

Immortalised on Wax

— Professional Folk Musicians and Their Gramophone Recordings Made in Sarajevo, 1907 and 1908

In this present article I will explore the ways in which archive documents and discographical material can be used as sources in the study of music history – in this case the history of urbanised folk music in Bosnia-Herzegovina. For some reason, this approach is relatively rare in musicology although it can produce interesting results (see Pennanen 2005a, 2005b). On the other hand, discographical research rarely succeeds in uncovering data on early recording artists outside the realm of Western classical music.

I will, firstly, concentrate on the repertoire of the Gramophone Company's Sarajevo recording sessions of 1907 and 1908, and the recordings made in the neighbouring South Slavic areas and the marketing of the discs both before and after the First World War. The Sarajevo sessions and their outcome serve as an example of the selection of local repertoire and marketing in new market areas during the early days of the record industry.¹ Special emphasis is placed on the relationship between the genres recorded and commercial and socio-political circumstances before 1914. Unfortunately, most of the recorded material from the Sarajevo 1907 and 1908 sessions, which is preserved at the EMI Music Archive

1.

This article is a
vastly expanded and
rewritten version of
two previous papers
(Pennanen 2003a,
2003b).

in Hayes, Middlesex, was inaccessible for this study.

Secondly, I will consider the musicians who made the recordings. Some of them were celebrated across the borders in the northern South Slavic lands before the First World War but nowadays they are almost completely forgotten. In terms of academic folk music scholarship, this lapse of memory is due to the fact that the recording artists were mostly professionals and ethnically Gypsies.

The neglect of professional folk musicians and their commercial recordings by folk music scholars is a residue of nineteenth-century romanticism. Researchers in former Yugoslavia often regarded professional folk musicians – commonly Gypsies – as corrupters of authentic folk art rather than as genuinely integrated practitioners of local musical culture and creators of new interesting hybrid styles. For example, in the early 1930s, the Belgrade composer, musicologist, folk music scholar and music journalist Miloje Milojević (1884–1946) considered urban Gypsy interpretations of Yugoslav folk music as tasteless deformations with no sophisticated artistic and national feeling.

According to Milojević, Gypsies rarely master the real performance practice of folk music, and if they do, it is not innate but learned for the trade. Gypsy musicians perform at public houses in a suffocating atmosphere full of tobacco smoke and alcohol fumes. By contrast, authentic folk singers are inspired by the pure breath of nature (Gesemann 1931: 339–41). Milojević repeated his views in 1937, this time fortified by the use of racial theories (Dvorniković 1939: 399). In his monumental study of the Yugoslav national character *Karakterologija Jugoslovena* [Characterology of the Yugoslavs] published in 1939, the philosopher Vladimir Dvorniković (1888–1956) agreed with Milojević's views (1939: 398–9). This attitude among scholars was also common in Titoist Yugoslavia. Vlado Milošević (1901–1990), a classic of Bosnian folk music research, belittled the Gypsy style of performing Bosnian urban folk songs (Milošević 1964: 21–2, 47).

Such negative attitudes towards Gypsy musicians and their hybrid style, urban music and professionalism in folk music – even the expressions used – are very similar to those voiced by Béla Bartók (cf. Brown 2000; Trumpener 2000). This is no coincidence; especially in the nineteenth century and for most of the twentieth centuries, the research of national folk music had a considerable prescriptive element linked with na-

tionalism, moralism and the idea of beauty. The educated classes saw imagined folk song as an integral part of the idealised rural landscape (see Kurkela 1989: 144-235).

Against this background we can understand the importance of the Austro-Hungarian archive documents on Bosnian professional musicians and the Sarajevo recordings as unique source material for research.

The Historical Background

Bosnia-Herzegovina was a part of the Ottoman Empire from 1463 to 1878. These four centuries had a marked effect on the population and culture of the area. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 the Great Powers gave Austria-Hungary the mandate to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina and to administer it. The occupation lasted from 1878 to October 1908 when the Habsburg Empire annexed the area and kept it as crown land till the end of the First World War.

The Joint Minister of Finance (Ger. *gemeinsamer Finanzminister*) in Vienna was responsible for the administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The most influential of these ministers was the Hungarian Benjamin von Kállay (in service 1882-1903), who saw Austria-Hungary as a great Occidental empire, the duty of which was to spread civilisation among Oriental peoples. Accordingly, the cultural mission of the Empire was to modernise Bosnia-Herzegovina while simultaneously respecting its cultural and religious traditions, employing an effective bureaucracy to ensure peaceful development in the area. Kállay was a strong supporter of rational bureaucracy, which could, as he thought, replace the chaos and anarchy of the late Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina with order and peace (Donia 1981: 14-5).

Thanks to the meticulous control of music by the Austro-Hungarian bureaucracy, we can observe musical life and the advent of the gramophone in Bosnia-Herzegovina in an exceptionally detailed way. A licence for public entertainment, including musical performances, was compulsory everywhere in the empire. Political, moral and aesthetic aspects of entertainment were subject to rigorous control by licensing procedures (Brandl 1979: 318-9). Even phonograph and gramophone owners who wanted to demonstrate their machines publicly had to apply for a licence from the Provincial Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Ger. *Landesregierung für Bosnien und*

die Hercegovina). One of the high-ranking government officers at the Administrative Department made the final decisions on the licences on behalf of the head of the Provincial Government (Ger. *Landeschef*). If they changed the neighbourhood in which they worked, performers had once more to obtain permission to perform from the local authorities. A licence could be revoked if, for example, the performer had given false information about himself/herself when applying for the licence, or if he/she had committed a crime before or during the period covered by the licence.

Those applications for music licences and their appendices – preserved at the Archive of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo – form a very important source group for research as they often contain numerous details about the applicants, such as their year and place of birth, ethnic background, musical instrument/s played, place of work and the line-up of their ensembles (see Fig. 1). They form a major source group for this study. The corpus of documents has its limitations: With some exceptions, the earliest surviving music licences preserved in the archive are from 1898. After the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, very few music licences were granted. Interestingly, the licences have not previously been used as sources in any kind of research.

Advent of the Record Industry in Bosnia-Herzegovina

By the early 1900s, phonographs and gramophones were relatively well known in the urban settlements of Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, it took some time before the talking machine was transformed from a curiosity into a serious musical mass media that involved performer, audience, and businessman. The earliest demonstration of a talking machine in Bosnia-Herzegovina took place as early as in July 1890 when Mr. Castle, an agent of the Edison Phonograph Company (established three years previously), exhibited Edison's Electric Phonograph, run by a battery-powered electric motor, in Sarajevo (*Sarajevski list*, 4 July 1890).²

After the first demonstration, various cylinder and disc machines were introduced as novelties by itinerant central European and local entertainers in Bosnian towns at least from 1898. The novelty boom seems to have lasted until 1902.

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All dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar.

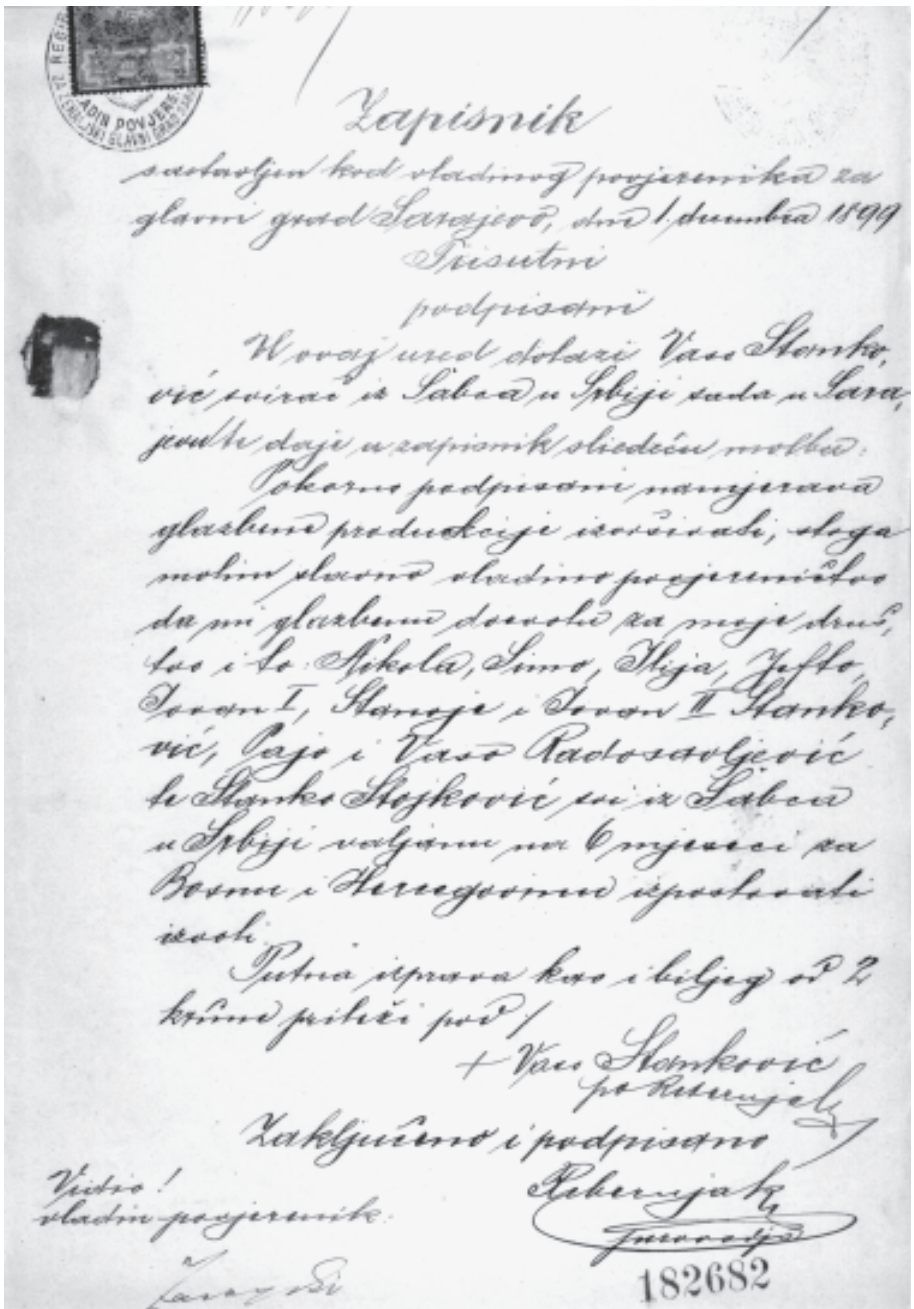


Fig. 1: The first music licence application of Vaso Stanković-Andolija for his band for six months dated 1 December 1899 in Sarajevo. Like most folk musicians, Stanković was illiterate and signed the application, which was written by the clerk Karl Rebernjak at the office of the Government Commissar for Sarajevo, with a crisscross (ABH, ZVS: 48/329-1899).

