### AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: ACTIVITIES OF PROFESSIONAL FEMALE ARTISTS IN A LA FRANCA CAFÉS OF SARAJEVO

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The tradition of visiting cafés in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina dates back to the period of Ottoman rule. With the change to Austro-Hungarian administration, the previously rooted habits started shifting, and Sarajevo started getting a la franca cafés, whose trademark was the light music of cabaret and operettas, typical of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century European context. The phenomenon of professional female musical artists performing independently or within ensembles, known as Damennkapelle, is linked to these cafés, which are mostly located in the central part of the city. This phenomenon was a novelty in the socio-cultural as well as musical context of the environment, where very strict social norms were regularly imposed on women. Although these were mostly female settlers from other parts of the empire who performed in travelling ensembles, their artistic engagement changed the local perception of women performing on café stages. Therefore, female ensembles often enjoyed a reputation of local stars, allowing them equal representation in the labour market in relation to all-male ensembles and groups.

*Key words*: Austria-Hungary, Sarajevo, *a la franca* cafés, professional female artists, women's ensembles



## A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF SARAJEVO IN THE LATE $19^{\rm TH}$ AND EARLY $20^{\rm TH}$ CENTURY

The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is remembered in the socio-cultural context of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a period of comprehensive change brought about by the political turmoil related to the change of rule. The Congress of Berlin decided to give the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Empire (1463–1878) to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1878–1918), which irreversibly changed the socio-political as well as cultural context of this Balkan country (Besarović 1987; Donia 2006). The shift to a structured Westward-oriented system brought with it the tendency to follow the new trends in social life. The visual identity of Sarajevo changed, the city infrastructure was modernised, the electricity network, water supply, sewerage and city transport were developed, while the city centre was decorated with new buildings such as the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart and the City Hall. The transformation of Sarajevo into the administrative centre of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina required professional staff, which eventually resulted in mass immigration of foreigners, who changed the demographics, and indirectly also the sociocultural habits. Therefore, the involvement of settlers may be considered a crucial factor in shaping the new social and cultural atmosphere, which was oriented towards Western European trends (Sparks 2014: 34-35). This new atmosphere implied practicing public forms of social life, such as widespread parlour culture, the organisation of public entertainment events and performances, the appearance of cinematographers and cinematographic projections, the arrangement of city picnic areas and amusement parks appropriate for trendy socialising, public sporting events, as well as an increasing number of printing houses and bookshops, which kept on their shelves literature and periodicals reporting on the bourgeois lifestyle of European cities (Paćuka 2014: 30-33).

In this context, Henrik Renner (1900) described Sarajevo in his 1896 travelogue as a city that was acquiring a European face, which, among other things, started to be very clearly reflected in the lifestyle practiced by pro-European members of society. Renner noted that one of the more important forms of public socialising modelled on European metropoles was visiting city picnic areas and spa resorts. In this sense, the spa resort Ilidža, situated in the vicinity of Sarajevo, in addition to Vrelo Bosne and Butmir, became the gathering places of city dwellers, the working class and the broader population.<sup>1</sup> On Sundays, overcrowded picnic areas were usually reserved for *teferič* (picnics), performances and other entertainment events. Ilidža was becoming increasingly recognised as a place for practicing sports, such as croquet, lawn tennis and its carrousels, but also horse races, which were typical for Butmir.

It is interesting that the café culture, which flourished at the time, played a prominent role in the overall Europeanisation of the socio-cultural life of the capital. Cafés began to open in the city centre, in the vicinity of fancy shops with large windows promoting European luxury products and the so-called *a la fran-ca* style<sup>2</sup>, which was becoming increasingly present in the streets of Sarajevo. However, when it comes to the cafés of Sarajevo, attention has to be drawn to the fact that the tradition of gathering was not completely new, but rather that the institutions had taken took a different, oriental form before and were locally commonly known as *kafanas*.

### THE TRADITION OF SARAJEVO'S KAFANAS

The culture of visiting *kafanas* in Sarajevo as a form of entertainment, socialising and gathering dates back to the time of

<sup>2</sup> *A la franca* dressing style relates to the style of dressing following the latest European fashion. This style was mostly pursued by settlers, and subsequently also by reputable and wealthier representatives of the domestic population.



