

Visits of Vienna choral societies to Sarajevo – an occasion for redefining local societies’ concert activity in the late 19th century?

Lana Šehović
University of Sarajevo

Introductory remarks about the circumstances of Sarajevo musical life in the late 19th century

Sarajevo musical life at the turn of the century was shaped by socio-political changes that included the change of political powers – the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire on the Bosnian soil. After more than four centuries of the Ottoman administration (1463–1878), Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied by Austro-Hungary, which would stay there for 40 years (1878–1918). The change of authorities led to a complete transfiguration of the political, social and cultural circumstances, which implied the shift from the *Timar* feudal system and Oriental cultural values to the absolutist system of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹ In daily practice, it meant that Bosnia and Herzegovina, where many buildings, mosques, bridges and other significant architectural monuments of the Ottoman culture, was to turn toward social and cultural trends promoted by Vienna and Budapest. In the contexts of musical life, the departure of Ottomans and the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation initiated by the decision of the 25th Congress of Berlin meant that the musical life of Sarajevo, which previously relied upon the Bosnian and Herzegovinian folk music (*sevdalin-ka*), Turkish military bands *mehterhanas*, and the shadow theatre (*karadžoz*)

1 Noel Malcom, *Bosna: kratka povijest* (Sarajevo: Buybook, 2011), 120–1.

would be transformed in line with musical trends of the other members of the Empire.²

For Bosnia and Herzegovina, and for Sarajevo as its center, Austro-Hungarian occupation meant opening to “new” political and socio-cultural trends. As the “youngest” member of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bosnia and Herzegovina was supposed to become an example of the civilizational mission led by the Minister of Finance Benjamin von Kállay.³ Local population was supposed to be enlightened and attracted to contemporary achievements, then turned towards the model of national unity – instead of the idea of forming national identities of the three ethnic groups, which was to be followed by work on raising the economic standard of the entire Bosnian and Herzegovinian society.⁴ In so broadly conceived conception of modeling Bosnia and Herzegovina, the decisive role was assigned to settlers, whom the administrative system considered suitable and competent for implementing the far-reaching set goals.⁵

The changes in the cultural life resulted from the settlement of a large number of foreigners, clerks of the Austro-Hungarian administration and experts of various profiles. Conditioned by the settlers’ needs, the cultural life developed in line with the general trends of the centers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁶ Happenings and innovations in the culture and

- 2 Ottoman rule left significant traces in the practice of Bosnian and Herzegovinian traditional music. Its influence was decisive in the development of instrumental, spiritual and urban musical practice. It particularly pertained to some of the aerophone and chordophone instruments (e.g. long-necked lute, popularly known under the name of *tambura*), wedding songs and urban music tradition – *sevdalinka*. Tamara Karača Beljak and Jasmina Talam, “Ottoman Influence on Folk Music Tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Musicological Annual*, no. 1 (2009): 117–27.
- 3 In his youth, Benjamin von Kállay (Budapest, 1839 – Vienna, 1903) expressed an interest in politics, particularly in the so-called Eastern Question. He acted as the Austro-Hungarian consul in Belgrade, and in 1872 he travelled to Bosnia and Herzegovina and became familiar with local features and political conditions. In 1877, he wrote a work entitled *Historija Srba (History of Serbs)*, which was published in Hungarian and German a year later. A significant date in his political career is 4 June 1882, when he was appointed Austro-Hungarian Minister of Finance and administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He remained on these positions until he died. Robert Donia, *Sarajevo: biografija grada* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2006), 84–5.
- 4 Sarita Vujković, *U građanskom ogledalu. Identiteti žena bosanskohercegovačke građanske kulture 1878–1941* (Banja Luka: Muzej savremene umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2009), 19.
- 5 Donia, *Sarajevo: biografija grada*, 87; Iljas Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase u Bosni i Hercegovini i njen razvoj do 1914. godine* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980), 117–8.
- 6 Lana Pačuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Sarajevo, 2014), 271.

and music, spurred by the settlement of foreigners of various professions, ethnicities and customs, were most manifested in Sarajevo, the administrative center of Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Photo 1: Sarajevo during Austro-Hungarian administration. Street scene at the Sebilj fountain, 1909.⁷

Implementation of “new” musical trends on the local soil: international choral societies

Socio-cultural novelties that accompanied the arrival of Austro-Hungary in Bosnia and Herzegovina included the idea of association and formation

7 Anon., “Sarajevo – Čaršija,” *Europeana*, University of Graz, Austria, https://www.europeana.eu/item/09403/o_vase_2136_CHO.

