Hall 1, Knez Mihailova 36, 1st floor*

**Concepts of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Heritage in the Interwar Music, Ethnography and Folklore Studies**

**14.00-15.00**

Chair: Ivana Vesić, Institute of Musicology SASA

- Olga Pashina (State Institute for Arts Studies, Moscow): From the History of Cultural Relations between the Slavic Nations: The Concert Tour of the Russian Singer of Tales Ivan Ryabinin in Serbia and Bulgaria (1902)
- Srđan Atanasovski (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade): Kosta P. Manojlović and the Narratives on 'Southern Serbia'
- Danka Lajić Mihajlović (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade): Kosta P. Manojlović's Collection of Wax Plates at the Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA as the Resource for Ethnomusicological Research

**15.00-15.15 Discussion**

**15.15-15.30 Coffee break**

## SESSION 2b

*Hall 1, Knez Mihailova 36, 1st floor*

**Concepts of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Heritage in the Interwar Music, Ethnography and Folklore Studies**

**15.30-16.10**

Chair: Ivana Medić, Institute of Musicology SASA

- Sanja Radinović (Faculty of Music, University of Arts, Belgrade) and Milan Milovanović (Independent archivist, Belgrade): Kosta P. Manojlović's Collection of Folk Songs from Kosovo in the Audio Archive of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade
- Marija Dumnić (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade): Field Research of Folk Music in Urban Areas: Kosta P. Manojlović's Sound Recordings and Transcriptions at the Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA

**16.10-16.20 Discussion**

**16.20-16.30 Coffee break**



## SESSION 3

*Hall 1, Knez Mihailova 36, 1st floor*

**Problems of Inter- and Intracultural relations between Slavic and Balkan countries: The Case of Singing Societies**

**16.30–17.30**

Chair: Ivana Vesić, Institute of Musicology SASA

- Biljana Milanović (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade): Kosta P. Manojlović's Contribution to the Foundation and Activities of the South-Slav Singing Union
- Nada Bezić (Croatian Music Institute, Zagreb): Croatian Singing Union in the Crucial Decade 1924–1934 and its Relation with the South-Slav Singing Union
- Leon Stefanija (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana): Slovene Musicians and the Concept of Yugoslavism 1918–1941

**17.30–17.45 Discussion**

## TUESDAY 29 NOVEMBER

### SESSION 4a

*Hall 1, Knez Mihailova 36, 1st floor*

**Church Music Studies and Pedagogy in Slavic and Balkan Countries: Practices, Strivings, Results**

**10.00–11.00**

Chair: Aleksandar Vasić, Institute of Musicology SASA

- Ivana Perković (Faculty of Music, University of Arts, Belgrade) and Biljana Mandić (Faculty of Philology, University of Kragujevac, Kragujevac): Kosta P. Manojlović and the Teaching of Liturgical Singing
- Vesna Sara Peno (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade): The Role of Kosta P. Manojlović in Constructing the Theory of 'Belgrade' Church Chanting Manner
- Bogdan Đaković (Academy of Arts, University of Novi Sad, Novi Sad): The Church Choral Music of Kosta P. Manojlović Between the Quotation and Imaginary Church Folklore

**11.00–11.15 Discussion**

**11.15–11.30 Coffee break**

## SESSION 4b

*Hall 1, Knez Mihailova 36, 1st floor*

### **Church Music Studies and Pedagogy in Slavic and Balkan Countries: Practices, Strivings, Results**

**11.30-12.30**

Chair: Vesna Sara Peno, Institute of Musicology SASA

- Katy Romanou (European University Cyprus, Nicosia):  
Constantinos Psachos and the Introduction of the  
Constantinopolitan Practice and Aesthetics of Chanting in  
Athens
- Natalia Viktorovna Mosyagina (The Rimsky-Korsakov St.  
Petersburg State Conservatory, Saint Petersburg): Stepan  
Vasilievich Smolensky (1848-1909)
- Ivan Moody (CESEM – Universidade Nova, Lisbon):  
Reenvisioning Tradition: Ideology and Innovation in Early XX-  
century Church Music in Serbia and Bulgaria

**12.30-12.45 Discussion**

**12.45-14.30 Lunch break**

## SESSION 5a

*Hall 1, Knez Mihailova 36, 1st floor*

### **Art Music and Pedagogy: Outside of the Slavic and Balkan Sphere of Influence**

**14.30-15.30**

Chair: Biljana Milanović, Institute of Musicology SASA

- Verica Grmuša (Goldsmiths University, London, PhD student):  
Kosta P. Manojlović – The Oxford Years
- Maja Vasiljević (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade,  
Belgrade): Kosta P. Manojlović as the First Rector/Dean of  
Music Academy in Belgrade: The Challenges of Establishing  
An Institution of Higher Musical Education in the Kingdom of  
Yugoslavia
- Ivana Medić (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade): From 'Father  
Figure' to 'Persona Non Grata': Kosta Manojlović's Final Years

**15.30-15.45 Discussion**

**15.45-16.00 Coffee break**

## SESSION 5b

Hall 1, Knez Mihailova 36, 1st floor

### Art Music and Pedagogy: Outside of the Slavic and Balkan Sphere of Influence

**16.00–17.20**

Chair: Ivana Medić, Institute of Musicology SASA

- Ranka Gašić (Institute for Contemporary History of Serbia, Belgrade): Education of Serbian Students in Great Britain During and After the WWI as a Basis for Organising Anglophile Elite Societies in Belgrade
- Predrag Đoković (Academy of Music, University of Eastern Sarajevo, Sarajevo): Kosta P. Manojlović and Early Music: Echoes of the 'Elizabethan Fever' in Serbia
- Biljana Đorić Francuski (Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, Belgrade): On the Rivers of Babylon: The Early XX Century in Anglo-Serbian Relations
- Aleksandar Vasić (Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade): Kosta P. Manojlović as a Contributor to the Magazines *Muzika* [Music] and *Muzički glasnik* [The Musical Herald]