<sup>1</sup> It is important to clarify that in the period of Ottoman rule Ilidža was already known for its hot springs and numerous elements of Turkish culture such as oriental homes, mosques and bridges, which were already present at this time, but the modernisation of Ilidža in the European sense started with the Austro-Hungarian administration.

Ottoman rule. *Kafanas* from the Ottoman period had a different social reputation than cafés, which emerged in the period of Austro-Hungarian rule, and one of their main features was the oriental or traditional musical practice.<sup>3</sup> However, with the transition under Austria-Hungary, gatherings in cafés acquired a completely new character, and hence the former *kafanas* located in the old part of town and the Baščaršija district, characterised by the traditional musical practice of Bosnia and Herzegovina, became known as *a la turca* cafés.<sup>4</sup> As expected, the *kafanas* of this type were mostly frequented by the local population, who did not identify with the musical culture brought by Austria-Hungary because it represented a foreign and unknown element. On the other hand, *a la franca* cafés began to open as their counterpart – a symbol of settlers and foreigners arriving in increasing number to Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>5</sup>

The introduction of *a la franca* cafés in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a consequence of adaptation to European trends in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, followed by economic development, modernisation and socio-cultural change. Therefore, cafés evolved into places for social activities with multiple functions,

4 For more on this topic, see Talam and Paćuka (2018: 75–87).

5 The division between *a la turca* and *a la franca* cafés was widely accepted in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina in general, and visiting one or the other depended on personal preferences, as well as the social and cultural habits of the individual. Apart from the general differences in the sense of social norms of conduct and cultural atmosphere, music was one of the elements that had a crucial influence on the number of guests and popularity of a café (or *kafana*). Music was what drew visitors to one side or the other, which is evident from musicians' requests submitted to the State Government for work permits (Paćuka 2014: 51).



<sup>3</sup> Oriental musical practice implied musical expressions shaped under the influence of tonal relations and instruments (šargija, zurna, etc.), which were introduced in the period of Ottoman rule. It was also common practice for military musicians (*mekteri*) to play for people when off duty with their military orchestras (*mehterhane*). The most common traditional musical genre performed at *kafanas* was *sevdalinka* (Rihtman 1982: 11–12).

where visitors could find relief from the rigid social norms and a pleasant atmosphere for drinking coffee, playing chess, or reading newspapers and light literature (Talam and Paćuka 2018: 79). Such gathering places were often an environment where different social and business deals were made, but also where various technical achievements characteristic of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were promoted. It was precisely in the Vienna café of *Hotel Evropa* in Sarajevo that the first presentation of Edison's phonograph was held in front of approximately 30 people in 1890 (NN, 1890: 3). The journalists and audience were delighted with the productions of the phonograph, particularly the musical ones. The aforementioned practice continued in subsequent years, including gramophone singing productions by Konrad Friedrich in 1908 at the same hotel (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine 1908, Šf. 21).

In this sense, cafés were recognised as places for learning about new European trends, but also as an excellent starting point for their dissemination among the public. Moreover, following European trends, Sarajevo's a la franca cafés could be defined as the so-called "third place" according to the historian of urban sociology Roy Oldenburg. Oldenburg (2013: 7-23) says that one of the common characteristics of social life in European cities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is exactly the practice of visiting cafés, which were in third place on the priority list in an individual's life, immediately after the workplace and the privacy of one's home. Unlike the environment of the workplace or home, where one had to comply with clearly defined social norms, cafés were less conventional, and were therefore often the gathering places for visitors from different social classes – both the working class and bourgeois circles. Therefore, patrons included both government officials, low-ranking soldiers, merchants, journalists, workers and craftsmen, as well as representatives of the intellectual elite finding their inspiration in this atmosphere. In addition to serving as places for socialising, cafés also played the role of introducing a completely new European appearance – oriented towards the consummation of fashionable trends characteristic of European cities of that time. Accordingly, regular visits and socialising in popular city cafés, such as *Hotel Evropa*,



*Café Abbazia*, *Café Central* and *Café Mareinhof* (NN 1899: 206–207), were a sign of social prestige among the bourgeois class. However, one of the more important characteristics that differentiated many of these cafés from those of the Ottoman period was the attitude towards women, as well as their presence and performances in those cafés.