Besides phonograph demonstrations or gramophone concerts, the entertainers were also able to offer magic lantern, cinematography or panorama shows (ABH, ZVS: 48/71-1899, 48/398-1900).

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 (*Bošnjak*, 21 November 1907; *Bosnische Post*, 12 December 1907, 16 October 1909). Wilhelm Reisner sold player pianos, mechanical musical instruments, talking machines and discs (Wit 1912: 363). In Dolnja Tuzla, the shop of Mehmed Prčić's Sons owned by Osmanaga Nuri Prčić, 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 (*Srpska riječ*, 18 April 1908, 3 March 1909). By 1912, there was at least one distributor of talking machines and discs in Derventa and three in Mostar (Wit 1912: 333, 354; *Zeman*, 26 March 1912).

In the early 1900s, the major record companies were feverishly building up separate repertoires for major nationalities and ethnic groups of the world in order to conquer new marketing areas. They manufactured sound carriers (cylinders or discs) as well as record-playing equipment (phonographs or gramophones). They had realised that without an impressive recorded repertoire of local music it was impossible to sell equipment in each area. Various recording systems were used, which meant that the cylinders or discs of one company were not necessarily playable on machines of another company (Gronow 1981: 251-3, 1996: 19-20).

The Gramophone Company, founded in 1898 in London, soon became the market leader. At first all the company's records were pressed in Hanover at the factory of Deutsche Grammophon-Aktiengesellschaft (DGAG), the German subsidiary of the company. Local branches were also established in other major market areas, whereas minor markets were served by local agents. By 1910 record plants had also been

built in Britain, Austria-Hungary, Russia, India and elsewhere (Jones 1985; Martland 1992). Regular studios existed only in a few major locations, and most recordings were made by a team of travelling “experts,” whose work was supervised from Britain and Germany (Perkins et al. 1976). Under this arrangement, Bosnia-Herzegovina was the domain of the Budapest agency. The Gramophone Company’s activities are exceptionally well documented in the company’s surviving archives.

Several other record companies made recordings in Bosnia-Herzegovina before the First World War. Newspaper advertisements show that the German International Talking Machine Co.m.b.H. (labels Odeon, Jumbo and Jumbola), Lyrophonwerke Adolf Lieban & Co. (label Lyrophon) and Record Werke Hermann Maassen (label Metafon) companies also released records there, but very few copies seem to have survived, and archival materials relating to these activities cannot be found.

The Recording Engineers Max and Franz Hampe

The recording engineers behind the 1907 and 1908 DGAG recordings in Bosnia-Herzegovina were the brothers Franz and Max Hampe from Berlin. Franz recorded the 1907 sessions while his brother took care of the next year’s sessions. In several ways, the Hampe brothers’ trips to Bosnia-Herzegovina were typical of the way companies entered a new market area during this first phase in the history of the record industry.

Until now, very little was known about the biographies of Max and Franz Hampe. However, the parish register of their native town Genthin and their registration cards at the Berlin State Archive (Ger. *Landesarchiv Berlin*) reveal some new facts about them. Their father Otto was a train driver, and the family had two daughters and five sons. One of these children died at an early age. Theodor Heinrich Max Hampe was born on 26 August 1877 and his younger brother Georg Franz Hampe on 19 September 1879 (EKEF). The family subsequently moved to Berlin. There Franz started as a recording engineer for DGAG in 1901 or 1902 and Max followed in his footsteps in April 1904 according to the registers of recordings (Kelly 2004; EMIMA).³

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The registers are in ledgers, which are listings by matrix numbers. They include the title of the recording and the name(s) of the artist(s), and its catalogue number – if the record was issued – as well as the location of the recording session. In addition, in the system employed by the Gramophone Company, the matrix number usually indicates the identity of the recording engineer.

A ledger may furthermore contain the date of delivery of a sample record to the company archive, and the date of destruction of the metal master. The matrix number on the record label or in the wax was used for control in manufacturing, while the catalogue number on the label was used for marketing control.

Since there were very few permanent recording studios in the early years of the record industry, the few professional recording engineers in the business had to travel extensively (see Gronow 1981). As their recording equipment was heavy and they worked to a tight schedule they usually travelled by train. The Hampe brothers worked in Central, South-eastern and Eastern Europe and also in such places as Cairo, Istanbul and Tbilisi. They made at least one recording trip together, namely to Tehran in late 1905 and early 1906 (Kinnear 2000a: 5-6).

As a highly respected professional in the difficult art of acoustic recording, Max worked with some of the most celebrated artists of Western classical and other musics. Max Hampe's long-time commitment to recording in Asia started in December 1904, when he accompanied the American recording engineer William Sinkler Darby on a four-month recording expedition to India, Ceylon and Burma (see Fig. 2). Hampe travelled to Indonesia in autumn 1910 and proceeded to India. He remained in Asia as the Gramophone Company's chief recording expert until 1913, when he returned to Berlin (Kinnear 2000b: 3, 37-8).

During the greater part of the First World War Max Hampe did not make any recordings, as he was serving as a sergeant in the German army. The *Offizielle Grammophon-Nachrichten* – the journal for DGAG's retailers – reported in April 1915 that Hampe had found a machine gun buried in a field in Belgium (Anonymous 1915).⁴ Such a report may have been published to show the public that DGAG participated in the war effort despite the fact that the firm was technically still owned by the British – the enemy. At an auction held in April

4.

I am grateful to Alan Kelly for drawing my attention to this news item.

Fig. 2: Max Hampe, William Sinkler Darby and an anonymous Indian servant (middle) in Bombay, February 1905 (Kinnear 1994: 25).



1917 the German government sold the shares of DGAG to Polyphon-Musikwerke AG (Jones 1985: 90). Registers show that after the war, Hampe carried on his matrix series for DGAG in Berlin with the personal suffixes r and s until 1920. However, notes from 15 June 1917, made on the basis of information obtained by Will Gaisberg from Edmund J. Pearse, tell us a different story. According to this, Axel Widing, Director of Skandinaviska Grammophon AB in Stockholm, had told Pearse that Joseph Berliner, a director of DGAG, had dismissed the Hampe brothers immediately after DGAG was taken over by Polyphon (EMIMA; Kelly 2004).

It seems that in 1923 Hampe moved from the record industry to the newly established radio business (Große 1989: 72). No details of Hampe's radio work are currently available. After the Second World War, Hampe lived in West Berlin. It is known that his old friend and colleague, the American recording engineer Fred Gaisberg, sent him food parcels during the eleven-month Soviet blockade of West Berlin in 1948-1949 (Moore 1976: 242). Max Hampe died on 3 January 1957 in West Berlin. His registration card reveals that he was married, but apparently the couple did not have any children (LAB, EMK).

Sources on the biography of Franz are far fewer than those on Max. According to the registers, he worked as a recording engineer in Berlin throughout most of the Great War. In 1915 he also worked in Vienna, Stockholm and Copenhagen. Changes in his personal suffixes for matrix numbers (l to lb and m to lc) suggest that in 1916 he was temporarily replaced by another engineer. In 1917 Franz's normal suffixes reappear in the registers. He seems to have carried on his matrix series until 1919 or 1920 (Kelly 1994: xxiv-v). In Berlin address books we find that between 1923 and 1934 engineer Franz Hampe lived at several addresses in Lichterfelde and Lankwitz (LAB, EMK). After this, no traces of him have been found.

The 1907 Expedition to Bosnia-Herzegovina

Since by 1907 DGAG had begun to look upon Bosnia-Herzegovina as a promising marketing area, Franz Hampe was sent to make the first gramophone recordings in Sarajevo. Starting from Berlin, this recording trip proceeded as follows: Lwow ,

Budapest, Zagreb, Sarajevo, and finally Belgrade, after which Hampe returned to Berlin. During this trip Hampe made over one thousand recordings (Perkins et al. 1976: 83-4).

The equipment travelling recording engineers had with them was extremely heavy. A heavy turn-table and a slowly descending weight ensured the steady function of the revolving mechanism. A recording horn and a great number of securely packed wax blanks were also included in Hampe's luggage. Before 1925, recordings were made acoustically, without the microphone.

According to the list of hotel guests published in *Bosnische Post* on 22 May 1907, F. Hampe – a businessman from Berlin – arrived at Hotel Europe in Sarajevo on 19 or 20 May. Interestingly, the same list contains H. Conrad, a businessman from Budapest. This may indicate that Franz Hampe was accompanied by Heinrich Conrad who later worked for the Austrian sister company of DGAG, Oesterreichische Grammophon-Gesellschaft in Vienna, and edited Austrian material for *Die Stimme seines Herrn* between January 1914 and December 1917. On 21 May, Hampe applied for a licence from the Provincial Government to make recordings either at the hall of the Club-house (Ger. *Vereinshaus*, nowadays the National Theatre of Sarajevo) or at the Hotel Europe. The licence was given on 24 May for six weeks (ABH, ZVS: 22/78-1907).