**17.20–17.40 Discussion**

## FINAL REMARKS

**17.40–18.00**

## **ABSTRACTS**



## **SESSION 1. On the Integration of Slavic and Balkan Nations and Culture in Theory and Practice (1918–1941)**

*Ivan Ristić*

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade (Belgrade)

PhD student (Department of History)

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### **Between Idealism and Political Reality:**

#### **Kosta P. Manojlović's Ideas about the Yugoslav-Bulgarian Reconciliation and the South-Slav Unity in the Light of the Political and Cultural Relations Between the Two Countries in the 1920s**

The unification of South Slavs (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Bulgarians) was an old and prominent idea of the intellectuals and (until World War I) politicians of all South Slavic nations. After the war, when the relations between Serbs and Bulgarians deteriorated, the idea collapsed. However, some intellectuals continued to support and propagate 'the great Yugoslav idea' which seemed utopian in the complicated political environment. One of them was a famous Yugoslav composer and music pedagogue Kosta P. Manojlović. He was a sincere spokesman of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian Federation. Intellectuals believed that cultural closeness between the nations was an elementary precondition for political kinship. In this paper I will analyze the basic circumstances of the political relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the different concepts of Yugoslav idea and the attitudes and writings of Kosta P. Manojlović in the light of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian rapprochement.

*Ivana Vesić*

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### **The Balkans as the Core of European Civilization?**

#### **Kosta P. Manojlović's Collaboration with the Institute of Balkan Studies in Belgrade (1934–1941)**

In this paper I will discuss Kosta P. Manojlović's contributions to the dissemination of the idea of the unification of all Balkan peoples, together with his views on the importance of their cultures in a broader European perspective. These assumptions represented the basis of the cultural programme of the Institute of Balkan Studies founded in Belgrade in 1934 which were realised through its various public activities. These encompassed publication of the books aimed at a broad readership along with the creation of a scholarly journal with the goal of expanding the general knowledge on the history and culture of different Balkan countries and the rejection of stereotypes about the Balkans developed in Western European academic and journalistic discourse. Among many Yugoslav and foreign intellectuals who collaborated with the aforementioned institute by contributing to its

periodical and monographies, Kosta P. Manojlović held an important role being one of the few specialist who wrote on music.

Since the Institute of Balkan Studies and its leaders promoted a specific ideological framework, it was important to analyze how it corresponded with Manojlović's views expressed in his published and unpublished writings. By focusing on the similarities and differences in the understanding of the concept of Balkan culture(s) and cultural heritage as developed by the leaders of this Institute on the one hand, and Manojlović's own on the other hand, I will point to the social and cultural importance of the de-Balkanisation of the Balkans in the interwar Yugoslavia. Special attention will be paid to the influence of this process on the development of Serbian and Yugoslav music history and 'music ethnography'. For this purpose I investigated numerous sources – the fund of the Institute of Balkan studies at the Archive of Yugoslavia (F-101), published editions of the Institute of Balkan studies and, finally, Kosta P. Manojlović's writings from the 1920s until the outbreak of World War II in Yugoslavia (1941).

*Stefanka Georgieva*

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### **The Idea of Slavic Cultural Unity in Bulgarian Musical Culture Between the Two World Wars**

The attempt to interpret the topic of Slavic cultural unity in Bulgarian musical culture makes the researcher face a paradox: on the one hand a large number of historiographical documents are known, but on the other hand there is no interest in their complete and systematic study. A relatively limited number of publications, dating back to the past century, are predominantly concerned with choir activities – the main sphere of cooperation between Bulgarian and Slavic singers' associations. But what remained unknown, hidden behind these creative contacts were *the personal relations* between the champions of the idea – composers, conductors and musicologists, who were actually 'the driving force' for its promulgation and realisation. And despite the fact that a part of the personal archival stock of these Bulgarian musicians has already been irretrievably lost, in some of the preserved sources the connections with their contemporaries from the South Slavic countries – among them, Kosta P. Manojlović – can be partially 'restored'

In this paper I assess the role of Bulgarian music press as a bearer of the idea of Slavic cultural unity and its interpretation in the publicism of A.P. Bersenev, Editor-in-chief of the *Music Review* newspaper (1923–1929), including his contacts with the editors of similar Yugoslav editions. Manojlović's initiative to merge the Bulgarian Choir Union with the Belgrade Singing Society (1928), as well as his connections (according to epistolary sources) with Dobri Hristov are emphasised.

Boris Gaidarov's active music publishing work is also presented here; by means of his contacts with the most famous Serbian, Croatian, and

Slovenian composers he created a real *small South Slavic union*. His partially preserved correspondence with Kosta P. Manojlović, Josip Slavenski, Jakov Gotovac, Boris Papandopulo, Emil Adamič, gives an idea that there existed a continuous exchange of choir repertoire between them, as well as exchange of information about choir performances etc. The musical collection *Junošeski drugar* (1924–1948), which he edited, included their choral pieces, it was distributed through the whole South Slavic region.

