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Aspects of Slovenian musicians' activity in the musical life of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo (1878–1918)

Vidiki delovanja slovenskih glasbenikov v avstro-ogrskem Sarajevu (1878–1918)

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Članek prinaša zgoščen vpogled v delovanje slovenskih glasbenikov, ki so živeli v Sarajevu med vladavino Avstro-Ogrske. Poleg aktivnosti slovenskih glasbenikov na kolektivni ravni se članek ukvarja tudi s prizadevanji posameznikov in hkrati s prizadevanji iz gledišča gostujočih umetnikov. Slovenski gostujoči umetniki, kot denimo s področja operne umetnosti, so bili eni najbolj cenjenih ansamblov, ki so obiskali avstro-ogrsko Bosno in Hercegovino.

The paper provides a concise insight into the activity of Slovenian musicians residing in Sarajevo during the Austro-Hungarian administration. Besides the Slovenian musicians' activities at the collective level, the paper discusses their individual endeavours and also endeavours from perspective of guest artists. Guest Slovenian artists such as Slovenian opera, was one of the most renowned ensemble that visited Austro-Hungarian Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Socio-historical contexts

The complexity of the musical life of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo can be discussed from a few different angles and perspectives, one of them certainly referring to the impacts of certain national groups on the circumstances of musical trends' development of the time. The discussion of the given issue in the 1878–1918 period becomes even

more interesting if we have in mind that the West-European side of the musical life of Sarajevo, as the centre of Austro-Hungarian administration in B&H,¹ was in its infancy and thus characterized by the absence of institutional form of musical life and the reduction to music practice dependent on individual endeavours in a particular area of musical activity.² A set of individual endeavours made up the main backbone of musical life, building gradually its mosaic-like structure where each, even apparently less essential element, was crucial for the construction of a larger, coherent whole.

Interestingly, individual endeavours in the area of musical life were typically initiated by national groups who in the first decades of occupation were mostly of foreign origin.³ Foreign artists were in charge of sowing the first germs of the West-European musical culture, and they spread their influence in two ways: through settlement and continued activity in Sarajevo and B&H, and through shorter tours that greatly enriched the picture of concert life of the time. In these contexts, it is possible to track and get an insight into the role of Slovenian musicians in the development of Sarajevo musical life in the period 1878–1918.

Therefore, the discussion of the topic that opens the issue of the significance and role of Slovenian musicians is universal, since it touches upon the very core of the B&H musical life in the period of Austro-Hungarian administration, and it can be claimed that Slovenians' activity is the picture of the musical life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, only "smaller".⁴ Actually, in the national diversity in B&H Slovenian musicians made up only one cell, though a cell whose patterns of functioning were also the patterns of functioning of the musical life as a whole. Thus, although according to the 1910 census

1 Occupation of B&H by Austro-Hungary officially started with the decision of the 25th Berlin Congress in 1878. Over the 40 years duration of the occupation, Sarajevo has the position of the capital, while its transformation from an Oriental into West-European system of values was attached a great significance. All the new socio-political and cultural ideas were first implemented in Sarajevo, with the aim of creating a political and economic centre which would be the ideal model for establishing a modern social order in B&H. In the very beginning of the occupation, construction of electricity distribution network, water supply and drainage system, electric tram started in Sarajevo, while the construction of railway led to the opening of many state-owned enterprises and thus to the increasing inflow of foreign employees, which ultimately resulted in the changed demographics of the city. Under the new authorities, the city also changed its visual identity and became a model for sending a message of a successful mission of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in B&H. Robert Donia, Sarajevo: *Biografija grada* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2006), 88–91.

2 Arts were viewed as one of the most powerful weapons in propagating state authorities, which in the case of musical life meant nourishing music to the extent and in the form which was the most suitable for promoting the key values of the new administrative regime. In other words, Austro-Hungary did not initiate the development of musical trends at the level of music institutions in any planned or systematic way, and the musical life therefore developed as a result of general socio-cultural happenings. The regime supported and encouraged the development of more complex forms of the cultural and then musical life in small doses, which resulted in a lack of the comprehensive and complete formation of musical institutions. Actually, the ultimate reach of the musical institutions development in the Austro-Hungarian period can only be viewed through the discourse of a few formed musical institutions (schools of music, music/singing societies, travelling theatre groups) and primarily through the discourse of the form of a musical event (public concert, parties, musical get-togethers, dances, etc.). Lana Pačuka, "Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)" (PhD diss., University of Sarajevo, 2014), 57.

3 Most foreigners in B&H came from the Serbocroatian-speaking region (50.76% of the total number of foreigners), and they were followed by Germans, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Slovenians, Romanians, Slovaks, etc. The immigrants were mostly concentrated in Sarajevo, and then in Tuzla. Iljas Hadžibegović, *Postanak radničke klase u Bosni i Hercegovini i njen razvoj do 1914. godine* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980), 117–118.

4 Slovenians' activity in the B&H musical life is the subject of fairly few papers, one of them is Vedrana Tičić's master's thesis "Slovenački muzičari u Bosni i Hercegovini" (2012). However, the thesis primarily focuses on the data on Slovenian musicians' activity after the First World War (1918), while their engagement in the period of Austro-Hungarian administration is not discussed in great detail.

data as few as 1,181 Slovenians lived in Sarajevo,⁵ their participation in the musical life, in terms of quality, had the same outlines as the activity of other, more numerous ethnic groups inhabiting B&H, since the activity of both depended on the socio-political circumstances, i.e. cultural patterns that were strictly controlled and imposed by Austro-Hungarian authorities.