Hampe and Conrad immediately started looking for singers and musicians whose recordings could sell well. They probably received assistance from the owners of local music shops – for instance Stjepan P. Zelenika or Muhamed Tosunović. They visited music cafés, restaurants and other places where music was performed in order to check out the quality of musicians and make contracts with them. Well-known places where professional musicians performed in Sarajevo at that time were for instance the Club-house, the restaurants of Hotel Europe and Hotel Central, the restaurant Zum Roten Apfel (also known as Crvena jabuka), the Café Restaurant Grüner Hof and the cafés Abbazia (also known as Abacija),⁵ Bor, Löwy (also known as Levy or Levi), Perzijanac and Zora in the centre, and the riverside cafés Bendbaša (also known as Šabanova kafana) in Bendbaša, and Babića bašča on the opposite bank of the river Miljacka.

On the evening of 25 May, Hampe and Conrad possibly visited a dance party at the hall of the Club-house organised

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The café was named after the renowned Istrian spa town Abbazia, nowadays Opatija. The café was also periodically known as Café Lloyd.

by the Jewish Tamburitza and Support Society La Gloria (Jevrejsko tamburaško i potporno društvo La Gloria) (*Sarajevski list*, 24 May 1907). They made a contract with the *tamburitza* (long-necked lute) orchestra and choir of the society, which later recorded twelve sides.⁶ The expedition obviously went to the Dariva Inn by the Miljacka some kilometres from Bendbaša and heard Vaso Stanković alias Andolija from Šabac, Serbia, performing with his twelve-piece ensemble (*Srpska riječ*, 25 May 1907). As a result, Stanković-Andolija later recorded 27 sides. The north-western administrative district of Podrinje situated between the rivers Drina and Sava in the north and west, respectively, was famous for Gypsy musicians who worked elsewhere in Serbia and abroad, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Judging from the licence documents, before the First World War, parts of Podrinje could be called Šabac after the administrative centre.

During his stay in Sarajevo, Hampe recorded 150 wax masters in all.⁷ Sixteen of them – all *zurna* (folk oboe) music with percussion – were for small 17.5 cm (7-inch) discs (mat. 2890k-2905k). The remaining 134 wax masters (5662L-5795L)⁸ were for larger 25.5 cm (10-inch) discs with a maximum capacity of about three minutes. After finishing his job Hampe sent the recorded wax masters to Germany for processing. The records were pressed in the record factory of DGAG in Hanover. They were released in the Orient catalogue number series of Zonophone, the Gramophone Company's low-price label, and appear in the Zonophone Bosnian catalogue of February 1908. However, Muhamed Tosunović had already advertised them in mid-December 1907 (*Bosnische Post*, 12 December 1907).

The Musicians and Their Recorded Repertoires

The ethnic background of the recorded musicians reflects the contemporary state of public local music making in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We can conclude from the music licences granted by the Provincial Government that, with some exceptions, the professional musicians and singers on the recordings were male Gypsies from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Podrinje in Serbia. The Sarajevo Sephardic Tamburitza and Support Society La Gloria, with female singers, was an excep-

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I use the term *tambura* for the long-necked lute directly related to its Anatolian equivalents, and the Germanised term *tamburitza* for the Westernised forms of the instrument.

7.

The discographies of the 1907 and 1908 sessions are accessed at <<http://www.uta.fi/laitokset/mustut/rpp/index.html>>.

8.

The original suffix is the letter l, but since it is very similar to the numeral 1, it is preferable to use the upper case L.

tion in not being a professional ensemble. There were also recordings of duets by women with Muslim names – Dikija Ferhatović and Dilfa Becić – and Orthodox names – Jelena and Anka Tumac – but it is hard to say anything about their musical professionalism. As we shall see below, thanks to the music licences that have survived, it is possible to find data on almost all the musicians recorded.

Nazif Memišević

Nazif Memišević was an instrumentalist and singer, and band leader from Gorica, the Gypsy *mahala* (quarter) of Sarajevo. His documented professional career as a bandleader begins early as 1898. In 1899 he played with, among others, Bečo Arapović and Miralem Razvalić, of whom the latter was to record ten sides for Franz Hampe in 1907.⁹ The appearance of the bands could have been similar to that of the group in Fig. 3.

9.

Murko (1912: 12) mentions seeing a record containing the song *Pjesma o Imzibega* by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Folk Music and Vocal Choir of Bečo Arapović from Sarajevo (Bosansko-hercegovačko narodna glazba i pjevački zbor Beče Arapovića, Sarajevo) (cat. Gramophone 20043). As the catalogue number



Fig. 3: Bosnian musicians (probably Gypsies) from Jezero near Jajce in the 1890s. The instruments are violin, tambura, wooden spoons and the def frame drum with cymbals. Drawing by Gyula Túri (Mønnesland 2001: 241).

quoted refers to a very early Russian recording of the Alexander Varlamov song *Travushka* by the baritone V. Viktorov in St. Petersburg on 6 April 1899 (EMIMA), this information is somewhat mysterious. Murko is certainly referring to a Jumbola record.

10.

In his last licence applications, Memišević gave his address as Nova ulica 5, which implies that he was working in the red light district of Sarajevo (see Bejtić 1973: 278).

11.

For the etymology of *gurnata*, see Picken 1975: 511-2.

Nazif Memišević's group also participated in recording sessions in 1908. In 1909 Memišević played with Mehmed Tahirović in a band led by Miralem Razvalić – both of them DGAG recording musicians. The last occurrence of Memišević in the preserved archival material is from 1912 (ABH, ZVS: 48/226/1-1899, 21/21/149/1-1908, 21/21/163-1910, 21/21/63-1912).¹⁰

From mid-February till mid-August 1907 Memišević led a group with the following members: the Bosnian Muslim Gypsy Hasan Pidžo, Mehmed Tahirović, Mehmed Toparan, and the Sephardic Jewish brothers Avram and Rafael (Rafo) Atias (or Atijas) (ABH, ZVS: 22/141/1-1907). Very likely it was this lineup which made the recordings. Their recorded repertoire of 1907 (24 sides, 5662L-5685L) consists mainly of Bosnian urban *sevdalinka* (pl. *sevdalinke*) songs, but there was also the military march *Pljevlje marš* referring to the town of Plevlja in the Sandžak of Novi Pazar. *Entares* is the Istanbul *türkü* (folk song) *Entarisi ala benziyor*.

The Trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš

The Bosnian Instrumental and Vocal Trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš (Bosanski instrumentalni i pjevački Terzett M. Sudžuka i Merkuš) recorded as many as 30 sides (5686L-5715L). The instruments in the recordings are clarinet, accordion, and the *def* frame drum. The accordionist or the drummer also sings. It is relatively easy to find some data on the clarinetist Mustafa Sudžuka, a musician from Sarajevo. According to his licence documents from 1899, he was already playing professionally by 1898. According to the applications, Sudžuka performed alone. At that time the clarinet was an exceptional instrument for a folk musician in Bosnia-Herzegovina; it was associated with military bands. Interestingly, Sudžuka calls his instrument *krnat* (Turk. *Gýrnata*, Arab. *qurnaita*) and *flauta* (flute) (ABH, ZVS: 48/308/1/2-1899).¹¹ Considering Sudžuka's instrument and his repertoire of military marches, he may have earlier been a member of a military band.

In February 1900, Nazif Ramić from Dolnja Tuzla formed a band in Sarajevo with Sudžuka and Ismet Ramić. After the licence had run out in late June, Sudžuka moved to Brčko where he worked as a member of a group (ABH, ZVS: 48/349/1-1900, 48/393-1900). After this I have not found any sources

mentioning Sudžuka until his 1907 recording sessions. Since the music licences shed no light on the matter, I cannot be sure about the actual identity of the musician using the Sephardic first name Merkuš. One possibility is Merkuš Alkalaj, who was born in 1886 and killed during the Second World War in Bijeljina, north-east Bosnia-Herzegovina (Yad Vashem).

The trio recorded a large repertoire of Bosnian instrumental tunes and songs, such as *Kad ja pođem na Bendbašu* (5689L) which was also recorded as an instrumental version by Juso and Zajko Besić (2898k).¹² In addition, the trio waxed two songs from Croatia-Slavonia, one from Vranje, three folk songs in Ladino, and *Zion himna*, i.e. *Hatikvah*, which had become the unofficial hymn of Zionism at the first Zionist congress in Basle in 1897. In addition to the Ottoman popular song *Behar-olldi*, the repertoire contains several other Ottoman pieces, all of them marches. Ottoman marches were commonly performed during the evening entertainments of Bosnian Muslim cultural societies and possibly during the religious feasts *Ramazanski bajram* and *Kurban bajram*. It seems that the Muslim elite used the marches as a symbol of local Muslim identity and a demonstration of its hope for a return of Ottoman sovereignty – after all, before the annexation, Bosnia-Herzegovina was still under the sultans' sovereignty.

The trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš recorded two Ottoman national marches. As the late Ottoman Empire did not have a national anthem, each sultan used a personally composed march for that purpose. *Sultan Aziza pjesma* is possibly *Aziziye marşı* by Callisto Guatelli Paşa (1820-1899), which was the imperial march during the reign of Abdülaziz (1861-1876). Accordingly, *Hamidiya marš* is *Hamidiye marşı* composed by Necip Paşa (1815-1883) for the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909).

The repertoire also contains other Ottoman military marches. Take, for example, *Turski Djezajer marš* which is the Ottoman *Cezayir marşı* (Algiers, or *Algeria March*) from around 1839. The melody is attributed to the Italian Giuseppe Donizetti Paşa (1788-1856) who was the first conductor of the Western-style Ottoman Imperial Military Band in Istanbul. The reference to Algeria is probably due to the French invasion of that Ottoman province in 1830 (Jäger 1996: 66-7). In Greece the Donizetti march is known as the wedding melody

12.

