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# Between Sultan and Emperor: Politics and Ottoman Music in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918

Risto Pekka Pennanen

This article focuses on two main themes, namely the use of Ottoman music in Austro-Hungarian colonial policies in the Habsburg-occupied Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>1</sup> on the one hand and the anti-Habsburg exploitation of such music in the twin provinces on the other. More precisely, this article analyzes various ceremonial events which the colonial administration attached to Islamic religious rituals and holidays, and the occasions – usually evenings of music and drama – which enabled the anti-Habsburg opposition to use Ottoman music as a political symbol. As we will see, the most powerful musical symbol of the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II (reign 1876–1909) was his imperial march *Hamidiye marşı*, the cultural and political utilization of which I will analyse in detail.

Habsburg colonial policies in Bosnia in particular interlock with invented traditions which have been subject to relatively intense scholarly exploration in recent decades.<sup>2</sup> For Eric Hobsbawm, invented traditions comprise traditions which are genuinely invented, constructed and formally initiated. Such traditions may also emerge in a more difficult-to-trace manner within a brief and datable period. Invented traditions consist of a set of practices, governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules, and symbolic rituals which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour through repetition.<sup>3</sup> Actually, the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia often transformed earlier Ottoman-invented traditions which the authorities made optimally suitable for colonial policies.

More often than not, Bosnian musicology exploits music from the viewpoint of the national canon, thereby excluding Ottoman music. In addition, Bosnian scholars have tended to examine music as an autonomous phenomenon with few connections to ideas, doctrines, policies and the surrounding society. By and large, previous research has therefore ignored the political role of music in Habsburg Bosnia. For instance, in her seminal studies, Tünde Polomik lists musical repertoires in exactly the same form as the press offers them, without investigating the pieces and their antecedents or analyzing the performance contexts.<sup>4</sup>

The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina had belonged to the Ottoman Empire since 1463, but in 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, the Great Powers gave the Habsburg Monarchy the right to occupy the provinces and administer them. Consequently, Bosnia remained nominally under Ottoman suzerainty until its annexation on 5 October 1908 by Austria-Hungary, which retained it as a Crown land until the end of the Great War. Habsburg rule in Bosnia was imperialist in nature, the officially pronounced goal of the colonial administration being to bring Bosnians over to the values of “true” civilisation (i.e. Central European high culture). Simultaneously, however, the administration declared its

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<sup>1</sup> Henceforth, I will refer to Bosnia-Herzegovina as “Bosnia”.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g. Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Deringil 1998, 16–43; Richards 2001, 88–151, 211–247.

<sup>3</sup> Hobsbawm 1983a, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Polomik 1989; *id.* 1990; see also Pinjo 2007, 117–119.

desire to preserve the essence of Bosnian culture rather than Germanize the provinces.<sup>5</sup> The indigenous Slavic population in the area consisted of three main ethno-confessional components: Muslims, Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. The occupation also opened doors to the migration of colonizers, such as military men, administrators, businessmen, craftsmen and farmers, from Austria-Hungary.

The person behind the construction of the colonial policies and the administrative apparatus was Benjamin von Kállay (Béni Kállay de Nagy-Kálló, 1839–1903), a Hungarian statesman who served as Joint Minister of Finance (Ger. *gemeinsamer Finanzminister*) in Vienna from 1882 to 1903 and, as such, was responsible for the administration of Bosnia. Kállay accomplished the process of the creation of new Catholic, Serbian Orthodox and Muslim religious hierarchies, thereby seeking to weaken the ties between Bosnian groups and outside authorities on the one hand, and to achieve dominant influence over Bosnian confessional hierarchies on the other.<sup>6</sup> These measures were aimed at the growth of legitimacy in the eyes of the local population and the prevention of the spread of South Slavic nationalism. Furthermore, to fight Serb and Croat nationalism, Kállay emphasized a common Bosnian nationality; the Muslims formed a loyal counterweight to the unreliable Serbs in this scheme.