of societies. The idea emerged as early as in the first years of the occupation and was initiated exclusively by settlers and officers of the regime. The first societies were of an international character, and consisted of settlers from all parts of the Empire, who strove to enrich their social life and design their spare time. Thus, the first Sarajevo international societies included the “Vatrogasno dobrotvorno društvo (Firemen’s charitable society)” (1880), “Činovnički kasino (Officers’ Casino)” (1883), “Gospojinsko društvo (Ladies’ Society)” (1885), as well as “Männerengesangverein” (1887), which was extremely important for the musical life.⁸

International societies were also the only way of associating that was approved by the administration, due to the concern that public gathering would lead to the national revival in the circles of Bosnian and Herzegovinian society. Sensing what consequences the uncontrolled association could have for the system as early in September of 1878, the supreme military commander Filipović issued a public order that no association was allowed to be formed without his permission.⁹ Since there had been no relevant and ordered law on association for a long time, it completely depended on the will and discretion of the authorities, who imposed a series of measures and prerequisites which had to be fulfilled before obtaining the official authorization.¹⁰ There was also the inavoidable censorship, which prevented public appearances which were not in line with the prescribed rules. In this way the regime managed to exert the full control over the operation of societies.

This and similar attitudes resulted in few formed societies in the first decade of Austro-Hungarian presence, and the societies were established only by officers and public servants. In line with their political visions,

8 Paćuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918),” 271.

9 Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878–1918* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1960), 411.

10 Accurate instructions and legal measures were made public only in 1910, by means of the *Law on Constitutional Regulations for Bosnia and Herzegovina*. A separate chapter of this law dealt with societies. It was entitled *Law on Societies for Bosnia and Herzegovina* and it clearly listed provisions pursuant to which a society could get a permit for its operation. Pursuant to the enacted law, any intention of forming a society had to be justified in writing and submitted to the Provincial government, and if a society should get a permit it was bound to adhere to a large number of rules and regulations. One of them provided that the authorities had the right to send their representatives to all the significant social events (assemblies, meetings, parties, performances and others), who were allowed to control and review all the social documents if necessary. Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, “Zakon o ustavnim uredbama za Bosnu i Hercegovinu,” 1910, p. 51.

the authorities supported and offered as a model only the associations focused on nourishing socializing and entertainment, without any tinges of political or national intentions. The described decisions made the musical societies one of the most acceptable forms of association, though under the condition that they should be deprived of national and political connotations. Moreover, these societies soon became a core around which the entire networks of cultural-educational and support associations were formed. In the other hand, authorities recognized culture and music as tools for assimilating Bosnia and Herzegovina into the political, social and cultural values tailor-made by the Empire. A lot of effort was invested into the establishment of international choral societies, with the hope that they would smooth things out and divert attention from actual socio-political problems.¹¹

About the first Sarajevo international choral society: “Männergesangverein”

“Männergesangverein” was the first society, and generally a musical society established in Sarajevo during the Austro-Hungarian occupation. During the 31 years of its existence, this society was one of the most serious and the most professional musical associations active on the musical stage of Sarajevo of the time. Formed as a typical offshoot of the culture transferred from European centers to Bosnia and Herzegovina, it nourished choral singing after the model of the musical culture of Europe of the 19th and early 20th century, from its very beginnings.¹²

The story of “Männergesangverein” began in 1886, when a group of public servants from the ranks of soldiers, officers, architects, printers, railway workers, doctors, professors and lawyers decided to establish a choral society aimed at socializing and nourishing nice singing. In doing so, they strove to avoid national divisions by including German, Serbo-Croatian and Slav songs in their repertoire.¹³ Guided by these thoughts and ide-

11 Paćuka, “Mužički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918),” 93–6.

12 Lana Paćuka, “Josip Vancaš – arhitekt koji je gradio mužički život Sarajeva s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća,” in *Zbornik radova u čast 120 godina rođenja prvog bosanskohercegovačkog etnomuzikologa fra dr. Branka Marića*, ed. Jasmina Talam and Tamara Karača Beljak (Sarajevo-Mostar: Institut za muzikologiju, Mužička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Hercegovačko-franjevačka provincija, 2016), 44–5.

13 Anon., “Pjevačko društvo (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 20 (20 February 1887): 2.

Stellung	Name
Gesangsleiter	Josip Bauer
Organist	Wilhelm Christmann
Präsident	Karollos Cijeticanin
Univ.-Lehrer	Milica Canadak
Finanzwart	Wilhelm R. v. Felbinger
Präsident d. f. L. v. P.	Emil Fux
Lehrer d. f. L. v. P.	Anton Fritsch
Lehrer d. h. h. L. v. P.	Viktor Fella
Präsident d. f. L. v. P.	Nikolaus Fusic
Lehrer d. h. h. L. v. P.	Alfred Faber
Lehrer d. f. L. v. P.	Johann v. Hochmayer
Lehrer d. h. h. L. v. P.	Anton Hascha

Photo 2: Directory of the first members of Männergesangsverein. Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fond Društva.

as, a few music fans decided to compose an interim working committee consisting of Klaudio Hascha, Hochmayer, Josip pl. Vancaš, Hans Niemczek and Ivan V. Popović.¹⁴ The committee headed by the secretary of the directorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina railways Klaudio Hascha¹⁵ submitted the draft of the statute to the Provincial Government as early as on 22 November 1886,¹⁶ which reveals that the intention to form the society was backed by 33 signed members, mostly Hungarians, Czechs, Germans, Austrians and Croats and Serbs who drew their origin from other parts of the Empire.¹⁷ They waited for the response by the government for two – two and

14 Anon., "Pjevačko društvo u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik)," *Sarajevski list*, no. 134 (14 November 1886): 3.