Both recordings contain the original Bosnian tune for the poem rather than the nowadays popular melody which is based on the Ottoman march *Hürriyet marşı* from 1877 by Rıf'at Bey (1820-1888).

(Gr. *patinada*) Tzizayir. Another piece from the trio's repertoire, *Sivastopal*, could be the Ottoman military march *Sivastopal marşı* by Rıf'at Bey (1820-1888) from the time of the Crimean War (1854-1856).

Rizvan Kardović

The ten sides (5716L-5725L) of epic songs recorded by Rizvan Kardović to his own *gusle* spike fiddle accompaniment are the earliest recordings of their kind. Sample copies of these discs have survived in very good condition to the present day at the EMI Music Archive. The Slovenian Slavic scholar Matija Murko recorded several excerpts of epic songs on the new Edison disc phonograph in 1912 and 1913, shortly after it had been introduced on the market, but the few extant matrices in the Phonogramm-Archiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna that survived the Second World War, are in very bad condition (see Murko 1912, 1915; Graf 1975). The Gypsy porter (*hamal*) and singer Rizvan Kardović of Sarajevo was born in Trebinje, Herzegovina, and Murko recorded two songs from him in 1913 (Murko 1915: 15-6). Kardović was not impressed by Murko's disc phonograph; according to him, two recording horns were used in DGAG sessions in 1907, whereas Murko used only one (1915: 7).

Vaso Stanković-Andolija

Vaso Stanković – who used the stage name Andolija – was a Gypsy violinist and singer born in the village of Dvorište in the district of Pocerina, Podrinje. He first came to Bosnia-Herzegovina in December 1899 with his ten-piece band, apparently consisting mostly of his relatives. At that time the band worked in Sarajevo. In 1904, the band, working in Vlasenica, consisted of Marinko, Mitro, Joco, Radojiz, Milan, Stanoja, Nikola and Stojko Stanković. Next year, Ilija Stanojević joined the band, and the line-up remained the same for an unusually long period (ABH, ZVS: 48-329-1899, 22-34/2-1905).

In January 1907, as in previous years, Stanković-Andolija applied for a music licence for his group for three months in Višegrad on the Bosnian side of the border. The licence was renewed twice during that year (ABH, ZVS: 22/96/1/2/3-1907). From 1 June, Andolija and his band performed at the Dariva

Inn on the outskirts of Sarajevo and from 16 June at the Café Abbazia in the centre. The newspaper advertisement for the latter engagement mentions a twelve-piece group, i.e. for two more musicians than the number in the music licence. Andolija and his band played at the Abbazia at least till the end of June (*Srpska riječ*, 25 May, 16 June, 21 June 1907). On 3 August Andolija applied for a licence in Višegrad (ABH, ZVS: 22/96/3-1907). In August, he worked for three days in Travnik, and nine days at the Hotel Austria possibly at the spa resort Ilidža near Sarajevo. In September the group performed for eight days in Dubnica and three days in Banja Luka (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/181-1910).

In May 1910, Stanković-Andolija seems to have had problems with the authorities as his licence for a mostly new line-up, for which he applied at the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Šabac, was not granted (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/181-1910). This may be due to confusion with a namesake who usually worked in Zenica. From 1909 on, there was another bandleader in Bosnia-Herzegovina named Vaso Stanković who was born in 1883 in Prijepolje by the river Lim in Sandžak and who had come to Bosnia-Herzegovina as a baby (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/133-1910, 21/1-1914). Even more confusingly, in 1909 the Vaso Stanković from Prijepolje conducted a group of musicians with exactly the same names as those of Andolija's famous line-up. The references in the files treat these two Vaso Stankovići as two different persons. One can only wonder if the confusion was a musician's marketing trick to exploit Andolija's fame commercially. In any case, according to the documents, Stanković-Andolija worked in Sarajevo for the last time in summer 1911, whereas Vaso Stanković from Prijepolje was in Bosnia-Herzegovina in August 1914 when the authorities listed musicians of Serbian citizenship. Stanković still had an Ottoman passport (ABH, ZVS: 21-21/429-1910, 21-21/207-1911, 21/1-1914).

Andolija's last preserved licence was granted in Sarajevo in August 1911 (ABH, ZVS: 21-21/335-1911). Next year he seems to have worked as a regular member of Stojko Stanković's group in Mostar, after which he applied for a licence in Mostar. In 1913 he made a licence application in Sarajevo. Both these attempts were turned down due to incomplete documents, which sounds strange for such an experienced band-leader. He may have had a licence for a short time in September 1913, but it was soon annulled because

most of his musicians had invalid passports (ABH, ZVS: 21-21/134-1912, 21-21/258-1912, 21-21/286-1913).

Vaso Stanković-Andolija was an exceptionally famous and admired folk musician in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In a review of a concert by the choir Balkan, the writer remarks that cold Sarajevians became excited and moved as they usually did only when listening to Stanoje or Andalija (*Srpska riječ*, 28 May 1907). Here “Stanoje” refers to Stanoje Todorović who recorded for DGAG in 1908, and “Andalija” to Vaso Stanković-Andolija. More remarkably, even the The Government Commissar (Ger. *Regierungskommissär*) for Sarajevo Franz Brodnik praised Andolija in his opinion on the musician’s licence application in June 1910 – despite Andolija having been proven to have violated the licence law (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/231-1910). This was a unique decision: normally such violations would have given cause for the immediate expulsion of a foreigner.

Several factors contributed to Stanković-Andolija’s success. Firstly, he was a technically superior and charismatic show-man who knew how to please his audiences. Secondly, the line-up of his group remained almost the same throughout the years, which certainly helped it to achieve an exceptionally good working atmosphere and a large repertoire. Thirdly, according to the restaurateur Marko Katić, the group could perform in Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian, and German, which was rare in Sarajevo (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/231-1910).

In spite of our losing his tracks in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the story of Stanković-Andolija continues elsewhere. Tatomir Vukanović (1983: 195), writing about Stanković-Andolija, says that this famous violinist and singer from Šabac worked in Belgrade, Bucharest, Budapest, Plovdiv, Zagreb and Subotica, as well as Sentomaš (nowadays Srbobran) in Vojvodina. Strangely enough, Vukanović does not mention Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina at all, although the years Andolija spent there were very important for his career. Although highly esteemed and even decorated with a medal by King Alexander, Stanković-Andolija died in poverty in Šabac in 1934.

There were special features in marketing Andolija’s records: In the Bosnian catalogues of February 1908 and August 1909, the group was named Serbian Folk Instrumental and Vocal Group of Vaso Stanković-Andolija from Šabac, Sarajevo (*Srpska narodna glasba i pjevačka kapela Vaso Stanković-Andolija iz Šabca, Sarajevo*), whereas in the Bosnian catalogue of 1912-1913 the group was called Instrumental and Vocal Group of

Vaso Stanković-Andolija from Šabac, Sarajevo (Glasbena i pjevačka kapela Vaso Stanković-Andolija iz Šabca, Sarajevo). In the 1912-1913 Serbian catalogue the group retained its earlier name. Such localised marketing was not totally uncommon. For example, in the Croatian catalogue of August 1909, the Serbian opera singer Dušan Mitrović is introduced as simply working in Zagreb, whereas in the corresponding Serbian catalogue he is described as “Dušan Mitrović, opera singer in Zagreb, Belgrade.”

Stanković-Andolija's ensemble recorded 27 (5726L-5739L, 5760L-5765, 5768L-5773L) sides plus two (5766L and 5767L) untraceable sides in two separate sessions. The repertoire consists of urban songs from Serbia, Vojvodina, Banat, Vranje, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The recording line-up must have consisted of at least several violins, one or more *tamburitzas*, and possibly a double-bass. *Tamburitza* accompaniment is specifically mentioned in one title (*Što god ima iz potiše sela*, 5773L). The musicians are probably the same as those listed in the music licence of 19 April 1907: Andolija accompanied by Marinko, Mitro, Joco, Radojić, Milan, Stanoje, Nikola and Stojko Stanković, and Ilija Stanojević (ABH, ZVS: 22/96/2-1907). Vaso Stanković-Andolija's recordings were included in two national record catalogues. The titles are printed in the Latin alphabet in the 1909 Bosnian catalogue, while in the Serbian catalogue they are in Cyrillic.

Juso and Zajko Besić

The *zurna* (pl. *zurne*) players Juso and Zajko Besić and an unknown player of *bubanj* (cylindrical double-headed drum) recorded sixteen sides of 17.5 cm (7-inch) discs (2890k-2905k) and four sides of 25.5 cm (10-inch) discs (5740L-5743L). The Besićs do not appear in the licence files. These recordings are the first unique audio documents of a tradition, which was to be marginalised by both the record industry and folk music scholars after the First World War. Due to its archaic nature, *zurna* music was apparently not seen as an easily marketed genre. Folk music scholars, on the other hand, ignored *zurna* music because it was almost exclusively a domain of Gypsy professional musicians. For scholars, such music was not national.

Many of the *zurna* tunes from 1907 are instrumental versions of wedding and *sevdalinka* songs, which were played

at weddings and during the *Ramazan* fasting month and other Islamic holidays (see Hangi 1907: 28, 30). In addition, there are some Vojvodinian, Serbian and Croatian songs – and even the hugely popular Croatian urban song *Oj jesenske duge noći* set to a poem by Ivan Trnski (1819-1910)¹³ – which mark the modernisation of the *zurna* repertoire. Felix Hoerbuerger (1967: 73) observed a similar phenomenon in Greek Macedonia in the 1960s, when Gypsy *zurna* players performed “modern ballroom dances” such as *Let’s Kiss* by the Finnish composer Rauno Lehtinen. Hoerbuerger found the adjustment of the *zurna* repertoire to fit the needs of the changing rural culture “strange” and “unnatural.”

