Echoes of Forgotten Time: Professional Folk Musical Ensembles in Cafes of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878–1918)

Odmevi pozabljenega časa: profesionalni ansambli ljudske glasbe v kavarnah Bosne in Hercegovine (1878–1918)
Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina is situated in southeastern Europe, on the western part of the Balkan peninsula. In the geographically small but historically and culturally rich area where East and West meet, traditional musical practice is diverse, dynamic and picturesque. Traditional folk music of Bosnia and Herzegovina can be best understood in light of the multicultural heritage of Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, as well as many ethnic minority groups. Ethnomusicological researchers have shown that differences between rural and urban musical practices are visible in all segments. Musical practice of villages which can be found on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina is connected to the various rituals and circumstances in the lives of people. During the Ottoman reign, which lasted for full four centuries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, urban areas developed. A combination of ancient Bosnian musical tunes and oriental influences was crucial for the shaping of urban musical practice. Openness, as well as exposure, to the “new” becomes one of the characteristic signs of the Austro-Hungarian empire, whose new system of governance, oriented towards Western European standards, brought the unknown Western European cultural spirit to the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.1

That mixture of “old” and “new” influences soon became a point of interest for many researchers, such as friar Branko Marić, who pointed to the fact that we can also find musical practices “with characteristics of world timed music” in the urban areas.2 In that way, he concluded that, compared to untempered music, which was present in our tradition, tempered music appeared as well. Although he did not specify which shapes of music practicing those were, it can be assumed that it was the music played in cafes or coffee shops (kafana) and other public places. In the period between 1878–1918, new musical instruments appeared, which were previously unknown (e.g. clarinet, accordion), as well as professional musical ensembles which were not common in Bosnian tradition. These and similar appearances made the period of Austro-Hungarian empire a unique turning point in the development of urban traditional music which was developed within the Bosnian and Herzegovinian cafes.

By following sources and researches, it can be concluded that the musical life of Sarajevo and other larger cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina intensively developed in two parallel directions: the first one was directed towards the Western European stream, which was characteristic for immigrants, while the other one relied on Sarajevo’s coffee shops/cafes (kafana) and playing on the streets, which is the main research focus of this paper.

**Sketches about music in Bosnian and Herzegovinian cafes through the prism of the research documents**

For the study of traditional folk music and professional ensembles, documents made by researchers who visited these regions with their expeditions are significant. One of them was Matija Murko, who in his report from the research done in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1912 mentions professional players who played in cafes (kafana). Those were gusle players, but also players of tamburas and the violin.\(^3\) In the report from his trip in the period from 1930 to 1932, it was recorded that the cafe (kafana) was one of the ways of public socializing and having fun, but also the place where traditional folk music, mostly performed by professional folk players, could be heard.

> “Main places of singing in the public were the cafe (kafana) and bars. Cafes (kafana) are commonly called both ‘kafana’ and ‘kavana’, but also ‘kava’ and ‘kahva’. The most typical coffee shops (kafana) are in Bosnia and Herzegovina... Their interior is very simple. Couches, on which pillows filled with wool or straw are placed, are located near the wall and on the opposite side, blue or red linen is spread. A better and larger pillow is placed only at the corner of the couch – the place where the aga or bey who visits the cafe (kafana) every day would sit... In southeastern Bosnia, in Višegrad, gusle could be found in Orthodox coffee shops until the world war (1914); while today, they can be mostly found among Muslims, but in the place Rogatica which is located nearby, gusle can be found in seven Orthodox and four Muslim cafes (kafana) where peasants sing when they come to the city.”\(^4\)

Also, Vlado Milošević recorded that in the Bosnian cafe (kafana), the singing of narrative shapes along with the tambura could often be heard.

> “Some time ago, in every Bosnian cafe (kafana) (and those were places where alcohol was not poured), tambura (šargija or saz) were placed on the wall as an inventory of the cafe (kafana). Everyone was allowed to both play and sing, but there

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was an unwritten rule that only skilled and serious singers can take the šargija in their hand. Because this was not the place where somebody would learn how to sing or perform various mischiefs or unserious actions. The cafe (kafana) was a public stage where the audience, with lots of understanding and love, followed the recitals of heroic songs or singing of lyrical, straight or other songs.\footnote{Vlado Milošević, “Tambura i harmonika u bosanskom varoškom pjevanju”, Zbornik Krajiških muzeja 2 (1962): 132–133.}

Figure 1: Cafe (kafana) Aeroplan in Sarajevo, year unknown.\footnote{Sarajevo. The Archives of City Museum. Collection of photos.}