## Ottoman Music in Habsburg Colonial Policies

In December 1878, a few months after the occupation began, cannons in Višegrad signalled the festival of sacrifice *Kurban bajram* according to the Ottoman system by firing three salutes before the five daily prayers during the four-day holiday.<sup>7</sup> In Sarajevo, Commanding General Wilhelm von Württemberg allowed 21 cannon salutes four times daily during the four days. In addition, he stationed an honorary company with a military band in the courtyard of Gazi Husrev-Beg Mosque, the main Islamic house of worship in Sarajevo.<sup>8</sup> In the following year, the colonial administration decided to adopt the Ottoman tradition of celebratory gunfire during the Islamic holidays of *Kurban bajram*, the *Ramazan* fast, the *Bajram* feast following it, and the Prophet's birthday *Mevlud*. In 1880, the administration introduced the salutes to certain Serbian and Catholic holidays as well, obliging the respective religious communities to defray the costs of the cannon salutes.<sup>9</sup> This decision reflects the effort of the colonial administration to maintain a balance in the confessional policy. The Muslim religious officials, however, declined to pay anything since before the occupation, the Ottoman state had borne all costs of such salutes. In June 1881, the Imperial Ministry of War interrupted the long dispute by deciding that it would not exact the payment from the Muslim religious community.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, although the press described cannons signalling Islamic holidays in Sarajevo throughout the 1880s,

<sup>5</sup> Donia 1981, 14; *id.* 62.

<sup>6</sup> See Donia 1981, 18–21.

<sup>7</sup> *Bosansko-hercegovačke novine* 15 December 1878.

<sup>8</sup> *Bosansko-hercegovačke novine* 5 and 8 December 1878.

<sup>9</sup> HAS, GP 3784/1879: General Commando to PG and STC, 8 March; GP 3804/1879: General Commando and Platz Commando to STC, 18 September; GP, 253/1880: General Commando and Platz Commando to STC, 14 January.

<sup>10</sup> HAS, GP 372/1881: Platz Commando to STC, 22 January; GP 5046/1881: PG to Mufti Mehmed Hulusi Efendi, 5 August.

it did not mention the participation of a military band in the celebrations until 1893.<sup>11</sup> The case of the Islamic salutes is an example *par excellence* of the difficulties which the colonial administration faced when endeavouring to act as a protector of already existing Islamic institutions.

As the colonial government noted, cannon signals at Islamic holidays were not innovations but a continuation of the Ottoman practice.<sup>12</sup> Brass band music for Islamic feasts has a similar background; some sources mention that in Istanbul the sultan's brass band performed music during the intervals between *Kurban bajram* rituals and during the sultan's reception in the palace.<sup>13</sup> The Ottoman use of Western musical styles and brass bands during Islamic celebrations probably dates from 1828 when the reformist Sultan Mahmud II (reign 1808–1839) established the Imperial Band (*Mızıka-i hümayun*) and employed Italian Giuseppe Donizetti (1788–1856) as its first conductor. Ottoman traditions did influence the new repertoire since Ottoman composers in particular tended to combine Western and Ottoman musical characteristics.<sup>14</sup>

The delayed reintroduction of military bands into Islamic holidays in Habsburg Bosnia may seem strange, since military bands played in processions for the Catholic and Orthodox Easter, the Catholic feast of Corpus Christi, and the Orthodox Theophany in Sarajevo soon after the outset of the occupation and continued to do so annually.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps we will find the reasons for the interruption in the conservative attitude of the Bosnian Islamic intelligentsia – the *ulema* – towards musical instruments and non-religious music in religious contexts. One can also speculate whether the consecration of the new Catholic cathedral in Sarajevo in September 1889 forced the colonial administration to reintroduce further Ottoman ceremonies and create new ones for Islamic holidays as balancing acts.