15 Božidar Širola, *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike* (Zagreb: Edition Pirop, 1922), 219.

16 Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fond Društva.

17 Ibid.

a half months, and on 18 February 1887 the approval for the beginning of the operation of the society arrived.¹⁸

The first printed statute of the society appeared in public in the early 1887,¹⁹ while the assembly of the society, where the management board was appointed, took place on 14 April 1887.²⁰ Members of “Männergesangverein” did not delay the organization of the first inauguration festivity, which took place about ten days after the first assembly. The festivity, which was organized on 23 April 1887, was a significant social event, while the program was composed of seven choral compositions by Vaclav Horejšek, Ivan pl. Zajc and Ferdo Rusan. They were performed by a men’s chorus consisted of 30 singers, and the program was supplemented by the *Concerto* for violin by Charles August de Bériot, performed by a violinist and court clerk Sandecki from Zenica.²¹

From its very beginnings, “Männergesangverein” had a well-elaborated system of interior organization, which distinguished it from other societies of the time. Every year, the number of the members of the society increased, so that from the initial 30, who also acted as founders, assistants and singers, in 1906 the number of members reached as many as 544, 116 out of whom were members of the singing ensemble.²² These were certainly the golden years of “Männergesangverein,” when it was led by the chairman Karlo knight Stefanowski and choirmasters Josip Vančaš and Eduard Heeger. The success did not subside until the beginning of the First World War, when the society, due to unfortunate war events, worked with a decreased intensity and a smaller number of members. It should be noted that this society was one of the first societies in Bosnia and Herzegovina which accepted women, which was certainly not a frequent practice of the time. In 1896, the society also founded a women’s chorus, whose appearances and

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 The board of “Männergesangverein” consisted of: Constantin Hörmann – chairmank, Klaudius Hascha – secretary, Josip pl. Vančaš – 1st choir master, Titus Falta – 2nd choir master, Alf. Ritter von Hruby – treasurer and Karl Racher – archivist. Risto Besarović, ed., *Kultura i umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini pod Austrougarskom upravom* (Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine 1968), 577.

21 Anon., “Muško pjevačko društvo (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 47 (27 April 1887): 2–3; Lana Paćuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske uprave kroz napise o muzici u *Sarajevskom listu*” (MA, University of Sarajevo, 2010), 36.

22 Anon., “B. Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo – Vereine in Sarajevo,” *Bosnischer Bote* X (1906): 318.

participation in social events affected the diversity and richness of the music repertoire.²³

The program orientation of “Männergesangverein” adjusted to the performing abilities of its members, most of whom were professors, doctors, lawyers, military officers, bankers, merchants and employees of the Provincial Government.²⁴ The members’ musical amateurism suited the program orientation and spirit of *Liedertafelstil*, which would mark the work of the society for many years.²⁵ Simple choral compositions, the requirements of which could be satisfied by singing abilities of the members of “Männergesangverein,” were the most frequent repertoire choice over the first years of the society’s activity. These were works by the presently less known or completely forgotten composers such as: Freidrich August Bungert, Robert Fischhof, Christian August Sinding, Eicken, Robert Volkmann, Bernhard Joachim Hagen, who were the backbone of *Liedertafelstil*.²⁶

In general, the society adjusted the style and manner of its work and the selection of program to choral societies from other parts of the Empire – primarily those from Austria and Germany, and maintained friendly relations with them. Thus, the annual reports of “Männergesangverein” reveal that in 1900 the society was in constant interactions with societies M.G.V. “Liedertafel” Berlin, M.G.V. “Liedertafel” Dresden, “Grazer Männer-Gesang-Verein,” and “Wiener Männer-Gesang-Verein.” The successful cooperation between these societies implied the exchange of sheet music, constant correspondence and the organization of visits – which was significant for the musical life of Sarajevo.²⁷

Vienna choral societies’ visits to Sarajevo: an occasion for redefining the work and concert programs of the local choral societies?

Except for the activity of choral societies, the concert segment of Sarajevo musical life in the period of Austro-Hungarian occupation largely de-

23 Širola, *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike*, 219.

24 Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, ZMF, 1900, “Jahresbericht über die Thätigkeit des Vereines im XIII. Bestandesjahre,” no. 2898/1900.