Salih Kahrmanović

The *saz* (long-necked lute) and *tambura* player and singer Salih Kahrmanović (or Karamanović) from Sarajevo was already performing professionally by 1899. From 1898 to 1900 (at the least) he owned a Bosnian café in Džeka ulica in Sarajevo (*Bosnischer Bote* 1899: 206). In March 1900 he applied for the first time for a music licence for performing alone with the *tambura*, probably at his café (ABH, ZVS: 48/217-1900). Usually he worked as a regular member of various groups, such as those lead by Nazif Ramić from Dolnja Tuzla. Some of these groups toured in Zenica and Maglaj (ABH, ZVS: 48/67/2-1899, 48/349/1-1900). Strangely enough, no documents mentioning his activities after 1906 have been found.

In 1907 Kahrmanović recorded six sides (5744L-5749L) of Bosnian and Turkish songs to his own *saz* accompaniment. Of the Turkish titles, *Kale den kale* could be *Kaleden kaleye şahin uçurdum*, a well-known henna night song from the Anatolian Aegean coast, and *Telegrafçı tel tel olmuş*, possibly a variant of an Istanbul urban song.

Miralem Razvalić and Mehmed Malbašić

The Muslim Gypsy Miralem Razvalić came to Bosnia-Herzegovina from Šabac in 1884 and stayed there at least till 1914. His son Muharem was born in Sarajevo in 1901 and was already a professional musician by the age of twelve. The family lived in Magribija ulica in the modern Marijin dvor quarter of Sarajevo (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/97-1913, 21/1-1914). Razvalić played in Mehmed Nunjetović’s group in 1898 with,

13.

The song was also recorded by two other groups in the 1907 Sarajevo sessions, which denotes exceptional popularity.

for example, Bećo Arapović and Nazif Memišević (ABH, ZVS: 48-226/1-1899). From the next year till 1914 he always acted as a leader of his own group (e.g. ABH, ZVS: 22/123/1/2-1905, 21-21/97-1913). Razvalić and his groups often toured outside Sarajevo, for instance in Ilidža, Višegrad, and Foča. In May 1907, Razvalić worked with a group consisting of Huso Telalović, Hašim Mutapčić, Ramazan Begović, but he formed a new line-up of Huso Telalović, Meho Malbašić, Salih Pervez and Suljo Pašić, with whom he performed from early June (ABH, ZVS: 22/224/1-1907).

Razvalić's partner in the ten recorded sides (5750L-5759L) was Mehmed (Meho) Malbašić (or Mahalbašić) from Travnik, a member of the new band. He was Razvalić's long-time associate and he tended to work as a regular member of a group led by someone else. Both Razvalić and Malbašić occasionally had trouble with the police, mainly because of nightly disturbances of the peace, which was not uncommon among professional folk musicians in Sarajevo (ABH, ZVS: 18/49/1-1904). Malbašić died in December 1910 (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/1-1910).

Razvalić and Malbašić recorded Bosnian songs, two Bosnian *kolo* instrumental dance tunes and another version of the late Ottoman popular song *Behar-oldu*. In addition, they waxed two songs, one from Vojvodina and one from Srem. In *Behar-oldu*, which was available to this study, two male voices, a violin and a *tambura* can be heard. Since the record catalogue mentions three instruments, i.e. *saz*, violin, and *tambura*, either musician of the duo must have alternated between the two lutes and/or the violin on the recordings.

La Gloria

The twelve sides (5774L-5785L) by the Jewish Tamburitza and Support Society La Gloria of Sarajevo are among the most interesting recordings in the 1907 sessions. The society was officially registered on 5 March 1907.¹⁴ The rules specify the goals of the society as cherishing music and the general cultural development of Sarajevo's Jewish middle-class, and supporting Jewish girls of poor families financially in their wedding arrangements and dowries (ABH, ZVS: 19/140/12-1907).

As Bosnian Jews were mostly Sephardim, seven of these sides are Bosnian Sephardic folk songs in Ladino – yet an-

14.

According to Vidaković (1986: 49), La Gloria was founded in 1898, whereas Pinto (1987: 148) gives the year 1903.

other rare early documentation of a lost tradition. The rest of the recordings include *Himna de Zion* (*Hatikvah*), and Bosnian as well as Serbian songs. La Gloria's discs are among the earliest recordings of *tamburitza* groups, a genre developed in the nineteenth century mainly in Croatia-Slavonia, Vojvodina and Serbia. The long-necked *tamburitza* lutes, of various sizes, were modelled after Western violin and mandolin families, and *tamburitza* orchestras tended to use Western-style multipart arrangements.

The first leader of the orchestra and choir of La Gloria was the Sarajevo professional musician Ivan Katić (*Srpska riječ*, 29 May 1907).¹⁵ Katić seems to be the only Catholic South Slav in the Sarajevo recordings. Besides Katić, it is not known who played in the orchestra, but the female vocalists S. Sason, S. Papo and E. Kampos are mentioned in the registers of recordings. They probably sang in the four female quartet recordings of La Gloria as well. S. Papo who recorded one duet with Estera Kampos, may have been Sida Papo, who played the piano in the Spanish-Jewish Singing Society La Lira (*Španjolsko-izraelističko pjevačko društvo* "La Lira"). Estera Kampos (later Kampos-Alkalaj) was a singer in the same choir (Polomik 1997: 52). Estera Kampos-Alkalaj may well be the person included in the list of Holocaust victims as Ester Alkalaj, who was born in 1879 in Bijelina, north-east Bosnia-Herzegovina and killed at the Đakovo concentration camp in Slavonia during the Second World War (Yad Vashem).

Dikija Ferhatović and Dilfa Becić

Judging by their names, the female singers Dikija Ferhatović and Dilfa Becić may have been Muslim Slavs. Nothing is known of them, and they are not mentioned in the licence documents. However, according to the daily police report, Dikija Ferhatović of Sarajevo was arrested on 12 October 1903 and fined on 22 November 1905 for begging in the street (ABH, ZVS: 18-49/1-1904, 18-11/2-1906). We can conclude that she was not a professional musician nor well-off. Ferhatović and Becić recorded ten sides (5786L-5795L) to the accompaniment of an anonymous musician on the *saz*. Two of the matrices are not traceable. These recordings of Bosnian, Vojvodinian and Vranjean songs are unique, since it has been rare for women in Bosnia-Herzegovina to sing to *saz* accompaniment.

15.

In his first licence application, Katić mentions that he and his son Milan were from Split (Spalato) in Dalmatia (ABH, ZVS: 22/219-1905).

The 1908 Expedition to Bosnia-Herzegovina

The Gramophone Company did not regard the 240 sides recorded by Franz Hampe as a sufficient repertoire for the Bosnian market. More recordings were needed, so in 1908 Max Hampe was sent to make further recordings. The Bosnian recording expedition of 1908 was part of a longer tour, which proceeded – according to the registers of recordings – as follows: Budapest, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Mostar, Sarajevo, Ljubljana, Škodër and Montenegro (Perkins et al. 1976: 83-4).

The date of Max Hampe's arrival in Sarajevo can be determined through the contemporary press. According to the list of hotel guests, engineer M. Hampe from Berlin arrived at the Hotel Europe on 3 April (*Bosnische Post*, 5 April 1908). However, the recording licence application suggests that Hampe's expedition was already in Sarajevo on 2 April (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/116-1908). The newspaper list also mentions Friedrich Konrád from Budapest with his wife. Since Konrád signed the recording application as an agent of DGAG, he certainly was an employee of the Budapest branch of the Gramophone Company, and he accompanied Hampe on this expedition (see below). As the register of the Provincial Government carries an undated reference to the arrival of Hampe's recording equipment, Hampe and Konrád may have arrived in Sarajevo earlier than the equipment (ABH, RDL 1908: s.v. Hampe).

Besides recordings, the expedition also dealt with marketing. It was probably Konrád who ordered a large-scale advertising campaign for Bosnian and Turkish discs in the *Bosnische Post* lasting from 6 April to mid-June. Records could be ordered exclusively from the Budapest office of the Gramophone Company. As customary, gratis record catalogues would be sent postage free. The advertisement also mentions that the firm was looking for distributors for its products (see Fig. 4).

After arriving in Sarajevo and taking up lodgings at the Hotel Europe, Hampe probably busied himself looking for musicians to record, and it was therefore Friedrich Konrád who applied for a licence for two weeks of recording. Referring to the licence issued for the 1907 recording expedition, Konrád did this on 2 April. Some formal aspects of the application, signed at the Hotel Europe, are unusual. The letter

Einzig dastehend
sind unsere

**200 Stück bosnische, 600 Stück türkische
Zonophon-Neu-Aufnahmen in doppelseitigen Platten.**

Preise: Kleine Platten K 2. Preise: Konzert-Platten K 4.

Ausschliesslich zu beziehen durch
The Gramophon Comp. Ltd.
BUDAPEST,
Kossuth Lajos utca 8.

Kataloge gratis und franko. _____
_____ Wiederverkäufer gesucht.

Fig. 4: Newspaper advertisement by the Gramophone Company advertising "our unique new 200 Bosnian and 600 Turkish Zonophone recordings on two-sided discs" (Bosnische Post, 6. April 1908).

seems to be written by a person who was not a native speaker of German. The licence, valid from 6 April, was granted for four weeks – much longer than Konrád requested (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/116-1908). Had the expedition planned to record some one hundred sides, the original two weeks would have been more than sufficient for the task.

There is an interesting detail in the procedure of the 1908 Bosnian expedition. According to the register of recordings, Hampe first recorded fourteen sides in Sarajevo, then travelled to Mostar for 23 sides and returned to Sarajevo to make further recordings. However, this looks improbable for two reasons. The recording licence was granted exclusively for Sarajevo, and a recording trip to Mostar from Sarajevo for only 23 sides would have contravened company economic policy.