Beginning with the official rituals during the annual departure of the pilgrims to Mecca, the reintroduction and transformation of Ottoman practices – frequently incorporating brass band music – seem to have taken place gradually. Prior to 1890, the colonial administration did not participate in the departure festivities of Muslim pilgrims. Until that year in Sarajevo, such festivities consisted merely of a procession, with religious chanting, to the Ali Paša Mosque, where the pilgrims performed their prayers, and a similar procession to the railway station. A large crowd followed such pilgrims during their walk to the mosque as well as the station.<sup>16</sup>

The ceremonies changed with the 1890 departure of pilgrims from Sarajevo: prior to the prayer in the mosque, the pilgrims had an audience with Provincial Governor (Ger. *Landeschef*) Johann von Appel and other high-ranking colonial authorities in the hall of the Provincial Government Palace where Appel gave a public speech praising the pilgrims and the emperor. Thereafter, Civil Adlatus Hugo von Kutschera transported the leader of the pilgrims to the train station in his cab. Among the crowd at the railway station was the Military Commandant Anton von David and his family. A military band played on the platform during the departure of the pilgrims' train to the port of Trieste. The administration orchestrated similar official festivities in other Bosnian towns, such as

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g. *Sarajevski list* 16 August 1883; *id.* 31 August 1887.

<sup>12</sup> See also Andréossy 1828, 90; Gardey 1865, 64, 282.

<sup>13</sup> *Carigradski glasnik* 25 May/6 June 1895.

<sup>14</sup> Akdemir 1991, 20–21; Greve 1995, 52–53.

<sup>15</sup> HAS, GP 269/1880: Platz Commando to STC, 16 January; *Bosansko-hercegovačke novine* 20 January 1881; *Bosansko-hercegovačke novine* 24 April 1881; *Sarajevski list* 27 March 1883.

<sup>16</sup> *Sarajevski list* 5 June 1889.

in Dolnja Tuzla, where the miners' brass band performed for the pilgrims and the public.<sup>17</sup> Upon their return to Sarajevo, the pilgrims again had an audience with the Governor at the Provincial Government Palace. The newspaper does not mention the participation of a military band in the arrival ceremonies.<sup>18</sup>

Subsequently, the administration revived and transformed pre-1878 Ottoman practices connected with Islamic holidays, created new invented traditions and increased the presence of colonial officials and military bands in the ceremonials. A newspaper source notes that during the *Mevlud* festivities in Sarajevo in January 1884, Bosnian Muslim soldiers marched away from the parade to join the prayers in the two main mosques of the city. The notice does not mention any music.<sup>19</sup> From 1893 onwards, however, a military band playing marches accompanied Bosnian Muslim soldiers' parades from their barracks to the Gazi Husrev-Beg Mosque for their communal morning prayer and then back to the barracks during *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram*. At least some of the marches may have been Ottoman ones. In addition, the band played "a few Oriental pieces" in the mosque courtyard after the prayer.<sup>20</sup> The new tradition of a short concert after the prayer ended in January 1901. According to the local informer, who used the code name Filan, the Bosnian supreme Islamic authority Reis-ul-Ulema Mehmed Teufik Azabagić (served 1893–1909) personally ordered the military band not to play in the mosque courtyard nor escort the Muslim soldiers back to the barracks but to hurry to the front of the Kiraethana (Muslim reading room)<sup>21</sup> in the Bendbaša neighbourhood instead, in order to play at the official reception. Filan further stated that the Muslim audience felt frustrated since the band performed for the dignitaries rather than them.<sup>22</sup> Even though the Reis-ul-Ulema terminated the courtyard concerts after the *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* players, the tradition reappeared occasionally between 1913 and 1916 during the holidays *Mevlud*, *Lejlei regaib* (Turk. *Leylei Regaib*; the conception of the Prophet), *Lejlei berat* (Turk. *Leylei Berat*; the night when the destinies are fixed for the coming year) and *Lejlei miradž* (Turk. *Leylei Mirac*; the night of the Prophet's journey to heaven). Usually the press mentions that the military band played before the prayer, but on one occasion it claims that the concert took place during the prayer which sounds extraordinary.<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, apart from the *Mevlud*, all these concerts were connected with lesser Islamic holidays and occurred in the evening.