25 Tünde Polomik, “Počeci umetničkog pevanja u Bosni i Hercegovini,” in *Zbornik radova Muzičke akademije u Sarajevu I*, ed. Verunica Zdravko (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija u Sarajevu, 1989), 23.

26 Paćuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918),” 102.

27 “Jahresbericht über die Thätigkeit des Vereines im XIII. Bestandesjahre.”

pended on visits by foreign musicians. When visiting the Bosnia and Herzegovina capital, the musicians brought a whiff of contemporary musical trends, thus allowing the local audience to get familiar with the repertoire which adorned European concert stages. Although Sarajevo was visited by opera troupes from Milan, Brno, Zagreb, Osijek, Ljubljana, as well as by well-known violinists such as Ondriček brothers or Fritz Kreisler,²⁸ the segment related to the visits by choral societies was at the periphery in terms of quantity. Except for the visits by the Croatian singing society “Kolo” (1904), Dubrovnik singing society “Gundulić” (1909), Belgrade singing society (1910) and Academic singing society “Obilić” (1911), no visits to the Bosnia and Herzegovina capital of a similar nature were noted.²⁹ Explanations for this claim can be sought in the authorities’ restrictive attitude toward any forms of public association. Visits of this type were reserved only for the “chosen” societies of ascertained artistic reputation, which, at least apparently, were not subject to national political connotations.

The rank of the “chosen” primarily included choral societies that arrived from the Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy. The administration presented their work as the ideal model for activity on association, while local choral societies – particularly the international ones – considered them as an opportunity for personal growth and development. Besides, settlers found in them an opportunity for nourishing and deepening ties with their homeland, as well as the possibility to connect with the culture and customs nourished in their home communities. The administration recognized that such form of networking could strengthen the settlers’ influence on the development of musical life and fully approved of this type of visits.

The first choral society whose visit was approved by Austro-Hungarian administration was “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter” which visited Sarajevo in 1892. The data related to this visit were also noted by the newspaper *Deutsche Kunst - und Musikzeitung*, which reported that the society intended to visit Sarajevo, Mostar, Metković, Split and Pula in the period from 11 to 22 June 1892. A total of 150 singers and 70 support members were registered for the trip, and it was also indicated that their arrival attracted interest by high-ranking Austro-Hungarian officials and Bosnian and Herzegovinian administrative institutions: baron Benja-

28 Anon., “Umjetnik Ondriček u sarajevu (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 30 (15 March 1893): 2; Anon., “Koncert (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 113 (24 September 1893): 2.

29 Pačuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske uprave kroz napise o muzici u *Sarajevskom listu*,” 70–2.

min von Kallaý, state government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, city councils of Sarajevo and Mostar. Sarajevo "Männergesangverein" offered to be the host, and it was planned that the participants would be accommodated in local hotels. It was also noted that besides concerts in Sarajevo, the society intended to appear in Mostar during their two-day stay there, and then go to Split. The return to Austria was scheduled for 19 June, and to Vienna for 20 June 1892.³⁰ The visit and its progress was also covered in the main Bosnian and Herzegovinian newspaper *Sarajevski list*, which announced the visit of "Vienna singers" as early as in March.³¹ According to this newspaper, the visit to Sarajevo was to take place from 12 to 16 June 1892, and it strove to report on every detail of the visit. It published the complete schedule based on which it can be concluded that the visit consisted of both concerts and a rich plan of socializing which included sightseeing (Bezistan, Čaršija, Husrev-beg's mosque, coffee shop at Bentbaša, Catholic cathedral, Serbian old and new church, silversmithers' shops and rug weavers' shops).

A total of 250 guests arrived from Vienna, around 100 of whom were singers,³² and the plan was that they would tour the city divided into five groups. The main host of the event, Sarajevo "Männergesangverein," was assisted by the Serbian Orthodox Church Singing society "Sloga" for the organization.³³

The schedule of visit for the first day, 12 June 1892, consisted of the symbolic welcome walk in front of the Provincial Government, a procession through the city accompanied by military orchestra, and then a reception in the Community Center organized by members of "Männergesangverein."³⁴ Interestingly, the reception in the Community Center and a meeting of joint support members of both societies in the Military Hall took place at the same time, which indicates the intention to form new connections.³⁵ The gatherings were followed by military orchestra, which musically "accompanied" the whole visit of guests from Vienna. It should be

30 Anon., "Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter," *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung*, no. 14 (10 May 1892): 133.

31 Anon., "Bečki pjevači u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik)," *Sarajevski list*, no. 37 (27 March 1892): 2.

32 Anon., "Pjevači iz Beča (Mali vjesnik)," *Sarajevski list*, no. 69 (8 June 1892): 1.

33 At the moment of the visit by the "Singing society of Vienna railway clerks," the two societies were the only choral societies in Sarajevo.