Among these champions of Slavic musical unity and cooperation who managed to overcome the political situation of the time, we also find the name of Ivan Kamburov – a researcher of the history of Slavic musical cultures and the author of two books: *Yugoslav Music* (1940) and *Croatian Music* (1942), as well as thematic editions, which have remained unique in Bulgarian musicological literature until the present day.



SESSION 2a. **Concepts of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Heritage in the Interwar Music, Ethnography and Folklore Studies**

*Olga Pashina*

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**From the History of Cultural Relations Between the Slavic Nations:  
A Concert Tour of the Russian Singer of Tales Ivan Ryabinin  
in Serbia and Bulgaria (1902)**

Ivan Trofimovich Ryabinin (1833–1910) was a representative of the famous dynasty of northern Russian singers of tales. Ryabinin was the first singer whose voice was recorded on the phonograph in 1894. In 1902 he made a three-month overseas tour in Bulgaria, Serbia, Austria-Hungary, Poland. His performances in the Slavic countries were of a nationwide importance. They began on 24 May 1902 in the Winter Palace in St Petersburg in the presence of Russian royal family. Abroad, he performed in educational institutions, to the scientific community and the general public, as well as at the reception of King Alexander of Serbia, who granted him the Rhapsody gold medal to be worn on the chest 'For services to Kraljevo home'. In Belgrade, the narrator sang epics at the Royal Theatre, where Serbian nobility and intellectuals were invited by the Academy of Sciences. The meeting was opened by the Chairman of the Ethnography department Valtrović and professor Velić read the essay 'Russian folk epic poetry compared with the Serbian poetry'. Ryabinin's performances also took place at the University of Belgrade and the female Gymnasium, where he sang Russian epics. Pašić, the director of the Gymnasium and the girls sang Serbian epic songs, *Marko Kraljević and Vila* and *Death of the Jugovićs' Mother*. Ryabinin's tours played an important role in strengthening cultural ties between Slavic peoples.

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**Kosta P. Manojlović and the Narratives on 'Southern Serbia'**

In this paper I will discuss the interwar narratives on 'Southern Serbia' in the context of musical practices, specifically referring to the activities of Kosta P. Manojlović, both as a music scholar, collector of folk songs and composer. During the Macedonian, or 'Eastern Question' (c. 1878–1912), Serbian nationalistic intellectuals developed a specific discourse which depicted 'Old Serbia' and Macedonia as the core Serbian territories. Often rendered as travel writings and purportedly based on first-hand experiences, these works fostered Serbian territorial claim while engaging in historical, demographical and ethnographical discussions, as well as presenting folklore art and traditions of the Christian and Slavic language-speaking population. During the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) and World War I (1914–1918), the question of Serbian share in the crumbling Ottoman

Empires territories was finally resolved, and what was at that point referred to as 'Southern Serbia' was to be integrated into the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Nevertheless, this proved to be a labourious enterprise, which not only entailed expelling a significant portion of the local Muslim population, but also resolving multiple identities of the Christian population, often alternating between Serbian, Bulgarian and Macedonian denominations. Moreover, the project had to be articulated in the midst of precarious identity politics of the Kingdom, where the borderline between Serbian and Yugoslav identity was often intentionally effaced.

The narratives of 'Southern Serbia', as the new core territory of the Kingdom, were prominent across scholarly and art discourses, and they were notably important in music practices, both in popular ('folk') music and in art music production. I will examine the formation of these narratives, examining their connection with the pre-war discourses, and tracing specific strategies employed in order to create and enforce this new 'mental map'. In order to perform this investigation, I will put Kosta Manojlović's activities in the spotlight. His position is apposite not only as he was directly involved in the decision making in music institutions and state bureaucracy, but also because he travelled to 'South Serbia' in the capacity of a music scholar and produced recordings of folk music. While charting the dominant outline of the narrative of 'South Serbia', I will also point out that Manojlović's position on the issue cannot be reduced to it, and I will specifically discuss his pioneering efforts in collecting Albanian songs as a part of his fieldwork, and subsequently producing choir arrangements.

*Danka Lajić Mihajlović*

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### **Kosta P. Manojlović's Collection of Wax Plates at the Institute of Musicology SASA as a Resource for Ethnomusicological Research**

The sound recordings on wax plates made by Kosta P. Manojlović and the ethnographer Borivoje Drobňaković constitute the oldest collection of sound documents, i.e. the non-commercial field recordings in Serbia. This collection was created between 1930 and 1933, during Kosta P. Manojlović's engagement as a 'voluntary custodian' of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade. The most substantial part of this collection is nowadays preserved at the Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA. The fragility of wax plates as sound carriers had limited the usability of this collection in research projects; however, the recent digitalisation of these recordings has ensured their durability and made them truly available to researchers. In this paper the collection will be presented and analysed as one of the results of Kosta P. Manojlović's involvement with traditional folk music research – both as a resource for studying the history of ethnomusicology in Serbia, and as a resource for contemporary ethnomusicological research, with respect to its size, physical-technical features and musical contents.

## SESSION 2b. Concepts of Slavic and Balkan Cultural Heritage in the Interwar Music, Ethnography and Folklore Studies

*Sanja Radinović*

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*Milan Milovanović*

Independent archivist (Belgrade)

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### **Kosta P. Manojlović's Collection of Folk Songs from Kosovo in the Audio Archive of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade**

Among the numerous activities by means of which Kosta P. Manojlović was trying to improve musical culture in Serbia and Yugoslavia between two world wars, his great involvement with the founding of the Belgrade Musical Academy in 1937 (today the Faculty of Music) has a special importance. He was the rector of that institution in the first years of its existence. Immediately after establishing the Academy, Manojlović formed the Musical Museum as a part of it, consisting of four departments: Department of musical folklore, Department of folk musical instruments, Gramophonic and phonographic department and Department of objects and mementos of our musical workers.