The press does not mention the attendance of high-ranking colonial authorities at the *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* receptions in the Sarajevo Kiraethana until 1891, two full years after the first reception.<sup>24</sup> The morning receptions apparently took their final form in 1898, when a military band performed a concert consisting of various pieces, including Ottoman marches, in front of the lavishly decorated Kiraethana. The reception yielded the Governor and other high-ranking colonial administrators the opportunity to perform a rit-

<sup>17</sup> *Sarajevski list* 11 June 1890; *id.* 17 May 1891.

<sup>18</sup> *Sarajevski list* 12 November 1890.

<sup>19</sup> *Bosnische Post* 17 January 1884. From 1882 a company and from 1894, a battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 was stationed in Sarajevo (Neumayer and Schmidl 2008, 55).

<sup>20</sup> *Bošnjak* 20 April 1893; *id.* 12 April 1894.

<sup>21</sup> *Kiraethana* (< Turk. *kiraathane* "public reading room, coffee house with newspapers") was a social and cultural institution for Muslim men in Bosnia. The Sarajevo Kiraethana opened in 1888.

<sup>22</sup> ABiH, ZMF, Pr BH 156/1901: confidential report of Filan, 24 January.

<sup>23</sup> *Bosnische Post* 19 February 1913; *Sarajevski list* 19 July 1913; *Bosnische Post* 29 May 1914; *Sarajevski list* 30 May 1916.

<sup>24</sup> *Sarajevski list* 7 August 1889; *id.* 10 May 1891.



ualistic act of symbolic legitimacy by wishing the Muslim elite a happy *Bajram*. As was customary in all important religious festivities with the emperor's representative present, the band played *Kaiserhymne*, also known as *Volkshymne*, by Johann Gabriel Seidl and Joseph Haydn.<sup>25</sup> However, after Sulejman Šarac resigned from the post of Reis-ul-Ulema in early August 1912, the official celebration of Islamic holidays changed considerably. In September 1912, Military Governor Oskar Potiorek led a delegation of high-ranking colonial authorities which met the top Muslim civil servants and the Islamic religious elite of Sarajevo and even the Ottoman consul at the Town Hall. The next *Kurban bajram* reception took place in the mayor's private home, and for the 1913 *Bajram*, the mayor, the Director of the Islamic religious foundation *Vakuf* and the Deputy Reis-ul-Ulema Mehmed Teufik Okić each organized a reception.<sup>26</sup> After the break-out of the Great War, *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* receptions were not held regularly.<sup>27</sup> In 1917, however, Auxiliary Councillor Riza beg Kapetanović and Reis-ul-Ulema Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (served 1914–1930) received official *Bajram* greetings in their respective residences.<sup>28</sup> The sources mention no music at post-1911 receptions; rather, at least during the *Kurban bajram* celebrations of 1917, a military band marched in the streets of Sarajevo early in the morning playing "various pieces".<sup>29</sup>

The discontinuity of the official receptions in the Kiraethana was a considerable loss for both the Muslim community and the colonial administration; the religious community lost a visible and audible social event, whereas the regime lost an important opportunity to express its legitimacy of power over the Muslims in a public setting.