Let us have a closer look at these two considerations. Since the recording licence was granted exclusively for Sarajevo, Hampe would have needed another licence for

Mostar, at least in theory. Also, staying in Sarajevo would have met the requirements of the Gramophone Company expedition policy. In the early years, recording engineers received several reminders from Head Office in London that it was always cheaper to bring the artists to the studio than to take the recording apparatus to new locations (Alan Kelly: personal communication 2003).

Given this, the recording registers cast doubt on Hampe's supposed excursion to Mostar. Nazif Memišević's group from Sarajevo opened the Sarajevo sessions with 13 sides (4386r-4398r). After this Mehmed Tahirović, a member of the group (ABH, ZVS: 21/149/1-1908), recorded one song (4399r) on a violin with *tambura* accompaniment. The following 26 sides, of which four are untraceable, were recorded by musicians from Mostar. Mehmed Tahirović continued with four sides (4426r-4429r) utilising a similar accompaniment as earlier. Thus, rather than travelling to Mostar, Hampe is more likely to have recorded Mostar musicians visiting Sarajevo. It seems probable that Memišević had to split his session into two because of the arrival of the Mostar group and that Mostar, the home town of the musicians, ended up in the register and on the record label. The location connected with each Gramophone Company artist was in fact the location of his/her activities (Alan Kelly: personal communication 2005).

In Sarajevo, we can find two dated entries on Hampe in the register of the Provincial Government. On 25 April 1908 he was called to pay a visit to the Main Customs Office – possibly to collect additional wax blanks sent from Hanover. After this the expedition headed for the south. According to the list of hotel guests published in *Glas Crnogora* on 3 May, Hampe and Konrád stayed at the Grand Hotel in Cetinje from 27 April to 3 May. The next known trace of Hampe is from 15 May 1908 when his departure from Sarajevo was registered in the files (ABH, RDL).

The Sessions and the Repertoire

Where did Max Hampe find musicians for the Sarajevo sessions? He certainly consulted local experts and possibly visited cafés and restaurants where music was performed in order to check out the quality of musicians and make contracts with them. Apparently Hampe went to Café Abbazia where he heard a Gypsy band performing under the direction

of the celebrated violinist Stanoje V. Todorović (ABH, ZVS: 22/1-1907). Hampe was satisfied with Todorović's playing and singing and decided to record him.

The sessions were probably recorded in the same place as mentioned in the 1907 licence application (ABH, ZVS: 22/78-1907), i.e. either at the hall of the Club-house or at the Hotel Europe. All the 105 wax masters recorded in the sessions were for 25.5 cm (10-inch) discs with a maximum capacity of about three minutes. Seven matrices are not traceable; they were rejected, either by Hampe on the spot, or later in the record plant of DGAG in Hanover, where the recordings were processed and released on Zonophone (see Fig. 5). Some titles had already appeared by October 1908 in the monthly supplement to the Gramophone catalogue. All the titles resulting from the expedition were included in the Gramophone Bosnian catalogue of August 1909.

The repertoire of 1908 is very similar to that of 1907. The most important difference is the lack of Ottoman marches and *zurna* music. As early recordings were made largely in order to persuade new customers to obtain a gramophone, it is safe to assume that the repertoire mostly consisted of pieces popular at that time. The songs *Anica ovce čuvala* and *Hadžina Fata izade na vrata* were recorded twice by two different artists in 1908, which denotes marked popularity. Several other titles

from the 1908 sessions, such as *Čupava, garava, otvori mi vrata, Odakle si sele*



Fig. 5: The label of Sirotica Mara sung by Ahmed Bačić from the 1908 DGAG recording sessions in Sarajevo (mat. 4400r; cat. Zonophone Record X 2-102821) (The collection of Ismet Huseinović).

and *Zaplakala stara majka Džafer Begova*, had already been recorded at least once in 1907. Usually such frequently appearing titles were waxed also in Belgrade and Vojvodina. However, since most of the recordings are currently unavailable, it is impossible to say if similar titles actually denote the same melody with the same lyrics three times in 1907 and once in 1908.

The Musicians

Nazif Memišević and Mehmed Tahirović

Nazif Memišević's group was the only one which participated in recording sessions both in 1907 (24 sides) and 1908 (12 sides plus one untraceable, 4386r-4398r). On the latter occasion, Memišević probably recorded with the Muslim Gypsy musicians Hasan Pidžo, Mehmed Tahirović, Mehmed Toporan, and the Sephardic Jew Rafael Atias (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/149/1-1908). The line-up is almost identical to that of the 1907 sessions; only Rafael's brother Avram is missing. The 1908 recording by Memišević's group consists of *sevdalinke*, and some songs from Serbia, Vranje, and Vojvodina.

Mehmed (Meho) Tahirović belonged to a Gypsy of musicians from Gorica. The earliest music licence mentioning him is from 1900. Probably a *tambura* player, he worked, usually with his relative Tahir Tahirović, as a regular member of various groups and recorded under the direction of Nazif Memišević in 1907 and 1908 (ABH, ZVS: 48/274/2-1900; 21/21/124-1910). He also performed as the lead vocalist with violin and *tambura* accompaniment in three sessions in 1908. Eight sides were recorded under his name (4399r, 4426r-4429r, 4464r-4466r) and one – *Anica ovce čuvala* (4398r) – where he is cited as the vocal soloist with Memišević's group.

The Mostar Quartet

Information is scarce about the Mostar musicians Ahmed Baić (or Bajić), Mustafa Baić, Velija Ombašić, and Avdo Mehić, who recorded 22 released sides in 1908. According to music licences, the violinist Avdija (Avdo) Mehić started his professional career as a side-man in his native Mostar in 1907. In 1911 and 1912 he worked in Sarajevo, and in 1913 he led a group in Mostar (ABH, ZVS: 22/125/1-1907, 21-21/79-1912,

21/21/14-1913). In 1913 Matija Murko (1915: 18) recorded two songs performed by Mehić in Mostar during his field trip to Herzegovina. In the 1908 sessions, all members of the quartet except Mehić made solo vocal recordings, apparently to the violin accompaniment of Mehić. The quartet also made four sides as a group. It is noteworthy that four out of the total seven untraceable sides of the 1908 sessions were by the Mostar musicians. As expected, these musicians recorded a considerable number of *sevdalinke* and other urban and wedding songs from Mostar, and Herzegovinian rural songs, as well as songs from Vojvodina, Sandžak of Novi Pazar (*Svukud kiša, svukud blato*) and Serbia.

Nazif Ramić

The documented professional career of Nazif Ramić (born 1863) starts as early as 1899. That year he led a band consisting of Muslim Gypsies from Sarajevo and his home town Dolnja Tuzla. The band worked in Dolnja Tuzla, Zenica, and Maglaj. In 1900 Ramić moved to Tepebašina ulica in Gorica in Sarajevo, which implies that he too was a Gypsy. Throughout the years Ramić worked as a band member with such musicians as Mustafa Sudžuka and Salih Kahrmanović, who both made recordings in 1907 (ABH, ZVS: 48/289-1899, 48/349/1-1900).

In early May 1908 Ramić's own band, which played at the Café Perzijanac in Sarajevo, consisted of the Dolnja Tuzla musicians Huso Murtić, Ibro Murtić, Hasan Mustafić and Mujica Hamzić (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/182-1908). It probably was this line-up which recorded the ten sides (4430r-4439r) of *sevdalinke*, the harvest song *Žetelački*, and the Turkish song *Iz Stambula prema Galati* sung in Bosnian. The following year Ramić was still working in Sarajevo, though no longer as a band leader. In 1910 he worked in Bosanski Šamac and from 1911 in Derventa as a regular member of a band (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/68-1910, 21/21/248-1912).

Sida Musafija

The Sarajevo Sephardic musician Sida Musafija (Moritz) was one of the few Bosnian professional female non-classical musicians of the pre First World War period. She may have been related to the Sarajevo professional musician Jakob Musafija, of whom no details are available (Pinto 1987: 70).

Possibly Sida Musafija started playing the *tamburitza* in the orchestra of La Gloria under Ivan Katić in 1907. However, the first music licence mentioning Musafija is from late 1909 when she was singing and playing with Ivan Katić's ensemble at the Hotel Gerstl in Foča (ABH, ZVS: 21/21/73-1910). Musafija went on working with Katić's band at least till 1914 (ABH, ZVS: 21/128-1914). In the 1908 sessions she recorded twelve sides (4440r-4451r) to a violin accompaniment. Her repertoire consists of Bosnian songs, a song from Sandžak of Novi Pazar, and Sephardic songs sung in Ladino, such as *Amor a ti te tengo*.

Stanoje Todorović

The exact identity of the Gypsy violinist Stanoje Todorović poses a problem since there were two bandleaders of that name, both from the village of Maove, Šabac district, in Sarajevo in 1908. These musicians must have been cousins. One of them was Stanoje V. Todorović who came to Sarajevo in 1881. In late 1906 his Gypsy ensemble performed at the Café Lloyd (later Abbazia). Stanoje V. Todorović's son Stanoje S. Todorović, who was born in Sarajevo, took the position of bandleader after his father's death in 1912 or 1913 (ABH, ZVS: 22/1/2-1907, 21/1-1914). The other violinist was Stanoje K. Todorović. He came to Bosnia-Herzegovina in the early 1880s and was still living in Sarajevo after the outbreak of the Great War (ABH, ZVS: 21-21/154-1914, 21/1-1914). Archival documents or the contemporary press do not shed any light on the problem of which of these two musicians made the 1908 Stanoje Todorović recordings.