Within the Gramophonic-phonographic department, Manojlović organised audio recordings and initiated the creation of the directory of their accompanying files, relying on the previous experiences from his long-time cooperation with the Belgrade Ethnographic Museum. The most important activity of this department was happening in the period

between 1939 and 1941, when Manojlović, with a new type of phonograph, recorded comprehensive audio material on 152 lacquer discs in total (at 78 revolutions per minute), which were technically far more advanced than the wax records which he had used some ten years earlier. At that time he also made suitable protocols on the attached files. Besides re-recordings of his older phonograms and examples of musical performances recorded in several different occasions, this collection mostly consists of Manojlović's field recordings of traditional urban folk songs recorded in Kosovo, Macedonia and in Belgrade. The extraordinary value of the collection is manifested in its scope, technical quality and excellent interpretations, as well as in the fact that in Serbia it represents, together with somewhat older material from the Ethnographic Museum, actually the only ethnomusicological field sound documentation made before World War II.

Due to the passing of time, as well as their preservation in unsuitable micro-climatic conditions for many years and occasional reproductions on inadequate devices, many of these unique records are today in a very poor condition. Since the recorded examples of Serbian folk music are sound documents of paramount national importance, we digitalised them during

2013 and 2014, whilst paying special attention to the songs from Kosovo, recorded in the towns of Prizren, Priština and Belgrade (52 numbers in total, interpreted by 13 singers and several singing groups). We used modern technology and the necessary equipment with the aim of rescuing the recordings and transferring them adequately to the contemporary sound media. All metadata found on the records themselves and in the existing protocols were also scanned.

After completing this comprehensive project, we intend to publish digitalised material, in order to make this cultural good available to all, as an additional result of the professional efforts of the Belgrade Faculty of Music and as a credible foundation for ethnomusicological research of the characteristics of style of urban folk music tradition of Kosovo from the mid-XX century.

*Marija Dumnić*

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**Field Research of Folk Music in Urban Areas:  
Kosta P. Manojlović's Sound Recordings and Transcriptions  
at the Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA**

Kosta P. Manojlović's collection of field recordings preserved in the form of sound recordings (on wax plates) and a card register originates from the period of his involvement with the Ethnographical Museum in Belgrade. The collection was brought to the Institute of Musicology SASA when Ljubica Janković was elected a member of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1964). Written scores date from the period 1923–1930 (and 1949), while sound recording date from 1930 to 1932.

This paper presents the results of my preliminary research of the recently digitised (or almost digitised) collections. Manojlović conducted field researches in the cities of today's Kosovo and Metohija, Macedonia, and in Belgrade. These recordings and urban folk music in general were not subjects of ethnomusicological research in Serbia until recently. After presenting the material and positioning it within the cultural life in the interwar period, as well as within Manojlović's overall activity, I will attempt to answer the following questions: what type of repertoire was typical for urban folk music; who were the informants; what are the basic characteristics of that particular urban musical folklore and are there some parallels with later ethnomusicological recordings in urban areas? I also aim to point to the relevance of the data that had been hidden/unavailable for a long time, but also to the necessity of consideration of urban folklore.

### SESSION 3. Problems of Inter- and Intracultural relations between Slavic and Balkan countries: The Case of Singing Societies

*Biljana Milanović*

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#### **Kosta P. Manojlović's Contribution to the Foundation and Activities of the South-Slav Singing Union**

Kosta P. Manojlović was among the leading individuals who contributed to the formation and activities of the Južnoslovenski pevački savez/South-Slavic Singing Union (SSSU, 1924). As the first Secretary of the SSSU, Manojlović invested a huge effort into the functioning of this organisation.

In this paper I examine and contextualise the full scope of Manojlović's activities connected with the SSSU. Taking into account the analysis of the available Belgrade archival sources and data from the interwar journals and newspapers, I investigate some of the main historical, political, ideological, material and organisational problems of the SSSU and its relations to other singing unions (Croatian Singing Union; South-Slavic Singing Union), including the problem of different positions of prominent musicians and other intellectuals in musical networking on the territory of the new Yugoslav Kingdom and beyond.

*Nada Bezić*

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#### **Croatian Singing Union in the Crucial Decade 1924-1934 and its Relation with the South-Slav Singing Union**

For almost 70 years Hrvatski pjevački savez / Croatian Singing Union (CSU) was an important segment of Croatian musical culture, but in spite of that fact there is still no relevant literature about this association. It was founded in 1875 by several Croatian singing societies from different cities with the aim to promote their activities and Croatian music in general. After the break caused by World War I, the CSU was established again in 1922 and in 1924 gained a new leadership and new directions, under the two distinguished Croatian musicians: the conductor and composer Nikola Faller as its president and cellist, and the composer and conductor Rudolf Matz as its secretary. Faller's reputation and the enthusiasm of young Matz helped the CSU to broaden its activities in the decade from 1924 to 1934.

The main purpose of this paper is to find out in what ways and to what extent were the activities of the CSU influenced by politics, especially with respect to the relationship with the South-Slav Singing Union / Južnoslovenski pjevački savez. Together with some other Croatian societies and institutions, the CSU was promoting Croatian cultural independence within the state of South Slavs (The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, from 1929 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), which caused problems within the CSU itself, since

in 1930 the most important singing society 'Kolo' decided to resign from the CSU and join the South-Slav Singing Union.