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Cafés, which spread in Sarajevo on a daily basis, were a space of interaction not only on a social and cultural level but also from the perspective of gender. Equally to men, women could be found in this environment both in the role of female visitors as well as in the role of performing female artists. This was new in the socio-cultural and musical life of Sarajevo, although scarce sources dating before the Austro-Hungarian administration<sup>6</sup> report in favour of the fact that women performed in Sarajevo's cafés as interpreters of the traditional music. This type of public activity, at least concerning women of local origin, was not viewed with appreciation – burdened by the social dogmas imposed on women's conduct in the public (Paćuka 2019: 116). However, the change of the socio-cultural climate caused by the arrival of settlers brought new trends. Women of foreign origin visited cafés more frequently, attracted by the pleasant atmosphere and the need to socialise, while many of them also earned a living playing or singing in cafés. Moreover, this evolved into a specific phenomenon as the permits issued by the State Government indicate that *a la franca* cafés were one of the segments of professional musical life where women, along with music teaching, achieved full dominance. Although the described practice could already be seen in the European context as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Moore Whiting 1999: 11), it was

<sup>6</sup> For more about the circumstances of the musical life in Sarajevo under Ottoman rule, see Bašeskija (1997) and Martić (1990).



new for for the local circumstances, partly due to the altered perception of women's professional artistic work within these contexts. Concretely, thanks to their performances in the cafés of Sarajevo, female settlers were able to express their creativity, which brought them a professional reputation and quite often, the status of local stars. On the other hand, this phenomenon was also complementary to the gradual emancipation of women, which increased their need for independent work by which they could ensure their own livelihoods.<sup>7</sup>

With respect to all of the above, the question raised is who were the women who performed in the city's *a la franca* cafés and what were their musical productions. Based on the work permits issued, we can conclude that the women and girls working in the *a la franca* cafés came to Sarajevo from different parts of the Empire—Croatia, Austria, Germany, Bohemia or Hungary - and would stay there for a longer or shorter period of time, depending on the amount of work.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, for many of them Sarajevo was only a stopover on their route through different parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this sense, for example, several female artists submitted in August 1906 a request to the State Government to approve the musical productions at the Sarajevo café Loyd, one of the most popular gathering places for settlers at that time. One of them was actress and singer Sofija Jovanović, who performed in Belgrade and Pula before going to Sarajevo. In her request for a work permit submitted to the State Government, Jovanović stated explicitly that her artistic

<sup>8</sup> The attitude of the authorities towards travelling groups was restrictive, requiring musicians to obtain official work permits from the State Government. The validity period of the permit was 3 or 6 months, after which a new permit had to be requested. The rules that had to be fulfilled were strict, and the permits were granted only for limited areas. If musicians wanted to perform in another city or area within Bosnia and Herzegovina, they had to inform the State Government and wait for a permit to be issued. To receive concessions, they had to pledge that their activities would not be directed against the interests of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.



For more information on women's social position, see Paćuka (2019: 48–53).

productions, which included acting and singing, would "comply fully with the orders and regulations" of the State Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine 1906: šf. 22–237). This and similar request lead us to conclude that the nature and content of performances were reviewed strictly against compliance with the general cultural policy of Austria-Hungary in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and had to be devoid of any national or other socio-political connotations.

Although independent performances were part of the musical practice of Sarajevo cafés, even more frequently girls and women performed in chamber ensembles, which were usually accompanied by a male member. An illustrative example is the case of cymbalist Irena Genée, who together with violinist J. Reyam interpreted fashionable waltzes and polkas at the Café Marienhof on Wednesdays, starting from October 1919 (NN 1910: 5). Although artistic performances like this had their audience and admirers, they were only an ephemeral phenomenon for the Sarajevo musical stage, whereas more lasting and serious activity was performed by women's singing and instrumental ensembles.

Performances by women's ensembles in Sarajevo were most frequent in the period of 1905–1918. The popularity of these ensembles is supported by sources showing that all important cafés in the city (the Kaiser Krone, Café Grum Hoff, Café Lohner, Café Abbazia, Hotel Evropa and Café Marienhof) hired women's ensembles for a longer period, which evidently contributed to the flourishing café business. Generally, the internal organisation and programme selection of the ensembles stationed in Sarajevo did not differ greatly from ensembles around Europe in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. As a rule, these travelling/visiting ensembles and the person managing them had to request a work permit from the State Government. Ensembles were most often led by men, addressed as Kapellmeister, bandmaster or director, and their main duty was to ensure regular performances, rehearsals, finance and accommodation for the entire ensemble (Kaufmann 1997: 303-317). It was quite common for ensembles to consist of or include members of the same family, while the Kapellmeister was usually the husband or a relative of one of the members. An illustrative example was the musical ensemble Černý, led by Czech Kapellmeister Josef Černý, a relative of ensemble members Katarina and Ana Černý (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, ZVS 1908: šf. 21 21/350). This ensemble performed successfully at the *Kaiser Krone* during 1908, which was proven by the regular announcements of the owner Franjo Poznić in the daily press about the activities of the women's ensemble and news related to the café.