Although the newspaper sources fail to specify the compositions the military bands played during the *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* celebrations, we can safely assume from the commercial recordings of the Band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Markgraf von Baden No. 23 (K.u.k. Infanterieregiment Markgraf von Baden Nr. 23), stationed in Sarajevo in 1908, what sort of pieces these are likely to have been.<sup>30</sup> Judging from the title, *Bajram marš* (Odeon 70785) belonged to the repertoire for Islamic holiday celebrations, and the same applies to the flip-side piece *Nassr-Edin marš* by Austro-Hungarian military band conductor Johann Nepomuk Král (1839–1896). Apparently composed for the visit of the Shah of Persia Nasser al-Din Shah Qajar (reign 1848–1896) to Vienna in 1878, *Nassr-Edin* was originally subtitled as a "Persian March". Without the subtitle, however, the march could pertain to the legendary, satirical *Sufi* mystic figure Nasrettin Hoca, who lived in thirteenth-century Konya. The "Persian" march is a typical Orientalist composition which represents the Orient for the Western audience through certain musical devices, such as the interval of the augmented second.<sup>31</sup> A third tune, of similar function, in the recorded repertoire of the band is *Turska pjesma* ("Turkish Song"; Odeon 70786).<sup>32</sup> Other pieces for *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* celebrations were probably the same ones as those, which the military bands played in the musical evenings of vari-

<sup>25</sup> *Bošnjak* 5 May 1898.

<sup>26</sup> *Sarajevski list* 14 September 1912; *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* 19 November 1912; *Sarajevski list* 3 September 1913.

<sup>27</sup> *Sarajevski list* 19 August 1914.

<sup>28</sup> *Sarajevski list* 19 July 1917; *Bosnische Post* 22 July 1917.

<sup>29</sup> *Sarajevski list* 28 October 1917.

<sup>30</sup> Drucker 1910, 70.

<sup>31</sup> Scott 1998, 309–313.

<sup>32</sup> Possibly the title refers to a Bosnian urban *sevdalinka* song rather than an Ottoman song, since the old designation for *sevdalinka* is *turčija*, i.e. "Turkish song".

ous Bosnian Muslim societies; I will discuss them in detail below.

The Kállay regime did not provide religious holiday celebrations with imposing ceremonial events and music out of kind-hearted altruism; Kállay had two main motives for his policies toward Bosnian Muslim traditions. The first was related to domestic policy: the regime attempted to strengthen the direct bonds of all Bosnian subjects to the emperor, in order to build legitimacy and to “rally their loyalty as potential citizens”.<sup>33</sup> After Bosnian Catholics, Muslims were logically the second best ethno-religious group for this purpose. Moreover, since Vienna had promised to honour Bosnian Islamic customs and traditions in the 1879 Novi Pazar Convention with the Ottoman Porte, it was important not to disappoint Bosnian Muslims. In confidential documents, however, Kállay speculated about the possibility of Muslim apostasy and conversion to Catholicism.<sup>34</sup> His attempts to win over the Bosnian Muslims failed in large part because of Muslim resentment at what was perceived to be Catholic proselytization.<sup>35</sup> Kállay’s second motive stemmed from Austria-Hungary’s long-term foreign policy strategy, which comprised of striving to pave the way for future expansion by showing the Muslims of the Ottoman Balkans the beneficial treatment which Bosnian Muslims received.<sup>36</sup>

The Austro-Hungarian administration was not the only party to exploit Ottoman music. As we will see below, certain types of Ottoman music had totally different associations and functions in Habsburg Bosnia.

## Ottoman Music in Music and Drama Evenings

Performances of Ottoman music formed an integral part of certain events and festivities in Habsburg Bosnia. Among the most important such events were the evening spectacles of Bosnian Muslim cultural and temperance societies, sports clubs and craftsmen’s associations, often during *Bajram*, *Kurban bajram* and the Islamic New Year. Some societies commemorated their own annual events as well. The organizers of the large-scale evenings of music and drama hired Austro-Hungarian military bands stationed in Bosnia to perform at least part of the programme, which often included Ottoman music – usually marches – in a Western or mixed style. For tactical reasons, some Bosnian Serb societies included such music in their gatherings as well; the Serb opposition hoped to exploit Muslim dissatisfaction in a common anti-Habsburg movement calling for Bosnian autonomy under Sultan Abdülhamid, thus weakening Austria-Hungary.<sup>37</sup>

The heyday of Bosnian associational activities began in the late 1890s when Kállay had to admit that his policy of a common Bosnian nationality had failed; the regime had to allow the formation of societies bearing Serbian or Croatian national names. His successor, Count István Burián de Rajecz (served 1903–1912), further eased the firm control over Bosnian civil society. This liberalization enabled the establishment of various socio-cultural and political organizations in Bosnia, such as the Orthodox Serb Prosvjeta (Enlightenment), the Bosnian Muslim Gajret (Zeal, from Turkish) and the Catholic Croat

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<sup>33</sup> Hobsbawm 1983b, 266.