34 Anon., "Muško pjevačko društvo u Sarajevu – Svečani raspored," *Sarajevski list*, no. 70 (10 June 1892): 3.

35 Ibid.

noted that the importance of the visit was supported by correspondents of Vienna newspapers, who arrived in Sarajevo together with the singers.



Photo 3: Wilhelm Steidel: Max Ritter von Weinzierl, choirmaster of "Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter"³⁶

The second day of the visit, 13 June 1892, consisted of a joint breakfast in the well-known city garden restaurant Aschenbrenner, followed by picnics to city picnic sites Vasin han, Da Riva and Kozja Čuprija. It was the overture to the evening charity concert in the Community Center, where the guests performed with the accompaniment of a military orchestra.³⁷

36 Wien Museum, <https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/471759-max-ritter-von-weinzierl-1841-1898-komponist/>.

37 Ibid.

The concert program comprised a total of ten choral compositions³⁸ which were sung in two parts, with soloist pieces in between. The concert, which ultimately featured 90 singers, began with the choral composition *Pozdrav*, composed by the choirmaster of “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter,” Max pl. Weinzierl particularly for the visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁹ The press reported that it was a “*lively composition, full of expression, and the singers sang their greeting so thunderously and with such beautiful utterance of each syllable that they captivated us right away.*”⁴⁰ It turned out that the choirmaster’s composition was an excellent overture into the remaining part of the concert program, which delighted the audience and elicited a series of praises for the performance: “*hats off to such singing, singers and the choirmaster! Only Vienna singers can sing so well!*”⁴¹

The third day of the visit, 14 June 1892, passed in socializing at Ilidža and a joint lunch attended by the most important public servants and advisers. The presence of the renowned personalities from social and political life such as the president of the supreme court, government advisor or the city mayor⁴² was the proof that the visit of Vienna singers was not only another event on the musical map of the city. The visit had a multiple value, since the management system in associations such as “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter” was recognized as an appropriate model for socio-cultural and artistic activity in public. Furthermore, strengthening of ties with both the local settlers’ community and the domicile population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who were only too eager to attend the party at Ilidža, which was visited by over 4000 people on the day of the concert, was a certain route for expanding pro-European influences on the local soil. The image of concord and respect was supplemented by the performance of Sarajevo “Sloga,” who sang compositions by Serbian composers Jovan Paču and Stevan Mokranjac.⁴³

38 The entire program of the concert: “A. M. Storch ‘Ribarska molitva’ accompanied by the piano with solo tenor Mr. H. Hass; R. Schumann ‘Ritornell’; V. Schradler ‘Salem Marijo’; M. pl. Weinzierl ‘Veselo svračanje’; Solo: A. Tomschik (tenor), H. Schütz (baritone); F. Schubert ‘Gondolier’; E. S. Engelsberg ‘Sestra cvijeća i zvijezda’; Nessler ‘Dan se oprostio’; F. Debios ‘Jung Werner’; M. Weinzierl ‘Proljećne čari’. Anon., “Bečki pjevači u Sarajevu,” *Sarajevski list*, no. 72 (15 June 1892): 1.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Anon., “Bečki pjevači u Sarajevu,” *Sarajevski list*, no. 73 (17 June 1892): 1.

43 Ibid.

Reporting of *Sarajevski list* confirmed the initial writings in *Deutsche Kunst-und Musikzeitung* about the visit to Mostar, with the remark that the reception of the singers was friendly and accompanied with an immense interest of local administration. The success of the concert in Sarajevo was repeated in Mostar, in the hall of the Hotel “Neretva,” and the audience rewarded the “*masterly singing*” with the enthusiastic applause.⁴⁴

The first foreign visit of a choral society to Sarajevo had positive outcomes for the musical life of local community. The visit sent the message that Austro-Hungarian administration supported the idea of association and public activity, but that they had to be in line with public sentiment and the socio-political views of the Empire. The novelty adopted after the visit of the Vienna society pertained to the organization and networking of societies of a similar orientation and the “pattern” of organization applied in 1892 would begin to be practiced at a local level when organizing joint celebrations or marking significant jubilees (consecration of flag, celebrations in the honor of Tzar Franz Joseph and others).⁴⁵

Although the visit of 1892 represented a distinctive penetration of new information in the contexts of choral societies’ musical practice, musical life did not host any foreign choral society for many years. For this reason, the local choral community, which in the meantime, besides “Männergesangverein” and the Serbian Orthodox church singing society “Sloga,” was expanded by the Croatian singing society “Trebević” (1894) and the Jewish singing society “La Lira” (1901), acted as isolated and turned to itself. Therefore the organization of work almost fell into a rut and relied upon a pattern of activity which implied singing evening (summer, winter, Liedertafel, Carnival and New Year’s), inaugural ceremonies and charity concerts in the cooperation with other local choral, support and cultural-educational societies.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the evolution of the Sarajevo choral community was monotonous and reduced to the activity of few societies, and as such it could be “woken up” only by a continuous connection with societies from the outside. In this context, the significance was attached to the visit by Vienna-based “Schubertbund,” which took place in the period from 16 to 19 July

44 Anon., “Bečki pjevači,” *Sarajevski list*, no. 74 (19 June 1892): 2.

45 An example is a celebration on the occasion of consecrating the flag of the Croatian choral society “Trebević” in 1900, which was attended by all the significant societies in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pačuka, “Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918),” 119.