Slovenians started arriving to B&H immediately after the beginning of the occupation, together with other immigrants, in the form of skilled labour that Austro-Hungary badly needed for implementing the “civilizing” ideas. And while the first years of occupation mostly saw the inflow of Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Hungarians and Italians, Slovenians started settling after 1905, and the most frequents towns of their choice were Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Zenica, Tuzla, Mostar, Prnjavor and Prijedor.⁶ By profession, immigrants of Slovenian origin were forestry workers and miners, artisans, clerks, entrepreneurs as well as intellectuals, teachers, cultural officials and scientists who went to the listed B&H towns depending on the needs of service. Since, in the vision of Austro-Hungarian authorities, Sarajevo was supposed to be a socio-cultural model for the development of all the other B&H towns, it is not surprising that most intellectually oriented Slovenians such as professors, teachers and cultural officials chose the B&H capital as their place of residence. This was proved by Jakob Žnidaršič, a respectable teacher and principal of Great Grammar School,⁷ who came to Sarajevo early in 1880 and, together with a few cultural officials became one of the pioneers of the development of Slovenian community in this region.⁸

Involvement in musical flows or on the collective aspects of Slovenian musicians' activity

Although the Slovenian community in Sarajevo was not numerous, Slovenian immigrants tried to get actively involved in the newly-arrived developments of the socio-cultural life. One of the key forms of Slovenians' involvement in social and cultural circumstances was the establishment of cultural-educational societies, as a reflection of the desire for preserving and nourishing their own culture and tradition. These motives were in line with immigrants' general needs, since they were trying to transfer cultural patterns from their environments to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and one of the

5 Sarajevo. The Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Fond Popis stanovništva, 1910; Vedrana Tičić, “Slovenački muzičari u Bosni i Hercegovini” (Master thesis, University of Sarajevo, 2012).

6 Tičić, “Slovenački muzičari u Bosni i Hercegovini,” 20.

7 Great Grammar School in Sarajevo was founded in the fall of 1879, and was the first high-school institution in B&H established during the Austro-Hungarian administration. It could be attended by pupils regardless of nationality and religion, and was considered one of the most elite schools of Austro-Hungarian B&H. The backbone of its curriculum consisted of courses in science, and a great attention was paid to music education as well. Music-related courses such as singing and violin-playing were designed to develop a sense of music culture, musical literacy, and the development of musical taste. What singled the Great Grammar School out compared to other educational institutions was fully qualified teaching staff, who were also the backbone of the Sarajevo cultural life. Todor Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878–1918* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1960), 403–404; *Spomenica Prve gimnazije u Sarajevu – prilikom proslave 50-godišnjice (1879–1929.)* (Sarajevo: Državna štamparija, 1929), 26.

8 Jakob Žnidaršič was born in Košana in 1847, and died in Sarajevo on 19 October 1903. He was one of the first Slovenian immigrants to Sarajevo and was actively involved in pedagogy. Tičić, “Slovenački muzičari u Bosni i Hercegovini,” 20.

most frequent ways of achieving these goals was the idea of association.⁹ Still, the idea of association on B&H soil had a somewhat different path than in other European countries, because for Austro-Hungary it was a direct danger of rousing national awareness among the local people, which could ultimately threaten its strategy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Actually, Austro-Hungary strove to suppress and stifle political friction based on national impulses with promoting religious values. On the other hand, they tried to unify cure and turn it toward West-European standards, whereby the unique Bosnian nation, language and thought would be directed toward the idea of the unified Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹⁰

In order to achieve the set goals, the ideas on the formation of the first societies were viewed with a high degree of caution. The caution was obvious to the extent that, in the first ten years of occupation, the authorities did not allow any form of association regardless of continuous requests and enquiries.¹¹ Still, a few associations, primarily of international character, managed to be formed in Sarajevo in the first years of occupation, and their basic goal was to nourish conviviality without national signs or ideas.¹²

Under the described conditions, characterized by strictly controlled socio-cultural life, Slovenians gathered around two cultural-educational societies, known as "Slovensko omizje" [Slovenian panel] (1897) and „Slovenski klub“ [Slovenian club] (1910).¹³ Although they had fewer members than other, larger international and national societies of the time, Slovenian societies were also thoroughly involved in nourishing their own culture, tradition, as well as general education of their members. Thus, for example, „Slovenski klub“ had a rich library and reading room and, according to some sources, an agile singing choir that regularly participated at social events.¹⁴ Along the same lines, social parties were organized, primarily aimed at nourishing and promoting the national culture, as well as gathering together members of the Slovenian community in Sarajevo. It should be noted that such gatherings were generally well received by public, and were covered by the press of the time, with favourable comments on

9 Pačuka, "Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)," 93.

10 Sarita Vujković, *U građanskom ogledalu. Identiteti žena bosanskohercegovačke građanske kulture 1878–1941* (Banja Luka: Muzej savremene umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2009), 21.

11 Out of fear that uncontrolled association could have disastrous consequences to the system, the supreme commander Filipović issued a public order, as on November 1878, which says that no association could be formed nor start working without his permission. Kruševac, *Sarajevo pod austro-ugarskom upravom 1878–1918*, 411; Đorđe Pejanović, *Kulturno-prosvetna humana i socijalna društva u Bosni i Hercegovini za vreme austrijske vladavine* (Sarajevo: Štamparija "Bosanska pošta", 1930), 4–5.

12 The first associations formed in Sarajevo were the "Vatrogasno društvo" [Firefighters' charity] (1880), "Frauenverein" [Ladies' society] (1885), and "Männergesangverein" [Men's choral society] (1887). These societies were under the strict control of the regime, and due to a lack of laws on associations police regulations on public order and peace were used for these societies. Pursuant to regulations, authorities could prohibit a society for even the slightest impropriety, with the explanation that its activity poses a direct disturbance of the state order. Therefore even the associations' statutes included the obligation that they would allow authorities to access to all the activities, starting from sessions, get-togethers, public parties and their programs. In the context of preparations of public performances or potential musical events, strict censorship was frequent and the events used to be prohibited due to programs that authorities did not consider proper, i.e. suitable for the given occasion. Pejanović, *Kulturno-prosvetna humana i socijalna društva u Bosni i Hercegovini za vreme austrijske vladavine*, 5; Sarajevo. The Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Fond Zemaljska vlada za BiH, Društva i ustanove – statistički podaci.

13 Tičić, "Slovenački muzičari u Bosni i Hercegovini," 21; Pejanović, *Kulturno-prosvetna humana i socijalna društva u Bosni i Hercegovini za vreme austrijske vladavine*, 84.

14 According to Vedrana Tičić ("Slovenački muzičari u Bosni i Hercegovini", 21), "Slovenski klub" had a permanent singing choir, active until 1993, which is also indicated by texts in periodicals of the time. However, these claims cannot be supported by archival documents, since the available archival institutions in B&H do not have the preserved materials of the society.