During the three sessions Stanoje Todorović recorded a total of 18 sides with violin accompaniment (4452r-4463r, 4485" r-4490r), one of which is not traceable. His repertoire consists of *sevdalinke* and Serbian songs. Judging from the matrix number, one of the songs, i.e. *Bolovanje Brankovo* (4485" r), was recorded twice. Todorović probably thought that he could improve the performance and made another take. However, it was the first take which was released. Todorović was the only musician in the Sarajevo sessions who recorded a long performance lasting two sides, i.e. *Što je sveta na sve četiri strane*. In the 1909 Bosnian catalogue, Todorović's titles are written both in Latin and Cyrillic script, while in the Serbian catalogue, they are exclusively in Cyrillic.

Jelena and Anka Tumac

The other two women recorded in 1908 alongside Sida Musafija were the singers Jelena and Anka Tumac, who cut nine sides (4467r-4475r) of Bosnian and Serbian songs with an anonymous violinist. To judge by their names they were either Orthodox Christian Gypsies or Orthodox Christian Slavs. They do not appear in the extant music licences of the Provincial Government, which may indicate that they were not professional musicians. In their repertoire, there is the song *Srpkinja* by the Novi Sad composer Isidor Bajić (1878-1915) whose songs from *singspiels* spread rapidly among the Slavic-speaking urban population of neighbouring areas.

Sirri Effendija Abdagić or Sirija Abdagić

He is another musician whose name cannot be found among the music licences of the Provincial Government. Was he a private bard for the wealthy *begs* and *agas*, scions of the old Bosnian Muslim nobility? *Effendija* (Turk. *efendi*) in this case refers to a literate person, or means simply “Mister.”¹⁶ Abdagić was apparently the only male Muslim Slav who recorded in the DGAG sessions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Abdagić made eight sides (4477r-4484r) to a violin accompaniment. His repertoire is quite unusual as it contains the Turkish-language song *Gel beyim gel*, and the dance tune *Kozak* of Ukrainian origin.¹⁷

Abdagić is a somewhat mysterious figure in the history of Bosnian music of the Austro-Hungarian era. According to the newspaper advertisement campaign by Avram M. Altarac from Dolnja Tuzla, the Bosnian distributor for the German label Lyrophon, Sirija Abdagić did not record exclusively for DGAG. Recordings by “the celebrated singer Siri” – *Čikti ferman, Vino piju age Sarajlije, Već i Turska ustav ima* among them – were available on Lyrophon records (*Srpska riječ*, 18 February 1909). It is highly probable that Siri was Sirija Abdagić.

Recording and Marketing Policy

It is quite clear that before the First World War, the Gramophone Company had a special recording and marketing policy for the South Slavic lands of Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Vojvodina possi-

16.

The one example in this material of a musician invoking the title of *effendija* when applying for a licence, is that of Ibrahim Muškić (Sarajevo, 1907), when applying on behalf of Mehmed effendija Jabučar and himself (ABH, ZVS: 22/182/1-1907).

17.

This piece may have its origins among the Ukrainian colonists from Habsburg Galicia who lived especially in the area around Banja Luka (see Džaja 1994: 64).

bly included. Not all sorts of music were economical or even possible to produce locally. Due to linguistic and musical similarities, some musical genres could be easily marketed across the borders. This phenomenon was strengthened by ethnic minorities. There were Catholic South Slavs living in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and some of them identified themselves as Croats, whereas Orthodox Christians living in Southern Hungary, Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sandžak and Montenegro could identify themselves as Serbs. In addition, recordings of Western classical music were imported from Central Europe as well as – Bosnia-Herzegovina notwithstanding – made locally. Discs of German-language popular music were practically always imported to the area rather than recorded there.

There were considerable differences between South Slavic national record catalogues. Recording expeditions of the Gramophone Company visited Belgrade and Zagreb relatively frequently from as early a date as 1900 and 1902, respectively (Perkins et al. 1976: 71-89). In addition, Orthodox South Slavic musicians in particular also made recordings in Budapest and Vojvodina, the southern part of Hungary with a sizeable Orthodox Slavic population. This means that before the First World War, there were more native gramophone owners in Croatia-Slavonia and Serbia than in Bosnia-Herzegovina, resulting in larger markets and more extensive catalogues of locally recorded discs than in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

	Zagreb	Belgrade	Sarajevo
Trained singers and choirs	X	X	(X)
Military bands	X	X	—
<i>Tamburitza</i> groups	X	X	X
Western classical music	X	X	—
Operetta music	X	X	—
Comic songs and stories	X	X	—
Military music	X	X	(X)
Religious music	X	X	—
Urban popular songs	X	X	X
Folk music in folkloristic style	X	X	(X)
Folk music in popular style	—	X	X
Croatian songs	X	—	(X)
Serbian songs	X	X	X
Bosnian songs	(X)	X	X
Jewish songs	—	—	X
Ottoman music	—	(X)	X
Gypsy musicians	—	(X)	X

Table 1: Some performance formations and musical genres in relation to their occurrence in the Gramophone Company recordings made in Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sarajevo before the First World War. The sign – stands for no recordings at all, (X) some, and X plenty of them.

As shown in Table 1, recordings in Zagreb and Belgrade were often made by classically trained performers and institutionally organised groups, such as singing societies, military bands, and *tamburitza* orchestras, while in Sarajevo the only musicians with some training in Western classical music belonged to the Jewish Tamburitza and Support Society La Gloria. The Sarajevo sessions concentrated on non-classical local, Ottoman, Serbian, Vojvodinian and Vranjean rural and urban non-religious music. Very few Croatian songs were recorded. Professional performers and potential customers of Western classical music were relatively few in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the demand for such recordings was supplied by recordings from Central Europe, Zagreb, and Belgrade, which all had opera houses and national theatres with professional staff. The lack of established cabaret and revue traditions in Bosnia-Herzegovina explains why no comic songs and stories were recorded in Sarajevo.

For several reasons, brass band music was common and popular in Europe in the early 1900s. Wind instruments were ideal for open-air concerts at parks, spas, and summer restaurants and cafés. Military bands performed very commonly in such contexts. Outside the centres of Western music, where local symphony orchestras did not exist, military bands were often the only formation capable of performing Western classical and salon music (Jalkanen and Kurkela 2003: 208). The fact that wind instruments were ideal for acoustic recording technology further emphasised the role of military bands in the early years of the record industry (cf. Gaisberg 1947: 80). In the areas neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina, recordings for the Gramophone Company were made by military orchestras such as: Vojnička glazba 25. kraljevske domobranske pukovnije (Military Band of the 25th Royal Home Guard Regiment) and Vojnička glazba c. i k. 53. pukovine (Military Band of the 53rd Royal and Imperial Regiment) in Zagreb, Muzika kraljeve garde (Band of the Royal Guard) in Belgrade, and Crnogorska vojnička glazba (Montenegrin Military Band) in Cetinje. In Sarajevo no such recordings were made, although it would have been easy due to the large garrisons in Sarajevo and Mostar with their military bands. Apparently the Gramophone Company calculated that military and brass orchestra repertoire could be supplied from outside Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, almost all recorded marches were Ottoman and none of them played by a brass band.

Another striking feature of the Sarajevo sessions is the total lack of religious music. In Zagreb and Belgrade, some pieces of Catholic and Orthodox Church music were recorded, as well as Christmas songs. The case was very different in Sarajevo, where not even Islamic pieces or Koran recitations were recorded – possibly due to the conservatism of Bosnian *ulema*. By comparison, Egyptian *ulema* were not against talking machines. Shaykh Mohamed El Chanu (mat. 3640h-3643h) and Shaykh Mohamed Selim recorded Koran recitations (mat. 9233” b-9240b) in Cairo in 1905 and 1906 respectively (Kelly 2002, 2003).

With some exceptions, folk songs in Zagreb and Belgrade were recorded by opera singers, singing societies or other performers with at least some training in Western classical music. The performance aesthetics and musical arrangements tended to follow the rules of Western music. In Croatia-Slavonia and Serbia, recorded folk music was largely folklorism for the educated classes. In Sarajevo, folk music recordings corresponded more to popular aesthetics. The only exception was La Gloria, which represented the kind of folklorism, as just defined.

The amount of Serbian folk music in the repertoires is marked. Croatian folk and urban songs were recorded almost exclusively in the Croatian catalogue, whereas Serbian songs were recorded both inside and outside the borders of Serbia and marketed in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia-Slavonia. In the last case, the performers were members of the Serbian Children’s Tamburitza Orchestra in Zagreb.

National catalogues usually reflect the cultural position of each marketing area. We can see that pieces of Ottoman music were recorded relatively frequently in Sarajevo and in rare cases in Belgrade, whereas not at all in Zagreb. Similarly, the record-buying public in Croatia-Slavonia was not expected to have a particular interest in “Oriental” *sevdalinke*, which formed a major genre in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Folkloristic versions of them were recorded in Belgrade.

The outstanding characteristic of the Sarajevo sessions is the presence of local Jewish songs and musicians. This is due to the relatively marked presence of Sephardic Jews in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in Sarajevo, before the First World War. Other national catalogues of this study do not contain any Jewish music. Similar reasons contributed to the inclusion of some Slovakian songs into the 1912-1913 Croatian

catalogue. Records were imported for the Slovakian immigrant market in Croatia-Slavonia.

The extent to which Gypsy musicians are present varies greatly among the three catalogues. In the Bosnian catalogue, Gypsies form the majority among the musicians, and there are also some in the Serbian catalogue. It seems that the only Gypsy performers in the Croatian catalogues were the musicians in the band of the violin virtuoso and singer Stevan Bačić Trnda (1870-1935) from Sombor, Vojvodina. Trnda's band recorded extensively between 1911 and 1913 in Sombor, Belgrade, Budapest and Novi Sad. Trnda's records were listed in the Serbian catalogue as well. His output increased the number of Vojvodinian, Serbian and Bosnian songs in both catalogues. Two performers from the Sarajevo sessions were included in the Serbian catalogue as well: Vaso Stanković-Andolija and Stanoje Todorović. These musicians were Gypsies from Podrinje, as was the group Kapela Cicvarića, which recorded in 1909 in Belgrade.