Leon Stefanija

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### Slovene Musicians and the Concept of Yugoslavism 1918-1941

In 1928 the weekly *Proletarec*, published every Thursday by the Yugoslav Workmen's Publishing Company in Chicago, reported about the quagmire of Yugoslav Socialist Union (Jugoslovenska socialistična zveza /JSZ/) to establish an Association of Slovene Choirs or a Yugoslav Singing Union. The final comment reads: "Združi naj se le ono kar ima pogoje da ostane združeno. Skupaj spadajo samo zbori, ki imajo voljo za sodelovanje v interesu naše pesmi in prosvetnega dela med jugoslovanskim delavskim ljudstvom." [We should only unite those who fulfill the condition to be united. Only those choirs belong together who are willing to participate in the interest of our song and the educational activities among the Yugoslav working people.] The small news nicely indicated a modern view of the political and cultural cohabitation, reshaped several times since the XIX century, when the idea of pan-Slavism was influential in the quest for synergies between the 'small cultures' within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Its pragmatic prolongation in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and then in Yugoslavia was built on the ideal of the brotherhood of several – at least compatible, if not congruent – South-Slavic cultural entities, which turned out fairly destructive at the end of the XX century.

The ideal of a common Yugoslav culture was, roughly speaking, conceived analogously to the 'pragmatical pan-Slavism' from the period of around

1900 (Gantar 1989: 524). It was founded on the premise of a cultural alliance and friendship rather than a clear political, programmatic, or conceptual union. Although Irena Gantar Godina claims that there were three phases of pan-Slavism: 'Austroslavism' (until 1860), 'pan-Slavism' (1860-1905) and 'Neo-Slavism' (*novoslavizem*; after 1905), the concept has never been defined with respect to Slovenian music around

I will sketch the Pan-Slavic idea in Slovenia in the period between two world wars. The main source of the analysis are musical journals in Slovenia. Beside *Nova muzika* (1928- 1929), the journal for modern (mainly instrumental) music, other journals such as *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 1878-1945, 1976-; *Zbori*, 1925-1934; *Pevce*, 1921-1938; *Radio Ljubljana*, 1928- 1941; *Grlica*, 1933-1935 – may be seen as pointers regarding the cultural, as well as political practices of defining 'brotherly relations' between certain ethnic groups. As neatly pointed out by Vasić's (2014) analysis of the views regarding South-Slav Singing Union (Jugoslovenski pevački savez), a number of nuances emerging from the *pro et contra* stances regarding the 'brotherly tribes' will be juxtaposed with one goal in mind: to scrutinise the stances of the Slovene musicians regarding their peers in the North and especially in the South in the interwar period.



## SESSION 4a. Church Music Studies and Pedagogy in Slavic and Balkan Countries: Practices, Strivings, Results

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### **Kosta P. Manojlović and the Teaching of Liturgical Singing**

It is beyond doubt that in an integral (but still unwritten) history of Serbian music pedagogy, the teaching of liturgical singing, especially in the years between two world wars, would constitute an important chapter. Yet, apart from occasional case studies, names, years of activity, or the sketchy information on capabilities, evaluation of results, curricula, etc., not much is known about the history of the complex process of teaching church music. Precisely because of that, our focus will be on one of the most important contributors in the first half of the XX century, Kosta P. Manojlović, who was devoted to Serbian church music, not only in the field of pedagogy, but also with respect to composition, performing, research, editorial and publishing work, organisational and many other activities.

The period of Manojlović's employment as a teacher of liturgical singing coincided with the time when the educational structures in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) were rapidly changing, as part of the efforts to overcome the previous fragmentation of the educational system. As the pupil of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, Kosta P. Manojlović was familiar with his teacher's syllabi and teaching methods.

However, the fact that he dedicated almost 18 years of his own life to the church music pedagogy, but in different circumstances and at different educational levels (secondary and university) provoked him to introduce some changes to Mokranjac's method. At first, he was appointed as the teacher of church singing at St Sava's Theological Seminary in Belgrade in 1919. In 1923, which was the very year when the subject of Church Music was introduced into the academic curriculum, Manojlović became the teacher of church music at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology. He remained there until the end of the academic year 1936/37, and then moved to the newly founded Belgrade Music Academy.

The goal of this paper is to present new information on Manojlović's work in the field of teaching liturgical singing, and to problematise the ways in which his work was affected by the historical, social and cultural milieu of the interwar period. We will offer some answers to the questions about modifications that social and cultural changes may have caused in his approach to teaching, and offer comparative insights into the systems of

theological seminaries and the Faculty. We will also reveal the 'pedagogical motivation' behind Manojlović's other actions in the field of church music and attempt to define the area where artistic and religious meet in the sphere of pedagogy.

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### **The Role of Kosta P. Manojlović in Constructing the Theory of 'Belgrade' Church Chanting Manner**

Towards the end of the XIX century, in the territorially disjointed Serbian church, above all among the clerics and chanters of the Karlovac and Belgrade Metropolitanates, an opinion was formed that there existed two variants of the chant: *karlovačka* [i.e. from Karlovac] and *beogradska* [i.e. from Belgrade]. The fact that the so-called Serbian folk church singing originated from the monasteries at the Fruška Gora mountain and the metropolitanate centre in Sremski Karlovci was not disputed south of the border, and even less so north of the border that divided the Serbs who lived in different states. However, at the same time, it is a known fact that the initially hidden rivalry between the chanters from Karlovac (Vojvodina) and Belgrade (Serbia) gradually turned into an overt antagonism. Namely, although the Karlovac Metropolitanate published numerous printed scores of church melodies during the last two decades of the XIX century, these were not used to teach the students of the Belgrade Cleric School. Although the historical and theoretical arguments that would testify in favour of the antiquity and exceptional value of church singing in Serbia (and especially in Belgrade) did not exist, it was the persona and the work of Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, the central protagonist of Belgrade musical life and the professor of chanting at the Belgrade Seminary, that proved sufficient to guarantee that the 'Belgrade' singing manner would be praised and acclaimed.