Slovenians stationed in Sarajevo; the same applies to the party by "Slovensko omizje" in 1907: "Last night, Sarajevo Slovenian colony, so well liked among our citizens, gathered in small premises of the Community Centre. After all, Slovenians are like closest and dearest brothers to us, by blood and language, by temperament and strivings. Their parties are well liked due to their familiar, spontaneous significance; high officials, artisans, officers – all like a family."¹⁵

The popularity of parties organized by Slovenians was even greater due to the comprehensive program conceived in line with the well-established practice of national societies of the time. Programs were typically of mixed character, made up of musical items interwoven with national elements, and shorter plays that referred to significant moments of Slovenian history. It was the case with the party by "Slovensko omizje" which, besides national and patriotic tunes of Slovenian origin, featured the humorous piece *Berite Novice* by Levstik and Kersnik.¹⁶ Other programs of "Slovensko omizje" were conceived in a similar way; however, in the context of music program contents, parties organized by "Slovenski klub" were far more significant.

"Slovenski klub" typically organized their events on the premises of Community Centre [Društveni dom]¹⁷, and the events were intended exclusively for the invited and selected members of Sarajevo society. Musical repertoire was performed by the society members, and in case of extensive repertoire they also engaged soloists, who were not necessarily part of the society. Similar applied to orchestral accompaniment, and items of instrumental character were assigned to the society's tambura or orchestral ensembles, and ensembles active in Sarajevo at the time.¹⁸ The society usually organized such parties, with somewhat richer musical programs and visiting artists, for charity purposes, and one of the most successful was the party organized on the 18th of February 1911 in the Community Centre, named „Predpustno veselico". Revenue from ticket sales was intended for the school group "Čirilo i Metod", and good earnings was to be ensured by the diverse musical program interwoven with Slovenian composers' works: "1. Fuček: 'Triglavska koračnica', music. 2. Sobjo: 'Ouvertura', music. 3. Vilhar: 'Ljubičica', mixed choir. 4. Gervais: 'Zašto zlato', men's choir. 5. Šonc: 'Kar si, boš zdaj

15 ["U malim prostorijama Društvenog doma sakupila se je sinoć sarajevska slovenska kolonija, koja uživa toliko simpatija u našem gragjanstvu. Ta Slovenci su nam po krvi i jeziku, po čudi i težnjama najbliža i najmilija braća. Njihove su zabave omiljele sa svog familijarnog, neprisiljenog značaja; visoki činovnici, obrtnici, časnici – svi kao jedna obitelji."] Anonym. "Pokladna zabava 'Slovenskog omizja' u Sarajevu," *Hrvatski dnevnik*, February 9, 1907, 8.

16 The source does not cite full details about authors. Ibid.

17 Community Centre, presently known as the National Theatre of Sarajevo, was opened on the 1st of February 1899 with a ceremony that featured the joint appearance of the Croatian Land Theatre of Zagreb and Croatian Choral Society "Trebević". The opening of the Centre was an extremely important event for the cultural life of Sarajevo, which finally got a serious theatre building, constructed by contemporary standards. Community Centre was visited by well-established West-European musicians (Fritz Kreisler, František Ondříček, Bronislaw Huberman, etc.), and its opening allowed an appropriate place for performing theatre and music pieces to many visiting theatre troupes and local choral societies. Pačuka, "Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)," 62.

18 There were not many existing instrumental ensembles in Sarajevo, since choral societies were the crucial part of performing practice. It should be noted here that the backbone of musical life consisted of amateur ensembles, both in case of choral societies and that of instrumental ensembles, which worked under their auspices. With respect to instrumental practice, the only permanent professional musical group included military bands, whose playing contributed to all significant musical events in the city; there were also a few instrumental ensembles such as "Civilna muzika [Civilian Music], "Salonski orkestar" [Salon Orchestra] and "Veteranska kapela" [Veteran Chapel]. Thus, e.g., Parlour Orchestra used to appear at dancing and carnival evenings organized by "Slovenski klub" and typically performed Slovenian national melodies. Anonym. "Eine Fäschungsunterhaltung im 'Slovenski klub'," *Bosnische post*, January 27, 1913, 2.

ostala', mixed choir. 6. Verdi: 'Trovatore', duo Miss Nina Mijić and Mr. Josip Malogorski. 7. Ritschel: 'Venac slovenskih pesmi', music."¹⁹

Besides their own societies where they nourished their culture and tradition, Slovenians had a well-developed cooperation with other singing societies and instrumental ensembles in Sarajevo. A notable example is the cooperation with the "Trebević" Croatian singing society (1894), whose members regularly attended parties and performances by Slovenian associations, partly because some Slovenian musicians were "Trebević" members themselves.²⁰ The cooperation often went a step further, and "Trebević" itself tried to mark significant dates of Slovenian history and culture. This claim is illustrated by the ceremony honouring the 100th anniversary of the birth of great Slovenian poet dr. Franc Prešern (1800–1849), held in the hall of Community Centre on the 9th of Decembre 1900. The organization of the event, accompanied with the concert program, was aided by "Trebević" members, members of the Biciklistički klub "Soko" [Bicycling society "Sokol"], as well as by a few Czechs and, of course, Slovenians.²¹ The entire event had a charity character, and the revenue was intended for raising a memorial to Franc Prešern in Ljubljana. In order to attract as many people as possible, the program had a declamatory-musical character²², and was performed by members of "Trebević" men's and women's choir conducted by the famous Croatian composer Blagoje pl. Bersa (1873–1934).²³ Public welcome the joint initiative of Slovenians and "Trebević" Croatian Choral Society, which is proven by lines published in *Sarajevski list*: "Prešern's festivity in "Trebević" was celebrated on Saturday evening before the full hall of audience, who accompanied the entire schedule with a great satisfaction and lively applause."²⁴ The atmosphere of the event was complemented by Slovenian folk costumes worn by the event participants, as well as by a greeting dispatch sent to "Trebević" board by Ljubljana mayor.²⁵

The described examples, though few, picturesquely show the ways of Slovenian musicians' involvement in the musical developments of the time. Slovenians in B&H shared the socio-cultural destiny with other immigrants, and their collective gatherings in the form of organizing Slovenian societies and associations are also an indicator of how and in what way the immigrants' community on B&H capital tried to organize their socio-cultural life. Besides, the idea of association initiated by foreigners was the segment of musical life of West-European type that was first accepted by broader B&H circles as well.