### Figure 1: Newspaper announcement for the Černý ensemble



Source: NN (1908: 4).

Nevertheless, there were also exceptions to this rule, and in certain situations women could led their ensembles. Usually, they were the widows, sisters or daughters, who would take care of the ensemble after the death of the Kapellmeister. In this context, women were viewed as legitimate female successors of the family business, which they would take over unless there were close male relatives. However, it is interesting that Sarajevo's *a la franca* cafés showed certain deviations in this regard, and some of female members were not always in the closest kinship. In this sense, an interesting request was sent to the State Government by Kapellmeister Marija Vrbicka from Žiželice in Bohemia, whose ensemble included Božena Kosova, Marija and Milada Junkert, Emilija Mič, Emilija Jerabek, Ludvika Pešek and Ferdinand Hanzlik. The ensemble



performed in Sarajevo in 1907/1908–1912 (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, ZVS 1908: Materie, šf. 21 21/6). With regard to the programme orientation of ensembles and the nature of musical production, it is evident that the repertoires covered a wide range of genres, from *Schrammelmusik* and light music to arrangements of more demanding musical pieces by famous European composers.

The first two groups were the most frequent repertoire choice of ensembles, so a trend emerged among Sarajevans of that time to visit cafés where Schrammelmusik was performed.<sup>9</sup> Female Schrammel ensembles in Sarajevo were particularly popular among settlers of Austrian origin, who enjoyed the sound of Viennese tunes interwoven with folk elements. Fans of this type of musical expression could listen to them in places like Café Lohner, where concerts of this genre were held every day (NN 1912a: 6) The *Damen Schrammel Quartet* had a series of remarkable performances, and according to newspaper articles would entertain patrons with an excellent selection of Schrammel melodies performed at a praiseworthy interpretative level (NN 1912b: 7).

However, most female ensembles performing in the city were known for lighter, tuneful and less complicated musical programmes, which were popular among Sarajevans and followed the main substance of Biedermeier in terms of content. In most cases, these were pieces by European composers that were popular at the time but are now forgotten, arranged for

<sup>9</sup> The genre Schrammelmusik was developed by brothers Johann and Josef Schrammel, who in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, together with George Dänzer and Anton Strohmayer, established an instrumental ensemble (two violins, contraguitar and clarinet) with the aim of creating a unique musical genre inspired by the richness of Viennese folk music. Viennese dances, such as waltzes and polkas, inspired the Schrammel brothers to create authentic melodies whose popularity grew steadily at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The music created by the two brothers and the other members of the ensemble soon got the name Schrammelmusik, which also became a synonym for simple and tuneful melodies derived from folk (Globetrotter 2019).



singing or purely instrumental, depending on the performing ensemble. As such repertoire selection made up the largest part of the musical practice of cafés, all significant cafés had their permanent female ensembles, who performed regular concerts to entertain their patrons. In this sense the following ensembles were particularly respected: Černy, *Elvira*, *Biró*, Vienna female ensemble Wirth, Wiener Elite-Damenorchester *R.H. Dietrich, Symphonie Damenkapelle* and *Bettina*.<sup>10</sup> Although these ensembles enjoyed significant popularity among city circles, Wiener Elite-Damenorchester R.H. Dietrich, which played the Marienhof in 1913 and 1914, attracted attention in particular from the cultural and artistic public at that time. Led by Rudolf Hans Dietrich<sup>11</sup> and his wife, the band toured Europe, including fashionable resorts like Nice, where Dietrich's operetta The Carnival in Nice premiered in 1908. With a repertoire focused on pieces by its Kapellmeister and by European masters such as Richard Wagner, Ruggiero Leoncavallo, Giacomo Puccini, Giuseppe Verdi, Charles Gounod and Johann Sebastian Bach, the ensemble soon earned the appreciation of local artists—mostly amateur composers focusing on popular musical genres, military band directors in Sarajevo, as well as a few professional artists who were prominent on the musical scene at that time.