46 Ibid., 105–29.

1905. For local musical conditions, “Schubertbund” was a musical sensation, and the system of organizing the visit of 1892 was used this time as well. The organization of the visit again included the diligent writing of the local and Austrian press, spotless functioning of the organization committee headed by “Männergesangverein,” the visit which included socializing and sightseeing, and then two concerts – a charity one in the Community Center and one at Ilidža.⁴⁷

Members of “Schubertbund” led by social choirmaster Adolf Kirchl, opera singer Antun Moser, soloist Ferdinand Soeser and double bass player Eduard Madenski arrived in Sarajevo by a special train, and were greeted at the station by “Männergesangverein.” President of “Männergesangverein” – mister Grassl warmly welcomed the 148 guests and 12 reporters, and the welcome greetings were also extended by members of Sarajevo choral societies “Trebević”, “La Lira” and “Teachers’ Society.”⁴⁸ The presence of local societies reflected the degree of significance of the visit for the circumstances of Sarajevo musical life, which indicated that the local community was interested in deepening ties with foreign associations, as well as in musical trends promoted by them.

Judging by the writing of the daily *Bosnische Post*, the visit was organized to the smallest detail. After a short tour of the city, a formal banquet was organized in the hall of the Community Center, where members of “Schubertbund”, “Männergesangverein”, support members of the societies and reputable members of political life exchanged impressions of the visit. The long-awaited moment of the second day of the visit was the charity concert organized in the Community Center, adorned by a rich repertoire.⁴⁹

The first concert of “Schubertbund” was characterized by artistic quality which was a novelty for local choral societies. The concert was led by Adolf Kirchl, who successfully guided through the performance the choir, royal opera singer Anton Moser and the concert singer and double bass player Eduard Madenski. The music repertoire consisting of works by Franz Schubert, Ernst Schimid, Eduard Schön (E.S. Engelsberg), Robert Schumann,

47 Anon., “Bečki ‘Schubertbund’ u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 72 (18 June 1905): 3; Anon., “Bečki ‘Schubertbund’ u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 84 (16 July 1905): 2.

48 Anon., “Bečki ‘Schubertbund’ u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 85 (19 July 1905): 2.

49 Anon., “Reise des ‘Schubertbund’ nach Bosnien-Herzegovina,” *Bosnische Post*, no. 135 (14 June 1905): 2.

Friedrich Hegar, Eduard Madenski, and Adolf Kirchl was performed “masterfully and accurately”.⁵⁰



Photo 4: Adolf Kirchl, choirmaster of “Schubertbund”⁵¹

The equal attention was drawn by the third day of the visit, 18 July, reserved for socializing and then for the so-called evening “People’s Concert”

50 The entire musical program was as follows: “1. Franz Schubert: ‘Gott meine Zuversicht’, Chor mit Klavierbegleitung; 2. Franz Schubert: ‘An den Frühling’, Chor; 3. Franz Schubert: ‘Der Gondelfahrer’, Chor mit Klavier begleitung; Lieder vorträge des Hofopernsängers Herrn Anton Moser, Vereinsmitglied; 4. Rosenkranz: ‘Mein Oesterreich’, ‘Fantasie für Flügelhorn’; 5. Ernst Schmid: ‘Sandmännchen’, volkslied; 6. E. S. Engelsberg: ‘Der Blumen Schwester und der Sterne’, Chor mit Tenorsolo und Klavierbegleitung. Solist: konzertsänger Herr Ferdinand Soeser, Vereinsmitglied; 7. Schumann: ‘Die Rose stand im Tau’, Chor; 8. Friedrich Hegar: ‘Rudolf von Werdenberg’, Chor; 9. Vorträge des Kontrabassvirtuosen Herr Eduard Madenski, Hofmusiker, Mitglied des Hofopernorchesters, Vereinsmitglied: Ed. Madenski: a) Souvenir, b) Pastorale, c) Hongrois; 10. Adolf Kirchl: ‘Es muss ein wunderbares sein’, fünfstimmiger Chor; 11. E. S. Engelsberg: ‘Die Flucht der liebe’, Chor mit Barytonsolo und Klavierbegleitung (Solo: Hofopernsänger A. Moser, Vereinsmitglied); 12. A. Veit: ‘Käfer und die Blume’, Chor; 13. F. Schubert: ‘Die Nachtigall’, Chor mit Klavierbegleitung am Klavier: Vereinsmitglied Herr Prof. W. Kleincke.” Anon., “Die Konzerte des ‘Schubertbund’ in Sarajevo und Ilidže,” *Bosnische Post*, no. 156 (11 July 1905): 2.