19 [“1. Fuček: 'Triglavska koračnica', glazba. 2. Soboij: 'Ouvertura', glazba. 3. Vilhar: 'Ljubičica', mješ. zbor. 4. Gervais: 'Zašto zlato', muški zbor. 5. Šonc: 'Kar si, boš zdaj ostala', mješ. zbor. 6. Verdi: 'Trovatore', duet ggjica Nina Mijić i g. Josip Malogorski. 7. Ritschel: 'Venac slovenskih pesmi', glazba.”] Anonym. "Slovenski klub," *Večernji sarajevski list*, February 17, 1911, 2.

20 Some of the prominent Slovenian musicians in the Sarajevo musical life such as Viktor Šonc and Alojz Ričl were members of the "Trebević" Croatian Choral Society. Their activity will be discussed in more detail further in the paper.

21 Anonym. "Stogodišnjica Prešernova," *Sarajevski list*, December 9, 1900, 2.

22 The source does not mention the program items. Ibid.

23 Blagoje Bersa served as the main choirmaster of the "Trebević" only for a few months, i.e. in the second half of 1900. Although he was negotiating further engagement with "Trebević" management, reasons of private and professional nature soon took him from B&H capital to Split. Interestingly, Bersa's appearance at the ceremony dedicated to Franc Prešern is one of few public appearances he had in Sarajevo that was noted by B&H press. Sarajevo. The Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Fond "Trebević" pjevačko društvo, kutija III.

24 ["Svetkovina Prešernova u 'Trebeviću' proslavljena je u subotu na večer pred dupke punom dvoranom slušalaca, koji su sav rasporod propratili velikim zadovoljstvom i živahnim pljeskanjem."] Anonym. "Iz društava," *Sarajevski list*, Decembre 12, 1900, 2.

25 Ibid.

Individual aspects of Slovenian musicians' activity

In the individual segment of activity, Slovenian musicians were somewhat less prominent compared to other immigrants' groups inhabiting Bosnia and Herzegovina. The explanation could be sought in the fact that compared to Czechs, Germans or Austrians, they were a less numerous community inhabiting B&H capital. Still, their own, individual engagements revealed an equal enthusiasm and commitment to raising musical life to a higher level. Their work did not produce long-lasting results; however, it was the general destiny of individual endeavours, which were related to more serious and artistically more demanding undertakings (e.g. opening music schools, professional music performing groups, etc.). The responsibility for such a situation was borne by the unsystematic relationship of Austro-Hungary toward the institutionalized forms of musical life, rather than individuals whose activity, regardless of its scope, made up the only real picture of musical life. Actually, the set of individual endeavours was the driving force allowing the daily existence of Sarajevo musical life, without exclusive dependence on occasional visits by foreign musicians. Therefore it can be claimed that the individual aspect of Slovenian musicians' activity revealed through intertwining of pedagogical, conducting and randomly composing activity made up the backbone of Sarajevo daily musical life.

One of the first Slovenian names noted by available sources is the name of Alojz Ričl.²⁶ Ričl's activity in Bosnia and Herzegovina was first documented in 1896, when he appeared in the capacity of choirmaster of the Croatian Choral Society "Majevisa".²⁷ The society was founded in Tuzla in 1896, and Ričl is mentioned as one of its first choirmasters. It is obvious that Ričl did not remain "Majevisa" choirmaster for a long time, since sources mention him as one of key conductors of "Veteranska kapela" [Veterans' Chapel]²⁸ since 1897.²⁹ As early as in 1898, he was replaced as a conductor by Viljem F. Wlassak³⁰, while Alojz Ričl's name is associated with the work of "Civilna muzika" [Civilian Music].³¹

Actually, the orchestra "Civilna muzika" was conducted by Ričl throughout its existence, and his committed work contributed to its recognition, and to the fact that in a short time period it became one of significant orchestras of the city of Sarajevo. The significance of the "Civilna muzika" was even greater because Ričl managed to attract both immigrants and local amateurs into artists' ranks, which was one of the first cases of including B&H population in the developments of orchestral music-making.

26 The available sources do not provide an insight into accurate biography data except for the fact that he was an artist of Slovenian origin. Tičić, "Slovenački muzičari u Bosni i Hercegovini," 25.

27 Miradet Zulić, "Muzički život u Sjeveroistočnoj Bosni 1878–1992" (PhD diss., University of Sarajevo, 2008), 28.

28 "Veteranska kapela" was founded around 1897 under the auspices of the "Veteransko društvo" (1896) [Veterans' society] activities, as his legitimate instrumental ensemble. Chapel survived for an unexpectedly long time for the conditions of musical life of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo, all until the beginning of First World War (1914). According to the announcement of reputable annual *Bosnischer Bote* of 1899, Chapel was the only professional orchestral group besides military bands. Anonym. "Handel- und Gewerbetreibende der Hauptstadt Sarajevo – Musikkapellen," *Bosnischer Bote* III (1899): 214.

29 It is necessary to emphasise that Ričl was "Majevisa" board member until 1900. Zulić, "Muzički život u Sjeveroistočnoj Bosni 1878–1992" (PhD diss., University of Sarajevo, 2008), 221.

30 Anonym. "Iz društava (Mali vjesnik)," *Sarajevski list*, Mart 13, 1898, 2.

31 Continuous data on the work of "Civilna muzika" are found in the time range between 1902 and 1914. Pačuka, "Muzički život u Sarajevu u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)," 147.