Beside notes made by researchers, particularly significant documents for studying musical traditions typical for Bosnian cafes are Documents of the State government for Bosnia and Herzegovina, which point out to the fact that two different types of coffee shops/cafes could be found in the cities – \textit{a la turca} and \textit{a la franca}.\footnote{Sources which contain information about Bosnian and Herzegovinian cafe (kafana), and especially those located in Sarajevo, where the largest number of coffee shops was, are the documents on concessions that are stored in the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Fund of State Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Lana Pačuka, “Muzički život Sarajeva u periodu Austro-Ugarske uprave (1878–1918)”. PhD dissertation, Academy of Music, University of Sarajevo, 2014), 50–52.} The former, Ottoman cafes (kafana), which were located in old, oriental parts of Bosnian and Herzegovinian cities, became recognisable because they nourished the so-called \textit{a la turca} tradition, which was related to the fulfilment of oriental socio-cultural values.\footnote{According to the available information, the first cafe (kafana) was opened in Sarajevo in 1592 and was located in Bentbaša. It was known under the name Hadži Saharb’s cafe (kafana), named after its owner in the first half of the last century. A text about destruction of Hadži Saban’s cafe (kafana), due to works on the road between Vijećnica and road tunnel on Bentbaša, was published in \textit{Sarajevski novi list} (Sarajevo’s New Paper) from July 14, 1942.}

Figure 2: Šaban’s \textit{a la turca} cafe at Bentbaša.\footnote{Sarajevo. The Historical Archives. Collection of photos, ZFR.}
On the other hand, as their opposite, *a la franca* cafes began to open – symbols of gathering of immigrants and foreigners who started to arrive to Bosnia and Herzegovina in larger numbers. Therefore, visitors were members of the middle or lower class comprised of many public officials, lower-ranked soldiers, merchants, journalists, craftsmen and other members of the immigrants’ part of the society. Cafes became popular places for social activities with multiple functions, where visitors, safe from all tight social norms of conduct, could find a pleasant atmosphere for having various conversations, drinking coffee or reading newspapers. These kinds of gathering places were places where various social and business deals were made. In the coffee shops/cafes of the *a la franca* style, presentations of various technological accomplishments, characteristic for the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, were held. In Viennese cafes (kafana) located in Hotel Europa, a presentation of Edison’s phonograph was held in Sarajevo on July 4, 1890. Journalists and the gathered crowd were fascinated by the productions of the phonogram, and especially of those that were of a musical nature.

Figure 3: One of the most popular *a la franca* cafes in Sarajevo – Hotel Europa, Wintergarten, year unknown.  

Pekka Pennanan claims that the news about the phonogram spread over the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and that in a very short amount of time, distributors and merchants started selling speaking machines.

*The spread of the talking machine in Bosnia-Herzegovina must have been relatively rapid. Gramophone products were marketed through mail order and local agents, and recordings of local music became available. In Sarajevo, Stjepan P. Zelenika sold electric commodities, talking machines and discs, as did Muhamed Tosunović. From late November 1907, Zelenika was the first agent of the Gramophone Company in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some weeks later, Tosunović also advertised the*
Gramophone Company recordings made in Sarajevo. In addition, Zelenika began to distribute Pathéphon products in October 1909. Wilhelm Reisner sold player pianos, mechanical musical instruments, talking machines and discs (Wit 1912: 363). In Dolnja Tuzla, the shop of Mehmed Prcić’s Sons owned by Osmanaga Nuri Prcić, started to sell talking machines and Gramophone, Zonophone, Odeon and Jumbo discs in 1908, while in early 1909 his competitor Avram M. Altarac became an agent for Lyrophon. By 1912, there was at least one distributor of talking machines and discs in Derventa and three in Mostar.\textsuperscript{12}

The division of the cafes according to the \textit{a la turca} and \textit{a la franca} principle in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the time of Austro-Hungarian empire was widely accepted and one’s decision to visit either one of them dependent upon social and cultural habits. Furthermore, sources suggest that the owners of \textit{a la turca} cafes (kafana) were mostly Bosnian and Herzegovinian Muslims, while \textit{a la franca} cafes were either owned by foreigners or domestic Catholics or Orthodox Christians. Besides general differences in terms of social norms of conduct and the cultural climate, music was one of the elements that had crucial influence on the number of guests and the popularity of the cafe (kafana). Music was often the thing that dragged visitors “to this or that” side, which was attested by the appeals of musicians sent to the State government in order to obtain concessions, work permits:

\textit{Us, the players from the outside, will not nor can we be competition to the domestic players, because completely different groups/cafes (kafana) and bars invite us to play for them, and completely different ones serve to domestic players (...) who differ from us, foreign players, by attire and by singing and by playing, and there are cafes (kafana) and bars in Sarajevo which will never invite domestic players (...) because their audience can never adjust to domestic players.}\textsuperscript{14}


\textsuperscript{14} Sarajevo. The Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fond of Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo, 1908, sign. 2121/311.
Although the mentioned rows indicate that music inside *a la franca* and *a la turca* cafes had clear distinctions, which was also reflected on the clientele, archive sources show that Sarajevo, as the capital city of Bosnia and Herzegovina, had quite a rich musical offer in the city's cafes (kafana), and some of the main streets from that time, e.g. Appel's bank, had a permanent permit for music, during the day and at night. It is interesting that cafe owners were aware of the importance of music and they believed that the cafe could not be run without engaging musical ensembles on a regular basis, and in their appeals to the State government, in which they asked for permission to run the business and hire musicians, they regularly pointed out that the non-existence of appropriate music would cause financial troubles for them.

**Musical repertoire of Bosnian cafes**

All of the mentioned above leads to the question about what kind of music was played inside *a la turca* and what kind of music was played inside *a la franca* cafes and who were the musicians that played in these cafes (kafana)? In fact, we know for sure that the character of playing differed significantly, however, common to both types of cafes were professional musical ensembles which appeared as such in the musical practice of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the first time. In fact, musicians that played in *a la franca* cafe were foreigners who arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina from Germany, Austria, Czech Republic and Hungary, and less frequently, from Croatia and Serbia. Considering that both the owners and the visitors were foreigners, the repertoire of the ensembles, which were often ensembles of tamburas, comprised of the melodies of Western European countries, especially Austria. It was very popular to perform the so-called Scharmell melodies. Hence, some of the Sarajevo's city cafes (kafana) of *a la franca* style, e.g. Cafe Lohner, were known for organising the so-called Scharmell concerts, which would occur on a daily basis, and where players from Austria would frequently perform.

The sources show that, besides players from Austria, Czech Republic or Hungary, players from Serbia also came to Bosnian cities who, depending on the occasion, adjusted their repertoire to Western European or domestic audience. Those were most frequently professional Roma musicians who came to Bosnia and Herzegovina from Ruma or Šapac and their musical choices varied from the arrangement of popular melodies that were interesting to the foreigners, to Serbian and Bosnian folk songs which were performed in domestic, *a la turca* cafes (kafana). Serbian ensembles usually represented ensembles of tamburas with vocal accompaniment and some of them enjoyed great popularity in the musical life of that time. One such ensemble was related to the traditional music and singing band of Vaso Stanković Andolija from Šapac, which was equally appreciated by foreign, as well as Bosnian and Herzegovinian circles. Although it was not a widespread practice for the same players to play in both *a la franca* and *a la turca* cafes (kafana), more famous bands such as Andolija's were accustomed to playing at various locations in the city and often went beyond the context of the life of the cafe (kafana) and played at concerts of national singing associations, especially
together with the Serbian-church Orthodox singing association “Sloga”. Also, it is interesting that the repertoire of Andolija’s band was recorded on commercial recordings which were made by F. Hampe and from which we can see that band performed both Serbian traditional songs (*Hajduk Veljko*) and traditional Bosnian songs such as *Hajde dragi da ašikujemo*.\(^{15}\)

Besides Andolija’s band, the band Stanoja Todorović was a beloved guest in *a la turca* cafes (kafana) and it played in the cafe Loyd. Todorović’s ensemble of tamburas, which was often paired with the violin known among people as čemane, had in its repertoire traditional Bosnian songs and most frequently the sevdalinka. They were very popular and they often played at different events that were held in the homes of the Bosnian population. The *Catalogue of zonophone records*, published in the edition of Jefi Pavlović and company, whose record was made thanks to Franz Hampe and his visit to Sarajevo, attest to the diversity of Todorović’s group.