Although some recent musicological-analytical papers have confirmed that there are no significant differences between the written-down examples of 'Karlovac' and 'Belgrade' melodies, the genesis of this polarisation and the role of Mokranjac's successors such as Kosta P. Manojlović in its creation have not been discussed yet. Being Mokranjac's disciple and his assistant in copying written melodies that would eventually be published – mostly thanks to his efforts – Manojlović favoured the 'Belgrade' (or, to be precise, Mokranjac's) chanting manner in his writings. A separate segment of the monophonic church chanting practice which is dealt with in this paper complements the picture of Mokranjac's entire oeuvre that was adopted and canonised by his most immediate successors. A big (possibly the biggest) role in this was played by Kosta P. Manojlović: in this paper it will be critically assessed and discussed in comparison to the activities of his other contemporaries and Mokranjac's successors.



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

The basic aesthetic *credo* of Kosta P. Manojlović was dominated by rather conservative principles. Among the composers of his generation during the 1920s and 1930s, he remained one of the most faithful disciples of Stevan Mokranjac. By all means the peak of Manojlović's work belongs to the field of original creativity, deeply inspired by the Serbian chant. In the cases where he quotes traditional melodies, the chant often goes through thematic development, occasionally flourished by remarkable polyphony. The quoted lines or the imaginary church folklore phrases constitute the basic melodic aspect of the rich latent harmony, full of dissonant sounds or blocks of parallel chords and chromatic tones coloured by archaic modality. Manojlović wrote church choral music all his life, by making simple harmonisations, using only some motives of the chant or making original music. Rather than understanding this creative situation as a phenomenon of 'stylistic incoherence', his whole output can be defined in terms of three delicately close compositional ways based on the same aesthetic approach, mainly characterised by neoromantic elements, which is equally suited to liturgical and concert usage.

SESSION 4b. Church Music Studies and Pedagogy in Slavic and Balkan Countries: Practices, Strivings, Results

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**Constantinos Psachos and the Introduction of the Constantinopolitan Practice and Aesthetics of Chanting in Athens**

This paper is about Constantinos Psachos' contributions towards organising systematic studies of Byzantine music in Greek music conservatories, and in establishing a uniform repertory and mode of interpretation in church rites in Athens. It describes the innovative methods he introduced in teaching when he was invited, in 1914, to establish a department of Byzantine music at the Conservatory of Athens, and his continuous search for means that would preserve the intonation of the Byzantine *echoi* intact for future generations, up to his invention of an organ with a keyboard of 42 keys in the octave that was constructed in 1924 in G.F. Steinmeyer's factory in Germany's Oettingen, and is still intact today.

The paper will also deal with Psachos' collaboration with Eva Sikelianos, the American wife of the poet Angelos Sikelianos (who funded the construction of the organ) in her productions of ancient Greek tragedies in Delphi, and it will discuss Psachos' ideas concerning the identity of Greek music and its relation to the East and West.

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**Stepan Vasilievich Smolensky (1848–1909)**

Stepan Vasilevich Smolensky was a famous Russian scientist, archaeographer, composer of sacred music, teacher and writer. He was a great connoisseur and researcher of church music, and one of the first collectors of notated manuscripts. As Head of the department 'for discovering and publishing the landmarks of the old Russian art of singing' at the Society of Lovers of old Russian Literature (1903–1909), he worked as an archaeographer, palaeographer and researcher of the ancient Russian art of singing. In 1906 Smolensky organised, for the first time in the history of Russian science, a complex musical archaeological expedition to Mount Athos, and assembled a collection of more than 2,000 photographs of Greek notated codexes from the X–XIV centuries.

Smolensky inspired a new direction in Russian sacred music, the so-called 'Moscow school', the main features of which were: to revive the traditions of the old art of singing, turning to the ancient church chants, a study of techniques of folk musical thinking, rethinking of harmony, texture

and form on the basis of the national church music. Smolensky himself was the author of several works based on the commonly used chants. The peak of composers' creativity within this direction was Sergei Vasilevich Rachmaninov's *Vsenoshchnoye bdeniye* [All-Night Vigil], dedicated to Smolensky.

An important part of his work was the pedagogical activity. He was the Director of the Synodal School and Professor at the Moscow Conservatory. Since his arrival Synodal School and the choir rose to an unprecedented level of professionalism. In St Petersburg, he was the manager of the Court chapel. The result of his pedagogical activity was the organisation of a Public school for choristers, choir classes and music school in St Petersburg (1908). Smolensky was involved in establishing the first choristers congress in Moscow and he founded the magazine *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo* [Choral and Chorister's Work] aimed at raising the level of singing education and contributing to the development of Russian choral culture.

Stepan Vasilevich Smolensky was not only a scientist and educator, and journalist, social activist and promoter of ancient church music. The scale of his personality, the

significance of his actions for the history of science of the ancient art of singing, his contribution to the development of Russian choral education and church-singing practice was appreciated by his contemporaries and even today Smolensky's ideas and writings still inspire researchers of Russian musical culture.