His acquaintances and contacts with various national groups in B&H and immigrants' community paved the way for the orchestra, and "Civilna muzika" thus performed at performances and parties of then popular singing, educational and workers' associations. It is well known that the orchestra used to appear at both at parties organized by "Trebević", as well as by "Tipografsko društvo" [Typographers' Society] and the already mentioned "Slovenski klub". The orchestra adjusted their repertoire depending on the occasion, and it thus included pieces of national character if it performed at national societies' parties. A step ahead in the work of „Civilna muzika“ were certainly independent concerts within elite city cafés and restaurants, such as *Café Royal*.³² On these occasions, the orchestra performed Vienna melodies, couplets, pieces by European and Slav composers, as well as those by their chapel master. Actually, besides his conducting activities, Ričl occasionally tried his skill at composing. He mostly composed pieces for the „Civilna muzika“ orchestra, in the form of popular medleys and wreaths, which were typically based on stylizing folk melodies of Croatian and Slovenian origin. Reporting on the „Civilna muzika“ concerts, the press of the time also registered many premiers of Ričl's creations such as *Karišik hrvatskih pjesama*, *Karišik narodnih pjesama*, *Potpurij hrvatskih napjeva*, and *Venec slovenskih pesmi*.³³

Besides Alojz Ričl who, as a "Civilian Music" conductor, was an active participant in the concert life, Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo committed to memory another name significant for the development of musical life. It was the name of Josip Hladek Bohinjski (4 February 1879, Kranjska–7 February 1940, Maribor)³⁴, whose rich conducting activity in the last years of occupation had a significant impact on the improvement of musical life quality. He started his conducting career in Sarajevo as the kapellmeister of the Garrison music in 1914. He served at this position until 1918, when Austro-Hungarian Empire left the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁵ Still, when arriving to Sarajevo, Hladek certainly did not anticipate that he would stay there for as long as three decades, performing a multiple role of kapellmeister, music pedagogue and organizer of musical events.

Hladek's leading of the Sarajevo garrison music was focused on emphasizing concerts of the selected music program. Due to the winds of war, Hladek's 40-member orchestra appeared on the premises of Military casino [Vojni kasino], performing pieces

32 Anonym. "Werbung," *Bosnische post*, April 4, 1913, 4.

33 Anonym. "Slovenski klub," 2; Anonym. "Tipografsko veče s igrankom (Društvene vijesti)," *Sarajevski list*, January 10, 1914, 2; Anonym. "Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo u Sarajevu (Društveni život)," *Sarajevski list*, December 31, 1909, 3; Anonym. "Zabavno sijelo," *Hrvatski dnevnik*, September 4, 1906, 5; Anonym. "Program današnje zabave," *Hrvatski dnevnik*, October 10, 1906, 8.

34 Josip Hladek started acquiring his music education after five completed grades of High School and three grades of Academy of Commerce. He started studying music within Philharmonic Society of Ljubljana, and continued his training in Vienna with Franz Lehar. Although he primarily worked as a military chapel master, he played the violin, and was involved in singing and music theory. He was fluent in a few languages, including Italian, German, and Croatian, and could use Czech if needed. According to the available sources, he was married to Marija Riboli until 1922. Sarajevo. The Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fond Personalni dosjeji II, sign. K138; Marica Špendal, "Hladek (Chladek)-Bohinjski Josip," in *Muzička enciklopedija*, ed. Krešimir Kovačević, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1974), 142.

35 In his book *Slavuj povrh Trebevića*, Zdravko Milošević says that in the period 1915–1920, Josip Hladek also served as the main choir master of Croatian society "Trebević". However, the available archival sources show otherwise, i.e. that it was a respectable artist of Czech origin Bogomir Kačerovský (1873–1945) who served as "Trebević" choir master in the period 1912–1917. Over the last year of occupation, the society worked with decreased capacity, and due to the horrors of the wind of war, the choir master position was alternately filled by the society members who remained in Sarajevo. Sarajevo. The Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fond "Trebević" pjevačko društvo.

composed by the European greats such as Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Johannes Brahms, Franz Schubert, Richard Wagner, Edward Grieg and many others. Hladek also introduces appearances of orchestra with soloists into the concert practice of garrison music, whereby the role of soloist was also given to the renowned names of the time. Thus, one of successful concerts conducted by Josip Hladek was a concert that took place in Wartime cinema, with the music program that consisted of segments from Wagner's *Parsifal*, then *Concerto* for piano and orchestra in a-minor by E. Grieg, and *Concerto* for violin and orchestra in g-minor by Max Bruch. The role of soloist was given to August Janković (violin) and Angelo Kessissoglu (piano) who, judging by press reports, professionally performed their part of the job.³⁶

Besides his success in conducting, Josip Hladek showed his skill as an excelling music pedagogue. He selflessly transmitted his knowledge to pupils of the Great Grammar School, where he officially started working as a music and singing teacher in 1919. He stayed at the Grammar School until 1923, when he was transferred to Banja Luka.³⁷ Although his contributions to the promotion of musical life in Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo were obvious, Hladek experiences the true recognition of his career in the period between the two world wars (1918–1941), working as a music pedagogue in the District School of Music in Sarajevo [Oblasna muzička škola Sarajevo] (1920), then as a member of the Quartet of Philharmonic association District School of Music, as well as the first conductor and accompanist in the National Theatre of Sarajevo.³⁸

Another Slovenian musician active during Austro-Hungarian administration in B&H was of similar likings. It was Viktor Šonc (Tomaj kraj Sežane, 1877–29.10.1964, Ljubljana), who proved himself as a conductor and pedagogue. After studying composition in Prague (1901–1904) and private singing classes with the professor of Prague conservatory M. Wallerstein and professor Kotzebna in Dražgani (1903–1907), he went to Dresden for further training and stayed there from 1907–1909.³⁹ Then he arrived to Sarajevo, where he immediately initiated the opening of a privately-owned school of music. The school was supposed to open on the 15th September 1909 and music training included lessons in singing and piano playing. The press of the time wrote favourably about Šonc's abilities, stating that singing methods he had learned at European schools were one of the best.⁴⁰ However, what actually happened with Šonc's idea is not known, since the available sources on this initiative disappeared. Still, Viktor Šonc continued developing his pedagogical abilities within the activity of Croatian singing society "Trebević", where he worked as the main choir master in the period 1910–1911, when he was replaced by Bogomir Kačerovský.⁴¹ According to "Trebević" society rules, choir master tasks included teaching basics of singing and music theory, and Šonc continued this practice even after he left the choir master position.

36 Anonym. "Drugi simfonički koncert sarajevske posadne glazbe u ratnom kinu (Sarajevske novosti)," *Sarajevski list*, Mart 5, 1918, 2.