![Figure 5: Catalouge of Bosnian zonophone records. Jefi Pavlović and company, Belgrade, August 1909.\(^{16}\)](image)

But the main characteristic of *a la turca* cafes were definitely domestic Bosnian and Herzegovinian musicians, mostly Muslims, who earned money for living by playing and in that way ensured their life existence. Although the need for players and

\(^{15}\) Ten years after Emil Berliner had spread his business activity to the territory of Europe, his company Deutsche Grammophon made the first commercial sound records in Bosnia and Herzegovina, made by Franz Hampe. From the *List of Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian and Montenegrin gramophone and zonophone records* (The Gramophone Company Ltd., Budapest 1908) and *List of Bosnian zonophone records* (Jefi Pavlović and company, Belgrade, August 1909), it can be concluded that Hampe was mainly interested in professional singers and traditional music ensembles such as: Bosnian and Herzegovinian traditional musical and singing group (kapela) Nazif Memišević, Sarajevo; Bosnian and Herzegovinian traditional musical and singing group (kapela) Nazif Ramić, Donja Tuzla; The Bosnian Instrumental and Vocal Trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš Alkalaj, Sarajevo; Bosnian traditional songs, accompanied on saz, violin and tamburica Miralem Rizvalić and Mehmed Malbašić, Sarajevo; Bosnian traditional songs, accompanied on saz Salih Kahrimanović, Sarajevo, Jewish-Spanish Tamburitza and Support Society “La Gloria”, Bosnian zurna and drum, Juso and Zajko Besić, Sarajevo; Mehmed Tahirović, accompanied on violin and tamburica, Sarajevo; Ahmed Bać, accompanied on violin, Mostar; Velija Ombasić, accompanied on violin, Mostar; Mustafa Bać, Mostar; Mustar’s singing quartet Mustafa Bać, Velija Ombašić, Ahmed Bać and Avdo Mehrić, Mostar; Sirri efendi Abdaçić, accompanied on violin, Sarajevo, Stanoje Todorović, accompanied on violin, Sarajevo, Jelena and Anka Tumac, accompanied on violin, Sarajevo.

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ensembles in Bosnian cities was large, players, including domestic ones, faced numerous difficulties, which besides obtaining work permits included high taxes that were charged by the State government. So, one of the sources, based on which it is possible to acquire some of the details, are work permits for musical ensembles, which were approved by the State government in Sarajevo. A work permit was granted for a period of six months and after that period would expire, the leader of the ensemble had to renew it. Because of that, permits were significant sources for researching details about ensembles activities. Also, the leader of the ensemble had to list the names of all members of the ensemble and their places of residence.

Figure 6: The appeal for obtaining a work permit for the ensemble of Ibrahim Muškić from Bosnia.¹⁷

Despite difficult working conditions, Bosnian players were the proof of existence of the living music tradition which was, according to the available sources, new and unique because it involved merging instruments atypical for the traditional musical practice of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Here, we primarily refer to ensembles of Bećir Arapović, Mehmed Tahiropić, Mustafa Sudžuka and many others, whose performances were a testimony to some of the new directions in the field of musical tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, popular Bosnian ensembles played traditional songs, besides on saz also accompanied on violin, as well as other tamburicas¹⁸, which was not a well-established musical practice characteristic of the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁹ Also, one of the favourite combinations was the one with the so-called čemane and saz, which was accepted by many players in a la turca cafes (kafana) and also, among others, by Mehmed Tahiropić, a well-known player.

¹⁷ Sarajevo. The Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fond of Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo, 48/274/2-1990.
¹⁸ Tamburica or tambura is an accepted name for all types of chordophone instruments of the long lute type.
¹⁹ The ensemble of tamburas and violin was mentioned for the first time by Friedrich Salomo Krauss in his detailed study Slavische volkforsehungen. Abhandlungen über Glauben, Gewohnheitrechte, Sitten, Bräuche und die Guslarenlieder der Südslaven (1908).
Information about mentioned ensembles mostly comes from records made for commercial purposes, where recorders did not make detailed notes about the interpreters. On the other hand, from the List of Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian and Montenegrin gramophone and zonophone records (The Gramophone Company Ltd., Budapest, 1908) and the List of Bosnian zonophone records (Jefta Pavlović and company, Belgrade, August 1909), it can be concluded that the repertoires of the ensembles were very diverse. During the performance of the ensemble of the association “La Gloria”, Sephardic songs in ladino language and two Bosnian songs were recorded, while the repertoires of others included sevdalinkas – Bosnian urban love songs, traditional songs from Bosnia and several marches which used to comprise the repertoire of Ottoman military orchestras – mehterhana.21 Nevertheless, the methods of performance of the ensembles that came from Serbia and the domestic ones differed significantly. This occurrence was also noticed by Gerhard Gesemann, who recorded that professional Roma ensembles from Serbia performed Bosnian urban songs, but that their performance was not in the spirit of folk tradition.