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### **Reenvisioning Tradition: Ideology and Innovation in Early XX-century Church Music in Serbia and Bulgaria**

In this paper I discuss the way in which composers of church music in Serbia and Bulgaria during the earlier part of the XX century, such as Stevan Hristić, Kosta Manojlović, Milenko Živković, Petar Dinev and Dobri Hristov, endeavoured to reconcile the traditional demands of writing in this genre – the need for liturgical appropriateness and for a sense of connection with the past – and ideas of modernism.

The work of influential cultural theorists such as Chavdar Mutafov in Bulgaria and Ljubomir Micić in Serbia, while not directly affecting church music, was nevertheless a significant part of this, and in parallel with a renewed interest in the history of both countries (symbolised in Serbia by Mokranjac's vast historical survey concert in Belgrade in 1903), formed the basis for nationalist, pan-Slavic and 'Byzantine modernist' aesthetic positions. These ideas will be explored and their impact on these and other composers will be discussed, as well as their continuing importance and ideological influence in the post-Communist period.

## SESSION 5a. Art Music and Pedagogy: Outside of the Slavic and Balkan Sphere of Influence

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### Kosta Manojlović – The Oxford Years

This paper explores the lesser known period in Kosta Manojlović's life – the time spent at the Oxford University New College where he read music from 1917 to 1919. My research is based on the data from the Oxford University records, as well as Manojlović's personal correspondence kept in the Miloje Milojević Family Archive. The scarce information from the Oxford University records includes data of examinations passed during Manojlović's studies and the score of his final BMus exercise, a setting of Psalm 137, *By the Waters of Babylon*, for bass solo, two choirs and orchestra.

Manojlović's four letters sent to Miloje Milojević, spanning the entire period of his studies, give a personal account of Manojlović's Oxford days. They contain information about his compositional activity, including references to Manojlović's seven folk song arrangements, both as a work-in-progress in 1917 and as finished work sent to Milojević for publication in November 1918. In 1919 Manojlović composed Minuet and Scherzo for his String Quintet and *Pastir* [The Shepherd] – a canon for soprano and contralto with piano accompaniment. In addition, letters provide information on the circumstances leading to Manojlović's appointment to the posts that he took upon returning to Belgrade: the Choir Master of the First Belgrade Singing Society and Professor at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Belgrade.

These letters also shed light on Manojlović's cultural and social activism, with details about his lecture recitals and choir performances promoting Slavic repertory. In 1918 Manojlović founded and conducted a choir made of Oxford University Theology students. The choir gave concerts and took part in church services in Oxford, Birmingham and London in 1919, with further plans for concerts in Manchester and Reading. This gives information about the lesser explored cultural activism that accompanied political activities of the Yugoslav Committee, formed in the United Kingdom at the outbreak of World War I to lobby for international support of the idea of unification of all South Slavs within one independent state.

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**Kosta P. Manojlović as the First Rector/Dean of the Belgrade Music Academy: The Challenges of Establishing an Institution of Higher Musical Education in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia**

This paper will focus on the organisational, creative and personal skills of the composer and (ethno)musicologist Kosta P. Manojlović, who was the first rector and dean of the Belgrade Music Academy, which was established in 1937. Manojlović's role and approach to founding an institution of higher musical education in the capital city of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia will be observed as a culmination of the debates on establishing music institution which unfolded in the period from the 1920s to March 1937. As Manojlović played an important role in the entire process of establishing the structure of employees, the overall approach to educational system, and many different issues related to the functioning of this academic institution on an everyday level, I will try to respond to two main questions. First, what was Manojlović's primary mission and task as the rector of the Music Academy: what were the requirements of the Ministry of Education, and what initiatives were parts of a relatively autonomous policy of the management of the Academy, with the main decision makers being the composers Stevan Hristić, Miloje Milojević and Petar Stojanović. Second, I will compare Manojlović's approach with that of his successor – the composer Petar Konjović, who was in office from 1939. This paper is primarily based on an extensive research of the unpublished, and hitherto barely used, vast archival collection of the Belgrade Music Academy (Coll. No. G-210) from 1937 to 1944, stored in the Archive of Serbia.

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**From 'Father Figure' to 'Persona Non Grata':  
Kosta P. Manojlović's Final Years**

Although the main theme of this conference revolves around the ideas expressed and developed by Kosta P. Manojlović in the interwar period, it is interesting to analyse how his efforts at establishing the Belgrade Music Academy and contributing towards a comprehensive professionalisation of Serbian musical life took a hostile turn after the end of World War II. His cultural and social activism, his role as the 'father figure' of Serbian music establishment, which was very much related to his involvement with church music practices, 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 Dean of the Music Academy, a beloved professor who taught history of music, harmony and Serbian church

singing, was forced into retirement aged only 56, on 25 November 1946. This unfair dismissal affected him greatly, and he passed away less than three years after these events.

So far the circumstances surrounding his dismissal have not been thoroughly investigated, but it is clear that a harassment campaign was orchestrated against him. He was criticised for his 'ideologically incorrect' approach to music history by the new communist leadership of the Academy and the representatives of the newly established communist students' organisation. In this paper I will shed a new light on the events surrounding Manojlović's forceful retirement, which will show how the idea of cultural unification took an ominous turn with the change of the official state ideology. My research is based on the archival material of the Belgrade Music Academy (nowadays the Faculty of Music), including written documentation such as students' complaints about Manojlović's teaching and minutes of the faculty meetings where the decision to remove Manojlović was reached.