37 Sarajevo. The Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fond Personalni dosijei II, sign. K138.

38 For more details on Josip Hladek Bohinjski's activity in the period between the two world wars see: Hadžić Fatima, "Muzički život Sarajeva između dva svjetska rata (1918–1941)" (PhD diss., University of Sarajevo, 2012), 327.

39 Dragotin Cvetko, "Viktor Šonc," in *Muzička enciklopedija*, ed. Krešimir Kovačević, vol. 3 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski leksikografski zavod, 1977), 509; Anonym. "Nova škola za pjevanje i za poduku u glasoviru," *Hrvatski dnevnik*, September 1, 1909, 2.

40 Anonym. "Nova škola za pjevanje i za poduku u glasoviru," 2.

41 Anonym. "B. Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo – Vereine und Korporationen in Sarajevo," *Bosnischer Bote* XV (1911): 382; Anonym. "B. Landeshauptstadt Sarajevo – Vereine und Korporationen in Sarajevo," *Bosnischer Bote* XVI (1912): 484.

Actually, the government annual *Bosnischer Bote* published the information that Šonc served as a singing commissioner in the period 1911–1912, which means that together with then active “Trebević” conductors, he was involved in the process of preparing and rehearsing music programs.⁴²

The listed examples of Slovenian musicians’ activity are certainly an indicator of the significance of immigrants’ individual activity in various segments of musical life. In the same time, it is the evidence that there was a strong will and desire to raise the musical life to a higher, professional level; however, the desires lacked the administrative system support which in these, as well as in many other cases, failed to come.

Slovenian musicians in the role of guest artists: Case of Slovenian opera

Unlike most immigrants who were tied to B&H with their job, visiting musicians came to Sarajevo in order to perform at occasional concerts. Although they stayed for too short a time to make any permanent impact, their role was obvious in terms of familiarizing masses of the Bosnian population with eminent world artists, performances and repertoires. The trademark of these events included professionalism, technical and artistic skill, and typically cherry-picked music repertoire.

The visiting artists, i.e. ensembles that were characterized by excellence include the visit of Slovenian opera of Ljubljana.⁴³ The Opera visited Sarajevo in the first half of June 1907; and together with the visit by Opera group of Brno (1902), Italian opera of Milan (1902) and Croatian National Theatre of Osijek (1908), it was one of the highest quality musical groups that visited Sarajevo over the 40 years of Austro-Hungarian occupation. Actually, during its stay in B&H capital, Slovenian Opera performed true masterpieces of opera art, which in the theatre life was a major deviation from the usual performances of operettas, musical farces and pieces of Orpheum character. In other words, opera groups such as Slovenian Opera familiarized B&H audience with contemporary and artistically high-quality musical selections.

Judging by writings in the press, public was looking forward to Slovenian Opera, and the first information on the ensemble appeared about fifteen days before the group’s arrival and the visit scheduled for the 1st of June 1907.⁴⁴ Thus, for instance, *Sarajevski list*⁴⁵, a renowned newspaper and public gazette of the National Government for B&H, informed the public that Slovenian Opera intends to come to Sarajevo from Osijek (Croatia), where critics praised its performances. Further, they said that there was a great interest in the visit in Sarajevo, with the comment that the public hoped for:

42 The data taken from *Bosnicher Bote* contradict Cvetko Dragotin’s writings (“Viktor Šonc,” in *Muzička enciklopedija*, 509), which say that after his position as a choir master in Sarajevo Šonc went to Trieste in 1911, where he served as a school principal until 1927.

43 The present name of the institution is: Narodno gledališče Opera im Balet Ljubljana [Slovenian national theatre, opera and ballet Ljubljana]. However, the paper uses the name used by available sources, i.e. Slovenian opera of Ljubljana.

44 Anonym. “Slovenska opera,” *Hrvatski dnevnik*, May 16, 1907, 8.

45 Besides *Sarajevski list*, the Opera visit was also covered by all the other significant dailies and periodicals, whether they supported the regime or were nationally oriented. Press that published writings on the visit includes: *Bosnische post*, *Sarajevski list*, *Hrvatski dnevnik* i *Srpska riječ*.

“beautiful musical enjoyment, and it is evident that the Slovenian group will experience a nice response by Sarajevo audience.”⁴⁶ Next, periodicals reported that after a long time Sarajevo audience would have the opportunity to hear excelling opera singers, top masterpieces, which will be a rare enjoyment for the concert life.⁴⁷ Interestingly, Croatian newspapers published extremely favourable articles on the visit, euphorically inviting the public to Slovenian Opera performances: “Once again we recommend to everybody to come to the theatre, since they are both artists and our blood, our brothers Slovenians. Cheers!”⁴⁸

According to the original plan, Opera intended to appear at eight performances over its fifteen-day stay in B&H capital; they included top pieces such as *Traviata*, *Rigoletto*, *Turbadur* (G. Verdi), *Lucia da Lammemoour* (Gaetano Donizetti), *Faust* (Charles Gounod), *The Jewess* (Formental Halévy), *Carmen* (Georges Bizet) and *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* (Ivan pl. Zajc)⁴⁹, while the star of the ensemble was the famous tenor and once first singer of Zagreb opera Ernesto Ritter von Camerotta.⁵⁰ Besides Camerotta, other opera soloists are listed (Maruša Skalova, M. Peršlova, Vida Kočevarjeva, Jan Zach von Zahov, Jan Ouržednik, Adolf Ranek, Julius Betetto, Rudolf Bukšek)⁵¹, and press reports attach the a great attention, through quoting and paraphrasing clips from reviews, which had previously written about their performing abilities. Thus, for example, words of praise were used to describe opera diva Maruša Skalova, for who was said to have a clear intonation, resounding voice and dramatic expression.⁵² Attention was also paid to chapel master Benišek, as well as to the entire orchestra, with the words that they were extremely successful in complementing and completing the soloists' play.⁵³

In general, the organization of the event and ticket sales were the responsibility of the renowned city bookstore and music equipment store Albert Thier in the Franjo Josip's Street which, due to a great interest among the public decided to print the program booklets with the libretti of operas performed by the Slovenian ensemble.⁵⁴ Printing the program booklets and libretti, which abbreviated versions were published in *Sarajevski list* and *Hrvatski dnevnik* showed a clear organizers' desire to bring significant musical creations in the area of opera composing closer to the broader B&H public which, on the other hand, should contribute to the audience's thorough preparation for the performances of Slovenian Opera. Expectedly, such initiatives were also supported by branches of Austro-Hungarian administration infiltrated in the activity of *Sarajevski list* and city printing shops owned by immigrants, since it was a way of direct promotion of the West-European musical culture.