Having said all this, we should remember that the archive copies of the national catalogues are stitched together and provided with a common cover. This seems to imply that it may have been possible to order any of the recordings in the catalogues from any of the three areas discussed.

The Market Life of the Recordings

Due to the unavailability of Gramophone sales figures for the 1907 and 1908 Bosnian recordings, we do not know how many copies of the records were sold, but quite a few titles were kept in print until acoustically recorded discs were superseded by electrical recordings. The sales figures are exclusively known in cases where an artist had a royalty contract with the company. Such artists were very few and mostly they were opera stars such as Enrico Caruso (Martland 1992: 398). Some Bosnian records certainly sold better than others: since the output of Vaso Stanković-Andolija and Stanoje Todorović was listed both in Bosnian and Serbian catalogues, they could reach higher sales figures than other recordings from the Sarajevo sessions, which were, to the best of my knowledge, marketed exclusively in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Although nearly all masters from the 1907 and 1908 sessions were used for manufacturing discs, some of the products had a short market life, which in the case of popular

records was normally about two years, or even less. This led to a constant decrease in the Bosnian repertoire on record before the First World War. By 1927 the total of 242 released sides had finally shrunk to only 110. We should consider that the goal of the recording business is to gain profit, and records which do not sell well enough are likely to be discarded. This may have been the main reason why the Bosnian catalogue became thinner. Another explanation, suggested by Alan Kelly, is that perhaps at least some of the records did not sell many copies and most of their pressings were simply left in stock (Alan Kelly: personal communication 2005). Table 2 shows the number of sides pressed from the 1907 and 1908 Sarajevo recording sessions and their presence in Bosnian record catalogues available for this study.

Another reason for the diminished availability of Gramophone Bosnian records may have been competition from the Odeon, Jumbo, Jumbola, Lyrophon, and Metafon labels which had their own Bosnian catalogues. However, no known sources shed light on the problem of how long Bosnian records by competing companies were available on the market.

It is easy to explain why 17.5 cm (7 inch) *zurna* records by Juso and Zajko Besić were included in the Bosnian catalogue of February 1908 but no longer in the large August

	Released sides	Feb. 1908	Aug. 1909	1912–13	1927
Kapela Nazif Memišević (1907, 1908)	36	24	36	36	36
Mustafa Sudžuka i Merkuš (1907)	30	30	30	—	—
Rizvan Kardović, gusle (1907)	10	10	—	—	—
Kapela Vaso Stanković-Andolija (1907)	26	26	24	24	22
Juso i Zajko Besić, zurne (17.5 cm; 1907)	16	16	—	—	—
Juso i Zajko Besić, zurne (25.5 cm; 1907)	4	4	4	4	—
Salih Kahrmanović (1907)	6	6	6	6	6
M. Razvalić i M. Malbašić (1907)	10	10	10	10	10
La Gloria (1907)	12	12	12	—	—
Dikija Ferhatović i Dilfa Becić (1907)	8	8	—	—	—
Mehmed Tahirović (1908)	8	—	8	8	—
Ahmed Baić, Mostar (1908)	10	—	10	—	—
Velija Ombašić, Mostar (1908)	6	—	6	—	—
Mustafa Baić, Mostar (1908)	2	—	2	2	—
Mostarski pjevački Quartett (1908)	4	—	4	4	—
Kapela Nazif Ramić (1908)	10	—	10	10	10
Sida Musafija (1908)	12	—	12	12	—
Stanoje Todorović (1908)	17	—	17	17	10
Jelena i Anka Tumac (1908)	9	—	9	9	8
Sirri Effendija Abdagić (1908)	8	—	8	8	8
	242	146	208	150	110

Table 2: The amount of pressed sides from the 1907 and 1908 Sarajevo sessions and their presence in Gramophone record catalogues available for this study.

1909 catalogue: small discs were rapidly disappearing from the market.¹⁸ By contrast, the four 25.5 cm (10-inch) sides by the Besićs remained on sale in the 1912-1913 catalogue.

The case of Rizvan Kardović's epic recordings, which only appear in the February 1908 catalogue, is simple. Epic songs accompanied on the *gusle* were not attractive to the record-buying urban public. The educated classes considered them interesting and beautiful folk poetry – which was read in books rather than listened to as songs. Having said that, we should not ignore the value of epic singers as symbols of romantic nationalism. They did occasionally perform for the elite at evening entertainments especially in Serb cultural societies. It is more difficult explain why discs by Dikija Ferhatović and Dilfa Becić appear only in the February 1908 catalogue. At the moment we cannot say anything definite about their case. The possible low technical quality of the recordings may be one explanation.

Most Sephardic recordings were not marketed for a long time: Those by Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš, and La Gloria were included in the catalogues of February 1908 and August 1909, but no longer in the 1912-1913 catalogue. The only Sephardic musician whose discs had a long market life was Sida Musafija. Her twelve sides, including four in Ladino, were still listed in the 1912-1913 catalogue.

What would be the reasons for this? According to the 1910 census, the Jewish population of Bosnia-Herzegovina was comprised of some 12,000 persons, roughly half of them living in Sarajevo and the rest mostly in other towns. The population was, however, divided by origin, language, professions and wealth. The Sephardim – the great majority – by and large spoke Ladino as their first language and they were often artisans and petty traders. The Ashkenazim were newcomers from other parts of Austria-Hungary, who spoke Yiddish, German or Hungarian as their first language and were economically more advanced (Freidenreich 1979: 16-9). Because few Sephardim could afford a gramophone and the Ashkenazim were not interested in songs in Ladino, the market for Ladino-language discs was apparently too small for an extensive catalogue. The weakest sellers had to be discarded.

The 1927 Gramophone Company catalogue of Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian double-sided discs was – despite the title – the last national catalogue based on the pre-First World War national divisions and included a separate Bosnian na-

18.

However, the Zonophone Serbian catalogue of August 1909 still contained fifteen 17.5 cm discs which were recorded in 1903 or 1904.

tional catalogue. Basically, the 1927 catalogue was a reduced reprint of the 1912-1913 Gramophone Company catalogue of Croatian, Bosnian, Serbian and Montenegrin discs. The 1927 edition was the last Gramophone Company catalogue with exclusively acoustic recordings. In the mid-1920s, the record industry adopted the new technology of electrical recording. Instead of the acoustic method which used the recording horn, recordings were now made with the aid of the microphone. The electric era had also already begun in the record industry of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians.

Conclusion

We will probably never know what happened to our professional folk musicians in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, because the new bureaucratic system built up in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians was a far cry from its effective and very detailed Habsburg equivalent. There seems to be little hope of finding photographs or living relatives of the 1907 and 1908 recording artists. Most Bosnian Sephardic Jews and apparently many Gypsies were killed during the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia in the Second World War. Furthermore, it has been proven that locating possible relatives can be difficult due to the particular life style of the Gypsies in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

None of the musicians who figure in the pre-First World War Bosnian catalogue recorded commercially during the electrical era. In the course of the 1920s, the style of recorded *sevdalinka* became more Westernised in terms of singing style, harmonisation and instrumentation, and the older style became increasingly unfashionable. However, until the advent of electrical recordings of Bosnian music, the Gramophone Company Bosnian catalogue consisted exclusively of material from the 1907 and 1908 Sarajevo sessions. The long availability of many of the 1907 and 1908 recordings indicates either that at least some of them sold well and there was no need to update the Bosnian catalogue, or that the Gramophone Company was unable to conduct recording activity in Bosnia-Herzegovina due to the Great War and its aftermath.

The pre-First World War commercial Bosnian recordings were practically forgotten after the end of their market life and it is only recently that their existence has come to light again both in Bosnia-Herzegovina and elsewhere. Since com-

mercial records were not considered worth collecting in public archives, early and even later commercial folk music recordings were simply lost. Fortunately one copy of each disc was sent as a sample to the Head Office of the Gramophone Company in London. Thus, the only extensive collection of these recordings is preserved at the EMI Music Archive (Greg Burge: personal communication 2001).

These early recordings are important, bearing in mind that that Bosnian music was rarely recorded for scholarly purposes until after the Second World War. Slavic researchers were not keen on using audio recording technology for field work in Bosnia-Herzegovina: with the exception of Matija Murko in 1912 and 1913, field recordings were made by American and German collectors, i.e. Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord in 1934-1935 and the Staatliches Institut für Deutsche Musikforschung in 1937 (Krader 1993: 168). However, none of these recordings contain examples of the contemporary professional style of *sevdalinka* performance practice.

As documents of a lost world, the pre-First World War Bosnian music licences and commercial recordings are extremely important for research in several ways. Without the licences we would hardly know anything about the professional musicians and their working milieus. The recordings are the earliest audio documents of music in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They shed light on the repertoire, styles and techniques of mainly professional Balkan music performed in Sarajevo in the early 1900s and even earlier. They constitute a basis for the initiation and development of a comparative study of the changes in Balkan non-religious music in Bosnia-Herzegovina over the last hundred years. Taken together, the licences and the recordings offer invaluable material for study in the fields of historiography and musicology. The material is also crucial for discographical research and the study of the first phase of the record business in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This again is a highly interesting subject that has not been studied previously.

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EMK – Berliner Einwohnermeldekartei
LAB – Landesarchiv Berlin (Berlin)
Parish Register of Genthin
RDL – Registratur der Landesregierung, Proprien-Register, Zahlen-Protokol
Registers of Recordings Taken Prepared in Hanover (unofficial title)
ZVS – Zemaljska Vlada Sarajevo (Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina)

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Risto Pekka Pennanen, Researcher, ethnomusicologist, Department of Music Anthropology, University of Tampere, Finland.
E-mail: risto.pennanen@uta.fi