<sup>34</sup> Okey 2007, 60.

<sup>35</sup> Okey 2007, 106–107.

<sup>36</sup> Kraljačić 1987, 364–365.

<sup>37</sup> Okey 2007, 133–134.

Napredak (Progress).<sup>38</sup> Established in early 1903, the Society for Cultural Enlightenment Gajret was the most important Muslim association. In April 1905, the board of the Islamic Youth organized the first large-scale annual evening of music and drama for the benefit of Gajret and the Muslim bicycle and gymnastic club El-Kamer in the Association House (Ger. Vereinshaus, Srp.-Hr. Društveni dom; nowadays the National Theatre) in Sarajevo. For political reasons, the highest colonizing civil and military authorities frequented the larger-scale evenings as guests of honour.<sup>39</sup> Such gatherings formed a platform for the government to ceremonially display its prestige and legitimacy. Simultaneously, the authorities were able to demonstrate their respect for the local population and its culture.

When analyzing the musical repertoire of Gajret, one should bear in mind that the political line of the society changed in 1907. Initially in the hands of Croatophile Muslims, Gajret was taken over by the Serbophile party, the Muslim National Organization (Muslimanska Narodna Organizacija, abbreviated MNO).<sup>40</sup> Despite the political change – or rather thanks to it – the musical programmes of Gajret's evening parties continued to include Ottoman pieces. Ottoman marches and many Orientalist compositions were instrumental in symbolizing the Bosnian Muslim identity and demonstrating the hope of the Muslim and Serb anti-Habsburg opposition for the resurgence of Ottoman authority. Alluding to the Ottoman era, the programmes were printed not only in Latinized Serbo-Croatian, but also in Ottoman Turkish.

The selection of pieces for the first evening of music and drama of the Society of Islamic Youth (Udruženje islamske omladine), held in the Sarajevo Association House on 11 April 1908, offers a case in point for the musical symbolism the organizers utilized. Two groups performed the music programme: the choir of the Muslim Workers' and Craftsmen's Association Hurijet (Muslimansko radničko i zanatlijsko udruženje Hurijet), under Hakija Buljušmić, and the Band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Margrave von Baden No. 23 under the conductor Alexander Szeghő. In addition, a soloist sang a Bosnian folk song.<sup>41</sup> The programme of the evening was as follows:

- 1) *Pobjeda na Tesaliji* ("Victory in Thessaly") by Arturo Stravolo. Military band.
- 2) *Domovini* ("For the Homeland") by Basin (actually Radoslav Razlag and Benjamin Ipavec). Choir.
- 3) *Türkische Scharwache* ("Turkish Patrol") by Theodor Michaelis. Military band.
- 4) *Imitiranje raznih deklematora* ("Imitation of Various Reciters"). Abdul Mehmed Hasiba.
- 5) *Pjesma Sultanu* ("Song for the Sultan") by Yûsuf Enderûnî. Military band.
- 6) *Ravna* (a folk song in flowing rhythm). Sali Hadžiabdagić (baritone) and Nuraga Džabija (long-necked lute *saz*).
- 7) *Turski zvuci* ("Turkish Sounds") by Dede Ahmed Efendi. Military band.
- 8) *Karišik* ("Potpourri") by Franjo Maćejevski. Choir.
- 9) *Chor der Derwische* ("Choir of Dervishes") by Gabriel Šebek. Military band.
- 10) *Makedončeva ženidba* ("Wedding of a Macedonian Man"). Abdul Mehmed Hasiba.
- 11) *Đavo pod čergom* ("Devil under the Tent"), farce in one act by Ekrem. Amateur actors.
- 12) *Tombola* (raffle).
- 13) *Kolo* (folk dancing).
- 14) *Šaljiva pošta* (party game: Chinese Whispers).