After exhaustive information in the press, Sarajevo public joyfully welcome the beginning of the Slovenian Opera of Ljubljana visit. On the stage of Community Centre,

46 [“lijepom muzikalnom uživanju, a očevidno je, da će slovenska družina naići na lijep odziv publike u Sarajevu.”] Anonym.

47 “Slovenska opera iz Ljubljane,” *Sarajevski list*, May 31, 1907, 2.

48 Anonym. “Slovenska opera,” *Hrvatski dnevnik*, May 16, 1907, 8.

49 Anonym. “Slovenska opera u Sarajevu,” *Hrvatski dnevnik*, May 17, 1907, 5.

50 Anonym. “Musik,” *Bosnische Post*, May 14, 1907, 4.

51 Anonym. “Slovenska opera,” *Sarajevski list*, May 15, 1907, 2.

52 Anonym. “Theater und Musik,” *Bosnische post*, May 18, 1907, 3.

53 Anonym. “Slovenska opera u Sarajevu,” 5.

54 Ibid.

54 Anonym. “Slovenska opera u Sarajevu,” *Sarajevski list*, May 15, 1907, 2.

the ensemble performed in the cramped hall, and the creation selected for the first appearance was *Faustus* by Charles Gounod. Judging by writings in the press, the performance was extremely successful, and the author of a review in *Hrvatski dnevnik* states: "The opening performance of 'Faustus' was solemn and magnificent. Never before has Sarajevo experience something similar. The audience watched the scenes with their breath stopped, and tense thought (...)." ⁵⁵ The report also devoted a few lines to the most impressive moments of the performance, whereby Maruša Skalove's singing in the leading role of Margarit made a special impression on the author: "She performed the scene 'with the mirror' with such a skill that can be achieved only at a good school, and we thought it is impossible that we are in Sarajevo. She sings high tones calmly and with ease, strongly and beautifully. Her singing and playing were complemented by her imposing appearance, and she thus made a unique Margarit creation." ⁵⁶

The opera ensemble performed the other pieces with equal success, and a great audience's interest made the ensemble to expand its repertoire and perform, besides the planned eight operas, *Ksenija* by Viktor Parma, *The Beautiful Galatea* by Franz von Suppé, *Pagliacci* by Ruggero Leoncavallo, and *The Bartered Bride* by Bedřich Smetana. This decision by the Slovenian Opera management certainly proved the extent of the repertoire and capacity of this opera house. Still, although most part of the visit went on without significant lapses in organization and performance, there were minor embarrassments, one of them being the surprisingly poor attendance at the performance of Leoncavallo's *Pagliaccio* (12 June), which was harshly criticized in *Hrvatski dnevnik*. The author addressed brittle words to the public considering the empty hall of the Community Centre the "defeat of Sarajevo audience". ⁵⁷ The unexpectedly poor attendance may have been due to the fact that this piece was performed only a few days after an incident that accompanied the performance of Zajc's opera *Nikola Šubić Zrinski*.

Performance of the opera *Nikola Šubić Zrinski*: two versions of an event

The performance of Zajc's opera masterpiece known as *Nikola Šubić Zrinski* was scheduled for the 8th of June 1907; interestingly, however, this creation was the only nationally-oriented one on the repertoire of Slovenian Opera that aroused inter-national misunderstandings between Bosnia and Herzegovinian Croats and Serbs. The misunderstandings that resulted in newspaper clashes between two most significant national papers in Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo, *Hrvatski dnevnik* and *Srpska riječ* were due to preventing Serbian pupils of the Great Grammar School to buy tickets and attend the performance. The performance itself experiences no problems, and was greeted with

55 ["Svečana i veličanstvena je bila otvorna predstava 'Fausta'. Nikada do tada nije Sarajevo doživjelo nešto slična. Sa zaustavljenim dahom u grudima, napetom mislju pratila je publika prizore (...)"] Anonym. "Slovenska opera," *Hrvatski dnevnik*, June 3, 1907, 4–5.

56 ["Prizor 's ogledalom' izvela je sa toliko umjeća, koje se postizava samo dobrom školom, e smo mislili, nije moguće da smo u Sarajevu. Visoke tonove pjeva mirno i lahko, jako i divno. Svoje pjevu i svojoj igri doprinijela je impozantna njena pojava te je od Margarete stvorila kreaciju svoje vrsti."] Ibid.

57 P. "Kazalište," *Hrvatski dnevnik*, June 12, 1907, 2–3.

the approval of B&H Croats, who expressed their satisfaction with loud applause, and with the address by the chairman of the "Trebević" Croatian singing society, who publicly thanked the ensemble members for their visit to Sarajevo. Then a few "Trebević" singers sang the Croatian anthem *Lijepa naša domovino*, which aroused the additional loud acclaims in the audience.⁵⁸

However, newspaper writings in *Srpska riječ* soon showed that the Serbian part of B&H population was seriously offended, and the intonation of articles such as "Croatian Feast in Sarajevo" [Hrvatsko slavlje u Sarajevu]⁵⁹ pointed to the burst of national intolerance, which Austro-Hungary had been trying to quench or at least reduce to a minimum since the first day of occupation. The degree of the seriousness of the situation resulting from a seemingly innocent event was revealed in every word: "On Saturday, Slovenian opera group performed Zajc's opera 'Zrinjski' in the Community Centre. This occasion was used by our 'furtimas' (op.a. Croatian clericalists) to show once again who they are and what they are like. Instead of being happy because they had the opportunity to show to the others a beautiful brainchild of Croatian musicians and a glorious image from Croatian past, they used the evening for their clericalist purposes. But under whose order, whose Vefehl, did they refuse to give tickets to many Serbian pupils at the box office?"⁶⁰ Besides, the article calls for a comprehensive police investigation, suspecting that the incident was staged, and that there was a possibility that the opera management had been involved in it.⁶¹ *Hrvatski dnevnik* gave a sharp reply to these accusations. Fully quoting the statements of *Srpska riječ*, *Hrvatski dnevnik* said that they did not want to start newspaper correspondence, and invited all the conscientious and unblended citizens to ignore the provocations. Still, the newspaper could not totally refrain and condemned the "detestable lies and accusations" in an unpleasant tone, requesting the accountability of the newspaper's editor-in-chief.⁶²