"From one large open cafe (kafana) area (garden), singing and violin can be heard. In the cafe (kafana), we have found one of the many gypsy bands which does not differ from hundreds of others. Traditional song is the core of their music – we did not hear modern songs – but the method, as well as the accompaniment in which those melodies were performed was so wrong that there is no way it can be included in our research."22

20 Sarajevo. The Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fond of Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo, Collection of Photos.
Pointing out that the manner of performing traditional melodies began to change, Gesemann's research shows that professional ensembles active within the *a la turca* cafes had a significant role in society at that time. Actually, their influence did not stop with the end of the Austro-Hungarian rule – it was continued in the period between the two world wars. By taking into account all these facts, Gesemann was the only researcher who decided to record the singing of professional singers for the purposes of scientific research. In the article “O značaju narodne pesme za nacionalnu kulturu jugoslovenskog naroda” (“About the importance of traditional song for national culture of Yugoslav people”), written shortly before the end of his expedition, Gesemann presented his observations about the performance of sevdalinka by folk and professional singers. He notes that he was happy that he had the opportunity to hear sophisticated traditional performances in “their real, natural surroundings” as well as performances from cafes.23 One of the most significant professional singers from that time was Nikola Stojković. Gesemann mentions him as the “king of sevdalinka” and describes his singing: “Nikola Stojković is not a singer with the quality of voice, but he interprets folk song from the soul, actually, he recites them very clearly, in the way people want that and in the way he likes it.”24 Stojković was the boys’ singer and then, he continued his career in cafes (kafana). His interpretation significantly differed from traditional performance of sevdalinka and it can be described as a typical Roma professional style of singing.25

**A few final words**

The research on musical practices in Bosnian and Herzegovinian cafes, which started to flourish in the Austro-Hungaria period, is the study of social life and everyday habits of the local population, as well as new methods of practicing traditional folk music. It can be concluded that in the period of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, social life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially in Sarajevo was extremely rich. Cafes (kafana) represented important places where different people of different ages, education as well as social status would gather. The peculiarities of the cafes were certainly accentuated by their division into *a la franca* and *a la turca* orientations, in which music played a crucial role. What is more, this unique environment has opened the possibility for studying the first professional folk musical ensembles in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which started to develop shapes of urban traditional musical life in the environment of the cafe. Furthermore, the echoes of this process have permanently influenced the formation of the image of traditional music practices of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were present in the musical life until the beginning of the Second World War II.

23 In his research Gesemann also mentions Bosnian professional singers who were, at the time of Ottoman rule, singing “in the courts of Turkish beys whose high culture was introduced to us and admired by us in the Museums in Zagreb and Sarajevo” and at the time of his research, in cafes (kafana) of *a la turca* style. There, we could hear “heroic song as well as exact Bosnian love song, often in the shape of ballad”. Gesemann mentions that those were archaic, but not primitive shapes, but “highly refined expression of a high culture which was equal in worth as Homer’s songs”. Ibid.
24 Ibid.
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Literature

POVZETEK

Novejše raziskave v bosansko-hercegovski muzikologiji so pokazale, da je v obdobju avstro-ogrške vladavine (1878–1918) vzniknila nova oblika izvajanja tradicionalne glasbe. V kavarnah (kafanah) in drugih javnih prostorih so začeli nastopati profesionalni ansambli ljudske glasbe. Na podlagi zgodovinskih virov lahko sklepamo, da je bilo v Bosni in Hercegovini aktivnih veliko število ansamblov. Podobne ansamble lahko najdemo tudi v državah, ki so bile del avstro-ogrške monarhije, in v Srbiji. Profesionalni ansambli ljudske glasbe so bili po sestavi zelo raznoliki in so vključevali celo glasbila, ki se dotlej v tradicionalni glasbi Bosne in Hercegovine niso uporabljala.

V času avstro-ogrškega cesarstva je bila v Bosni in Hercegovini splošno sprejeta delitev kavarn na bodisi a la turca bodisi a la franca, in odločitev posameznika, katero bo obiskal, je bila odvisna od družbenih in kulturnih navad. Nadalje viri kažejo, da so bili lastniki kavarn (kafan) večino bosansko-hercegovski muslimani, medtem ko so imeli kavarne (kafe) v lasti tujci, domači katoličani ali pravoslavci. Poleg splošnih razlik glede na družbene norme vedenja in kulturno vzdušje je bila glasba eden od dejavnikov, ki so bistveno vplivali na število gostov in na priljubljenost kavarn (kafan). Bogato glasbeno življenje bosanskih kavarn je pritegnilo mnoge raziskovalce, kot so Matija Murko, Gerhard Gesemann in Vlado Milošević, katerih slikovite beležke o glasbenih praksah so še danes dragocen vir za znanstveno raziskovanje.