<sup>38</sup> Donia 2006, 101; Okey 2007, 143.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. *Bosnische Post* 3 April 1906; *Sarajevski list* 12 February 1910.

<sup>40</sup> Kemura 1986, 42–55; Imamović 1998, 414.

<sup>41</sup> *Sarajevski list* 10 May 1908.

The repertoire of the choir carries only mild ideological overtones. Such elements are noticeable in the Slovenian patriotic lyrics of the song *Domovini* ("For the Homeland") by poet Radoslav Razlag (1826–1880) and composer Benjamin Ipavec (1829–1908). The "Potpourri" by Czech-born composer and music pedagogue Franjo Mačejovski (František Matějovský, 1871–1938) is possibly the folkloristic work known as *Karišik narodnih i turskih pjesama* ("Potpourri of Folk and Turkish Songs"), which combines traditional songs of Bosnian ethnic groups, "Turkish" referring to urban *sevdalinka* songs.

The farce by Hamid Šahinović (pen-name Ekrem, 1879–1936) probably contained no music, but the military band may have accompanied folk dancing after the play and the raffle.

The repertoire of the military band on this evening included both Orientalist and Ottoman music. Two of the three Ottoman pieces deserve particular attention due to their links with the contemporary political situation and the sultan. The composer of *Victory in Thessaly* was Italian Arturo Stravolo (1867–1956), who served as the opera director of Abdülhamid II's private theatre in Yıldız Palace. The title refers to the Graeco-Ottoman war of 1897, the only Ottoman military triumph of the Hamidian era. *The Song for the Sultan* must have been an instrumental arrangement of *Sâye-bânısın dîn-ü devletin* (*makam* Hüzâm, *usul* düyek 8/8).<sup>42</sup> Cretan-born composer Kadıköylü Attâr Hâfız Yûsuf Efendi (1857–1925) dedicated this *şarkı* song to the sultan.<sup>43</sup> These two pieces, referring respectively to the victorious Ottoman army and the Sultan, seem to carry a thinly veiled political message of the anti-Habsburg opposition. As we shall see below, Abdülhamid II was the main reference point in the symbolism of the anti-Austrian opposition.

The 1908 evening of music and drama was not the only occasion to pay tribute to the war of 1897: the Zenica Islamic Temperance Society Ittihad (Islamsko antialkoholsko društvo Ittihad) organized an Islamic New Year party on 23 January 1909 at the Hotel Central where the *tamburitza* long-necked lute orchestra of the society performed *Yunan muharebesi marşı* ("March of the Greek War").<sup>44</sup> The newspaper credits Vilim Brož (1861–1915), a Czech-born conductor and composer working in Bosnia, with the composition, even though he was the arranger. The piece could be Zekâi Dede Efendi's (1825–1897) well-known *Muharebe marşı* (*makam* Suzinak, *usul* sengin semai 6/4).<sup>45</sup>

## Uses of the "Sultan's March"

As the Ottoman Empire lacked a national anthem in the Western vein, each sultan since Mahmud II commissioned a Western-style march for that purpose – for instance *Mahmudiye*, *Mecidiye* and *Aziziye*.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the imperial march of Abdülhamid II was *Hamidiye marşı* – or *Ey velinimet-i âlem* after the opening line of the lyrics – by Yesarizade Ahmet Necip Pasha (1815–1883), a student of Giuseppe Donizetti (see Fig. 1).<sup>47</sup> Like

<sup>42</sup> A set of modal rules called *makam* (pl. *makamlar*) directs the melodic movement in a classical Ottoman piece, whilst *usul* (pl. *usuler*) rhythmic mode directs the melodic rhythm of a piece of music.