The epilogue of the story was starting the investigation about the improper behaviour of high-school pupils from the ranks of B&H Croats. The investigation was conducted by members of the Great Grammar School management and representatives of Austro-Hungarian police. The investigation established that one of the pupils started publicly, in a challenging way stressing out his political colour, by writing in the newspaper, singing in the street and in the theatre, and that individual students had indeed prevented Serbian pupils from entering the theatre hall.⁶³ On top of it, the teachers' assembly decided that pupils of Sarajevo Great Grammar School would be allowed to go to any future public performances, theatre and concert events only upon the approval by their headmaster. On the other hand, no Slovenian Opera's guilt or involvement in the incident was ever proved. However, upon the original request by *Srpska riječ*, the ensemble repeated the performance of Zajc's opera at the end of their

58 Anonym. "Slovenska opera," *Sarajevski list*, June 12, 1907, 2.

59 Anonym. "Domaće vijesti," *Srpska riječ*, May 30 (June 13), 1907, 3.

60 ["U subotu davana je od slovenačke operse družine u Društenom Domu, Zajčeva opera 'Zrinjski'. Ovu priliku upotrebiše naši furtimaši (op.a. hrvatski klerikanci), da se opet pokažu, ko su i kakvi su. Umjesto da se raduju, što bi imali priliku da drugim pokažu krasan umotvor Hrvata muzičara i jednu sjajnu sliku iz hrvatske prošlosti, oni ovu večer upotrebiše u svoje furtimaške ciljeve. Ali čijom naredbom, po čijem Vefehlu ne dadoše mnogim Srbima đacima na kasi karte?"] Ibid.

61 Ibid.

62 Anonym. "Srpska riječ i obraz," *Hrvatski dnevnik*, June 12, 1907, 3.

63 Anonym. "Dakle ipak!," *Srpska riječ*, June 5 (June 19), 1907, 3.

visit. The repeated performance of *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* took place on the 14th of June 1907, in the cramped hall of the Community Centre.⁶⁴

Interestingly, the regime-oriented papers did not publish a word about the accompanying misunderstandings of the prominently national nature. Newspapers such as *Sarajevski list* focused their writing on the quality of performance, describing the beauties and artistic values of Zajc's creation, and making incidental and irrelevant comments such as one about the shortage of theatre space.⁶⁵ *Bosnische post* reported in the same manner, and its reports addressed only the musical performance, while data on the Sarajevo pupils' improprieties could not be read in this renowned paper.

At the same time, this was an indicator that Austro-Hungarian regime tried to deliberately hush up writings that spurred or dealt with inter-national turmoil among B&H population. Unfortunately, this was an established phenomenon in both political and socio-cultural life of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In a sense, the deliberate pushing of the national issues to the back burner, and emphasizing the socio-political atmosphere that encouraged cultural uniformity and unity were the only way in which Austro-Hungary tried to deal with strong national currents that were shaking Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the end ...

When viewing different aspects of Slovenian musicians' activity in Sarajevo musical life, one gets the insight into the significance of their activity in the development of musical culture in these regions. Although Slovenians were a less numerous immigrant community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the story of their road is universal, since it concisely shows the process and main players in the birth of the West-European musical culture in these regions. The process accompanied with collective and individual patterns of immigrants' activity, as well as with sporadic visits by foreign artists made up the main artery of musical life. On the other hand, the visit of Slovenian Opera is the evidence of complex socio-political situation in B&H, which Austro-Hungary tried to resolve in repressive measures, which – as the time unfortunately showed, were just an unsuccessful attempt of the Empire to preserve its political dominance in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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⁶⁴ *Bosnische post* wrote that after Sarajevo the Opera was supposed to visit Tuzla and perform operas *Faustus*, *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*, *Trovatore* and *Glocken von Corneville* there. Anonym. "Theater und Musik," *Bosnische post*, June 13, 1907, 3.

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POVZETEK

Skupinske in posamezne dejavnosti slovenskih glasbenikov v glasbenem življenju Bosne in Hercegovine in njihovi občasni obiski te regije so bili živa slika imigrantske skupnosti, ki je bila dejavno udeležena pri razvoju zahodno-evropskih glasbenih trendov v Sarajevu, glavnem avstro-ogrskem administrativnem središču Bosne in Hercegovine. Slovenci so prišli z drugimi priseljenci v Sarajevo in v Bosno in Hercegovino v prvih letih okupacije ter se vključili v njim sicer nove kulturne in glasbene trende. S tem so neposredno prispevali k razvoju glasbenega življenja v teh regijah. Na kolektivni ravni lahko opazimo, da se je njihova dejavnost zgostila okrog slovenskih društev, kot sta bila »Slovenski klub« in »Slovensko omizje«, ki sta organizirala glasbene zabave in predstave z

bogatim glasbenim programom, medtem ko lahko individualne vplive zaznamo zlasti na področju dirigentstva, poučevanja in občasnega skladateljskega dela. Najbolj znana imena slovenskega porekla, ki so se zapisala v glasbeno zgodovino Sarajeva, so: Alojz Ričl, Josip Hladek Bohinjski in Viktor Šonc. Ti so obenem najboljše poosebljali individualne podvige, saj je njihovo delo predstavljalo glavno oporo tedanjega mestnega glasbenega življenja. Po drugi strani pa je obisk Slovenske opere iz Ljubljane (1907) živ prikaz, kako odvisna je bila Sarajevska gledališka scena od tujih gostovanj, ki so bosansko-hercegovskemu občinstvu ponujali redko priložnost spoznati izbrane glasbene programe. Poleg tega obisk Slovenske opere ponuja bežen vpogled v kompleksnost politične realnosti Bosne in Hercegovine, ki je bila vseskozi izpostavljena mednarodnim sporom. Le te pa so posledično hudo pretresali družbeno-politično sceno.