<sup>11</sup> Rudolf Hans Dietrich (Vienna, 9 December 1880–Vienna, 24 November 1940) was an Austrian composer and publisher. He completed studies at the Vienna Conservatory, and served as the first President of the Association for the Promotion of Viennese Folk Art, and was an active member of a Kapellmeister association. His prominent pieces include: Ein Wiener Fiaker (Singspiel), Der Carneval in Nizza (operetta), Wiener Volkskunstmarsch, Frühauf-Marsch (marches) (Musiklexion 2019).



<sup>10</sup> According to available sources in the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina and periodicals, other less noticeable ensembles also performed in Sarajevo's *a la franca* cafés during the time of Austro-Hungarian rule, such as the Female Ensemble G. Brih (1905), the Female Tambura Ensemble Rohrbaher (1911) and the Vienna Female Ensemble Schierer (1918).





Source: NN (1925)

According to Risto Pekka Pennanen (2016: 117), the ensemble performed at the Marienhof in 1913 pieces by Commissioner Ferdinand Warmersperger<sup>12</sup>, a singer and member of the *Männergesangverein*, stationed in Sarajevo from as early as 1880. Those songs by Warmersperger's that were performed included: *Valse Charles, Krondorfer Marsch, Ernst Marsch*, which he dedicated to Marienhof owner Ernest Ružić (Pennanen 2016: 10), and *Gavotte*, which was inspired by the artistic work of Kapellmeister Tony Dietrich (NN 1914a: 4). In fact, the ensemble, which played the Marienhof every day, differed from others by including in its repertoire pieces by local composers and directors, such as Christoph Fuchs<sup>13</sup>. The move was very well received by the audience and musical professionals, who, noticing that R.H. Dietrich were performing local authors' composi-

<sup>13</sup> Christoph Fuchs was the director of the military orchestra of the 90<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment (Paćuka 2014: 172; NN 1914b: 3).



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<sup>12</sup> Ferdinand Warmersperger was the second choirmaster of the Männergesangverein in 1915–1918, and he often participated in the group's concerts, singing pieces from famous operas or *Liedertafel* songs (Paćuka 2014: 100, 103).

tions, also started to dedicate their own pieces to the ensemble. In this sense, military band director Josip Chladek Bohinjski<sup>14</sup> composed in 1914 the concert waltz *Ohne Lieb' kein Leben* specifically for the ensemble, and it was performed together with Warmersperger's *Krondorfer Marsch* at one of the concerts held at the Marienhof (NN 1914c: 4). These efforts, which received great approval from the local press, culminated after *Balkanski valčik* by Bogomir Kačerovský<sup>15</sup>, originally written for voice and piano, which was included in the ensemble's repertoire (NN 1914d: 4). By including Kačerovsky's composition (published in the edition of Jaromir Studnička) in their concerts, the Damenorchester R.H. Dietrich demonstrated that they were invested in the local musical scene. Moreover, this was a way for the ensemble to support the local composers, helping their pieces reach a wider audience.

- 14 Josip Chladek Bohinjski (Jesenice/Brežice, 4 February 1879– Maribor, 7 February 1940) worked in Sarajevo as the director of the orchestra of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment from 1914 to 1918. Apart from his success as a conductor, Chladek also proved himself as an educator, teaching music and singing at the Great Gymnasium Sarajevo from 1919 to 1923, after which he was transferred to Banja Luka (Paćuka 2016: 18–19; Špendal 1974: 142).
- Bogomir Kačerovský was born in Litomyšl (Bohemia) on 7 November 15 1873. When he was two years old, his family moved to Croatia (Petrinja), where he spent his childhood and completed his primary education. There he attended the King's Teacher Training School (1889-1893), after which he moved to Zagreb to obtain a degree in music teaching and singing from the Croatian Music Institute (1896). After finishing his studies, he worked as a primary school music teacher in Cerovac (1893), Nova Gradiška (1896) and then Sarajevo, where he moved to in 1898. In the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kačerovský engaged in rich artistic and pedagogical activity, teaching music subjects at the Teacher Training School and the Great Gymnasium, where he also led the school choirs and orchestras. Apart from his pedagogical achievements, Kačerovský also achieved success on an artistic level, acting as a reputable Kapellmeister of Trebević. He stayed in Sarajevo until 1917, when he moved to Zagreb, where he remained until hi death in 1945 (Milić 1998: 20–21; Paćuka 2014: 252; Hadžić 2009: 159-163).