51 Andrea Harrandt and Christian Fastl, “Kirchl Adolf,” *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_K/Kirchl_Adolf.xml.

in front of Ilidža spa.⁵² The choice of the repertoire was again at a high artistic level, though adjusted to the open space and a broad circle of the population, mostly laborers. The effectiveness of the event was enhanced by the participation of the military orchestra of the infantry regiment no. 68 conducted by Kapellmeister Josef Nauner. Besides composers Franz Schubert, Friderich Hegar, E. S. Engelsberg, Ernst Schmid, A. Berner, Franz Mair, Richard Wagner, Josef Pommer, Rudolf Wagner, Johann Strauss and Dominik Ertl, the concert program included Eduard Heeger and his *Sarajevoer Männergesangsvereinsmarsch*. The public knew Heeger, who resided in Sarajevo, as an excelling private music teacher, the owner of the renowned piano store in Strossmayerova street, as well as one of the choirmasters of Sarajevo "Männergesangsverein". Heeger's composition was performed by the military orchestra, which excelled in the performance of several other pieces received with approval by the audience.⁵³ The repertoire conceived by combining choral items and those played by the military orchestra was supposed to be a sign of joint artistic activity, as well as an indicator of mutual respect. The visit of "Schubertbund" ended in the afternoon of 19 July, when the guests departed for Mostar by train, accompanied by cheers of "Männergesangsverein" and citizens of Sarajevo.⁵⁴

Epilogue

Visits of Vienna choral societies, particularly of "Schubertbund," spurred positive changes in the segment of public activity of Sarajevo choral societies. Indeed, visits of "Gesangsverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter" and "Schubertbund" opened the way to foreign societies – primarily those from the region, which were received in BiH capital according to the same pattern. Still, the greatest benefit for the local musical stage was the fact that after 1905 Sarajevo societies, particularly "Männergesangsverein," began to introduce in their repertoire musical creations by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Josef Haydn, Giuseppe Verdi, Richard Wagner, Ruggero Leoncavallo, Giacomo Puccini, Gioachino Rossini, Charles Gounod, Johann Strauss, Léo Delibe, as well as by Ivan pl. Zajc, Davorin Jenko and Srećko

52 Anon., "Reise des 'Schubertbund' nach Bosnien-Herzegovina," 2.

53 The military band performed the following compositions: Richard Wagner *Tonbilder aus dem Musikdrama Die Walküre*; Johannes Strauss/ Josef Neuner *Reminiszenzen aus Strauss Operette Die Fledermaus*; Dominik Ertl *Kinematograph in Tönen, potpourri*. Anon., "Die konzerte des 'Schubertbund' in Sarajevo und Ilidže," *Bosnische Post*, no. 156 (11 July 1905): 2.

54 Anon., "Reise des 'Schubertbund' nach Bosnien-Herzegovina," 2.

Albini besides those typical of *Liedertafelstil*. Furthermore, they began to strive to perform longer pieces such as operettas and oratorios, which is particularly true of the societies “Trebević” and “Männergesangverein.” Thus, it can be claimed that a kind of musical climax in the work of “Männergesangverein,” whose work was the most affected by visits of the “guests from Vienna” included the performances of the spiritual piece *Stabat Mater* (1906) by Gioachino Rossini and *Mass* in C major by Charles Gounod, which the society performed within the celebration of His Majesty Franz Joseph’s birthday.⁵⁵

Finally, it can be summarized that societies such as “Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter” and “Schubertbund” enjoyed a strong support by the top political officials of Austro-Hungarian Bosnia and Herzegovina. For this reason, they were the ideal example of the idea of association, and the local authorities hoped that it would be applied by the local national societies as well. Still, it turned out that repertoire choices of the “guests from Vienna” were far closer to the societies of international character such as “Männergesangverein”, which made a true step ahead to higher-quality and richer musical program after the visits. The other Sarajevo societies, “Sloga”, “Trebević” and “La Lira” mostly continued their established musical practice, based on the composers of their national corpus. However, the positive trace of the visits was reflected in the adopted protocol of the visits, which began to be used during the visit of Croatian choral society “Kolo”, Dubrovnik choral society “Gundulić”, Belgrade choral society and Academic choral society “Obilić”. These societies, as well as many others, began to regularly visit Sarajevo after 1892, including it on their map of singing troupes and ensembles’ tours.