## **SESSION 5b. Art Music and Pedagogy: Outside of the Slavic and Balkan Sphere of Influence**

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### **Education of Serbian Students in Great Britain During and After World War I as a Basis for Organising Anglophile Elite Societies in Belgrade**

University education was one of the basic prerogatives of Belgrade elite social groups in the interwar society which was going through a process of intense modernisation. The Belgrade elite was a leading factor of this modernisation process. The key positions that they held within the state institutions enabled them an easy access to financial and economic resources. In the interwar Belgrade British culture was propagated by a coherent group of anglophiles who shared the same ideological and cultural orientation. During World War I, a relatively small group of Serbian high school and university students reached Great Britain where they were able to complete their education. Until the war that country was not one of the traditional education centers for Serbian students. It was precisely the war alliance that opened significant ways of communication between Great Britain and Serbia (later Yugoslavia). Groups of Serbian students finished their education in Faversham (Kent) and in Edinburgh. The organisations established during the war for helping Serbian war efforts continued well after the end of World War I, engaged in creating networks of anglophile organisations, such as cultural propaganda centres, Yugoslav-British societies and cultural institutes.

The education of Serbian students in the aftermath of World War I was mainly aimed at creating professional staff for British firms active in Yugoslavia at the time, whereas English language and literature was continually studied in Great Britain during the interwar period.

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### **Kosta P. Manojlović and Early Music: Echoes of the 'Elizabethan Fever' in Serbia**

This paper summarises Kosta P. Manojlović's activities related to his performances and writings about early Western European music with an aim to understand the proportion of such activities within Manojlović's entire musical oeuvre. This paper also provides a critical evaluation of Manojlović's contribution to the improvement of Belgrade musical life between two world wars by pre-classical music concerts that he conducted. Although he was primarily focused on Serbian, and therefore Slavic musical heritage,

Manojlović showed a greater interest in early music than a majority of his contemporaries, which is understandable if we take into account the fact that he studied in England, a country in which the music of the Renaissance and Baroque eras became a part of the musical mainstream immediately after the Great War. Furthermore, this repertoire never ceased to be a part of the lavish Anglican Church services. Manojlović used the experience gained in England first and foremost while working with the choir of the First Belgrade Singing Society, whose occasional performances of madrigals, masses and oratorios he often complemented with his writings on the history of early music of the country in which that particular piece had been composed. At the Kolarac People's University, among the other subjects, Manojlović lectured on old music masters and historical instruments. It is not a coincidence that, while he was the first principal of the newly founded Music Academy, amongst the pianos and other instruments that he acquired in Berlin for the teaching purposes, there was a Pleyel's harpsichord. It seems that a growing European early music movement inspired him to search for the manuscripts of the medieval Serbian chant. As a whole, Manojlović's efforts to introduce the history and works of the European older musical heritage to the Serbian public should be understood as one of many activities of this important music educator of the XX century Serbia.

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***On the Rivers of Babylon:***  
**The Early XX Century in Anglo-Serbian Relations**

At the time when Kosta P. Manojlović, having spent the previous two years studying in England, composed his choral piece *On the Rivers of Babylon*, which brought him the esteemed title of an Oxford University graduate in 1919, the Serbian-English relationship had already been a long-standing one. Since the first contacts between the two countries, dating back to the Middle Ages, there had been a continual movement of people travelling from one country to the other, among whom there were numerous pilgrims, mariners, merchants, writers, and scientists. The official establishing of diplomatic relations in 1837 provided a particular impetus to the Anglo-Serbian connections, which were improving fast after that significant event, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Manojlović followed in the footsteps of many prominent Serbs, namely Dositej Obradović, Vuk Karadžić, Nikolaj Velimirović, and Bogdan Popović, who went abroad in order to study, and then returned to their motherland to enrich its cultural life with novelties from foreign, principally Western European civilisations.

This paper aims to examine a wider framework of Anglo-Serbian contacts in the early XX century, thus shedding light on the conditions in which Manojlović studied in England. The focus is on the literary reception



of English works of the epoch in Serbia, as it undoubtedly most accurately reflects the overall development of these two countries' cultural relations. I will demonstrate that, being parts of literary and cultural ties in a broader sense, both the translating activity and critical reception illustrate the general trend of rapprochement in Serbia's relations with England at the beginning of the XX century, with special emphasis on the interwar period.

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### **Kosta P. Manojlović as a Contributor to the Magazines *Muzika* [Music] and *Muzički glasnik* [The Musical Herald]**

As one of the most important Serbian musical writers in the interwar period, Kosta P. Manojlović contributed to the journals *Muzika* [Music] and *Glasnik Muzičkog društva 'Stanković'* [The Herald of the Musical Society *Stanković*] (renamed *Muzički glasnik* [The Musical Herald] in 1931). Between 1928 and 1938 he published 16 studies, essays, articles and reviews in these two journals. His writings reveal – *pars pro toto* – all segments of Manojlović's work as a musicographer: ethnomusicology, music historiography, music critique. The various themes that he tackled in these writings encompass both European and Serbian/ Yugoslav music: e.g. Franz Schubert, opera of Slavic peoples, people and works of contemporary Yugoslav music, Serbian church music, musical folklore. Of particular interest is Manojlović's pioneering essay on English music, his historiographic article on Stevan Mokranjac's study of music in Munich, as well as his articles about the South-Slav Singing Association. Always careful in his assessments, Kosta P. Manojlović's writings reveal his firm convictions, his unconventional attitudes and a passion for his mission of an educator and a national worker.





Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA)

International conference

**KOSTA P. MANOJLOVIĆ AND THE IDEA OF SLAVIC AND BALKAN  
CULTURAL UNIFICATION (1918–1941)**

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