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Figure 3: Balkanski valčik, Bogomir Kačerovský

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Source: Historijski arhiv Sarajevo (O-FM-18)

After the acclaimed Damenorchester R.H. Dietrich, Café Marienhof hosted another female ensemble whose activity left a mark on the popular music scene of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo. The ensemble Bettina was active in the midst of World War I, from 1915 to 1918 to be precise. Since the ensemble was comprised of women, who were not subject to mobilisation, they were able to perform regularly in the war-afflicted Sarajevo, enjoying significant popularity, while the press reported that all the seats were filled at their concerts. Bettina was one of the rare ensembles that stayed together during World War I. They were acclaimed for quality programmes including arrangements of masterpieces by well-known European composers. Moreover, the ensemble organised a series of opera nights, which featured performances of instrumental pieces and arrangements of the most famous arias composed by the likes of Giuseppe Verdi, Felix Mendelssohn, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Gaetano Donizetti, Gioachino Rossini, Pietro Mascagni and Bedřich Smetana.<sup>16</sup> In

<sup>16</sup> Thefullprogrammeofoneoftheoperanightswas: "1. Hochzeitsmarsch aus 'Sommernachstraum' von Mendelssohn. 2. Fantasie aus der



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1918, Bettina held numerous successful theme evenings, including one dedicated to Verdi's opus, where the following segments from the composer's most significant operas were played:

I. Szene und Quinttet aus der Oper "Maskenball"; II. Troubadour-Fantasie aus der gleichnamingen Oper; III. Ouverture zur Oper "Nabucco"; IV. Fantasie aus der Oper "Traviata"; V. Fantasie aus der Oper "Rigoletto": VI. Fantasie aus der Oper "Aida" (NN 1918b: 5).

The mentioned programmes made up only part of the rich musical activity of Bettina and other female ensembles that performed in Sarajevo. Their popularity was a phenomenon related to the socio-cultural circumstances of that time, burdened with social roles and gender divisions. However, the pro-European spirit, for which the appearance of female artists on the concert stages of cafés had already been witnessed since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, made an unquestionable impact on the circumstances of musical life in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, the musical practice of *a la franca* cafés evolved over time into centres fostering popular genres of Western European musical culture, where women were the focus as the main bearers of musical expression oriented towards popular and tuneful melodies appropriate for bourgeois and working-class circles, as well as for their understanding of musical art.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the context of the socio-cultural and musical life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, performances of professional female artists in Sarajevo's *a la franca* cafés were a new form of music consumption

Oper 'Traviata' von Verdi. 3. 'Maritana' Ouverture von Wallace. 4. a) Szene und Quintett aus der Oper 'Maskenball' von Verdi; b) Gnaden-Arie aus der Oper 'Robert der Teufel' von Meyerbeer. 5. Fantasie aus der Oper 'Regimentstochter' von Donizetti. 6. Ouverture aus der Oper 'Barbier von Sevilla' von Rossini. 7. Intermezzo aus 'Cavaleria Rusticana' von Mascagni; Sextett aus 'Verkaufte Braut' von Smetana. 8. Fantasie aus 'Bohéme' von Puccini" (NN 1918a: 5).



brought into being by the Austro-Hungarian takeover. Making a living as professional female artists in a country which at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was at the crossroads between East and West – marking its turn in orientation towards pro-European standards – women did ultimately succeed in earning their own place in the labour market, which, in spite of strict social norms, recognised them as professional female artists. Although they were mostly female settlers performing for different social classes (workers, merchants, administrative staff, soldiers or members of the upper class), their artistic expression significantly enriched the concert and musical scene of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina—and in a way that had not been practiced in the daily musical life of Sarajevo. Performing on concert stages independently or as part of female ensembles, female artists sang and played famous melodies that brought the musical practice of Western Europe closer to the broader population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their reception was also significant, and many ensembles (e.g. Bettina, Damenorchester R.H. Dietrich) were treated as local stars. At the same time, it also changed the perception of women's role on the concert stage, demonstrating that in certain segments of musical activity they could be equal to men. This opened a completely new chapter in the history of music in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a focus on valuing professional female artists and their place in the development of musical life.

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