Bibliography

Archival sources

Anon. “Sarajevo – Čaršija.” *Europeana*. University of Graz, Austria. https://www.europeana.eu/item/09403/o_vase_2136_CHO.

Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Fond Društva.

Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, “Zakon o ustavnim uredbama za Bosnu i Hercegovinu,” 1910, p. 51.

55 Anon., “Previšnji dan rođenja (Mali vjesnik),” *Sarajevski list*, no. 99 (20 August 1902): 1–2.

Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, ZMF, 1900, "Jahresbericht über die Thätigkeit des Vereines im XIII. Bestandesjahre," no. 2898/1900.

Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, sign. PORT_00154845_01.

Literature

Besarović, Risto, ed. *Kultura i umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini pod Austrougarskom upravom*. Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, 1968.

Donia, Robert. *Sarajevo: biografija grada*. Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2006.

Hadžibegović, Iljas. *Postanak radničke klase u Bosni i Hercegovini i njen razvoj do 1914. godine*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980.

Harrandt, Andrea and Christian Fastl. "Kirchl Adolf." *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*. https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_K/Kirchl_Adolf.xml.

Karača Beljak, Tamara, and Jasmina Talam. "Ottoman Influence on Folk Music Tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Musicological Annual*, no. 1 (2009): 117–27.

Kruševac, Todor. *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878–1918*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1960.

Malcom, Noel. *Bosna: kratka povijest*. Sarajevo: Buybook, 2011.

Paćuka, Lana. "Muzički život u Sarajevu za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske uprave kroz napise o muzici u Sarajevskom listu." MA, University of Sarajevo, 2010.

Paćuka, Lana. "Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)." Ph.D. diss., University of Sarajevo, 2014.

Paćuka, Lana. "Josip Vancaš – arhitekt koji je gradio muzički život Sarajeva s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća." In *Zbornik radova u čast 120 godina rođenja prvog bosanskohercegovačkog etnomuzikologa fra dr. Branka Marića*, edited by Jasmina Talam and Tamara Karača Beljak, 40–52. Sarajevo-Mostar: Institut za muzikologiju, Muzička akademija Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Hercegovačko-franjevačka provincija, 2016.

Polomik, Tünde. "Počeci umetničkog pevanja u Bosni i Hercegovini." In *Zbornik radova Muzičke akademije u Sarajevu I*, edited by Verunica Zdravko, 19–26. Sarajevo: Muzička akademija u Sarajevu, 1989.

Širola, Božidar. *Pregled povijesti hrvatske muzike*. Zagreb: Edition Pirop, 1922.

Vujković, Sarita. *U građanskom ogledalu. Identiteti žena bosanskohercegovačke građanske kulture 1878–1941*. Banja Luka: Muzej savremene umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2009.

Periodicals

- Anon. "B. Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo – Vereine in Sarajevo." *Bosnischer Bote* X (1906): 318.
- Anon. "Bečki 'Schubertbund' u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 72 (18 June 1905): 3.
- Anon. "Bečki 'Schubertbund' u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 84 (16 July 1905): 2.
- Anon. "Bečki 'Schubertbund' u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 85 (19 July 1905): 2.
- Anon. "Bečki pjevači u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 37 (27 March 1892): 2.
- Anon. "Bečki pjevači u Sarajevu." *Sarajevski list*, no. 72 (15 June 1892): 1.
- Anon. "Bečki pjevači u Sarajevu." *Sarajevski list*, no. 73 (17 June 1892): 1.
- Anon. "Bečki pjevači." *Sarajevski list*, no. 74 (19 June 1892): 2.
- Anon. "Die Konzerte des 'Schubertbund' in Sarajevo und Ilidže." *Bosnische Post*, no. 156 (11 July 1905): 2.
- Anon. "Gesangverein Österreichischer Eisenbahnbeamter." *Deutsche Musik-Zeitung*, no. 14 (10 May 1892): 133.
- Anon. "Koncert (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 113 (24 September 1893): 2.
- Anon. "Muško pjevačko društvo (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 47 (27 April 1887): 2–3.
- Anon. "Muško pjevačko društvo u Sarajevu – Svečani raspored." *Sarajevski list*, no. 70 (10 June 1892): 3.
- Anon. "Pjevači iz Beča (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 69 (8 June 1892): 1.
- Anon. "Pjevačko društvo (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 20 (20 February 1887): 2.
- Anon. "Pjevačko društvo u Sarajevu (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 134 (14 November 1886): 3.
- Anon. "Previšnji dan rođenja (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 99 (20 August 1902): 1–2.
- Anon. "Reise des 'Schubertbund' nach Bosnien-Herzegovina." *Bosnische Post*, no. 135 (14 June 1905): 2.
- Anon. "Umjetnik Ondriček u sarajevu (Mali vjesnik)." *Sarajevski list*, no. 30 (15 March 1893): 2.