<sup>43</sup> See Öztuna 1990, s.v. Yûsuf Efendi (Kadıköylü). Another possibility is the *şarkı* song *Ey menba'-i cûd-û sehâ* (*makam* Mâhûr, *usul* türk aksağı 5/4), which Yûsuf Efendi dedicated specifically to Abdülhamid II. However, the 5/4 time of the piece may have posed an insurmountable challenge for the military musicians.

<sup>44</sup> *Bošnjak* 22 January 1909.

<sup>45</sup> See Öztuna 1990, s.v. Zekâi Dede Efendi; Akdemir 1991, 19–20.

<sup>46</sup> See Greve 1995, 56–57.

<sup>47</sup> For a reissue of early Ottoman recordings of *Hamidiye marşı* in two different styles, see Kalan CD 150.



Fig. 1. An excerpt from the piano score of *Hamidiye marşı* by Necip Pasha.<sup>48</sup>

many prominent Ottoman march composers before and after him, Necip Pasha served as the conductor of the Imperial Band.

*Hamidiye marşı* had various markedly different performance contexts of in Habsburg Bosnia. I will analyze such performances, firstly during the sultan's rule as an absolute monarch, and secondly after the Young Turk revolution in July 1908, which transformed him into a constitutional sultan. The third phase began with the annexation of Bosnia on 5 October 1908 and the fourth after Abdülhamid II's subsequent deposition in favour of his brother Mehmed V Reşad in April 1909 following an attempted counter-coup. These changes in the political status of Abdülhamid in Istanbul had repercussions on the use of his imperial march in Bosnia.

Prior to the annexation, *Hamidiye marşı* was of marked political importance in

<sup>48</sup> Nédjib Pacha n.d.

Bosnia. Due to its symbolic value, the march formed an integral part of various Bosnian Muslim evenings of music and drama. Bosnian Muslim and Serb activists shared similar political aspirations from the mid-1890s up to the months after the annexation: the end of the Austro-Hungarian domination and autonomy under the sultan's sovereignty.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, the two opposition groups relied on the "Sultan's March" to represent their objectives symbolically. The availability of *Hamidiye marşı* in several commercial recordings reflected its popularity: two local versions by Bosanski instrumentalni i pjevački Terzett M. Sudžuka i Merkuš (the Bosnian Instrumental and Vocal Trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš) and others recorded in Istanbul were available in Bosnia.<sup>50</sup>

The symbolic value of *Hamidiye marşı* was extremely pronounced among some Bosnian Muslims; the Orientalist use of the march to represent India in the stage setting of Jules Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days* (Srp. *Put oko zemlje*) by the visiting Serbian theatre troop Dragoš in Sarajevo in October 1906 shocked the journalist of the government-subsidized Muslim newspaper *Bošnjak*. In his review, the writer severely criticized the scene in which the Indian Princess Aouda is rescued from being forced onto a funeral pyre whilst the accompanying band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Baron von Reicher No. 68 (K.u.k. Infanterieregiment Freiherr von Reicher Nr. 68) performed the Ottoman imperial march. According to the review, "[t]he feelings of our Muslims were so badly offended. [...] It simply should not be allowed".<sup>51</sup>

Most importantly, *Hamidiye marşı* belonged to the standard repertoire of evening spectacles of various Bosnian Muslim societies, especially prior to the annexation. For example, a military band performed the march at the evening party of the Mostar Muslim Reading Room and Charitable Society (Muslimanska čitaonica i dobrotvorno društvo) on 4 November 1904.<sup>52</sup> Interestingly, since it appears on a short list of forbidden songs written with a pencil, *Hamidiye marşı* may have been temporarily banned in spring 1908.<sup>53</sup> Even so, according to available sources, military bands performed the march until early 1909, after which a few amateur brass, string and *tamburitza* orchestras of Muslim societies kept it in their repertoires.

The victorious Graeco-Ottoman war of 1897 greatly increased the sultan's status in Bosnia; during and after it, somewhat surprisingly, the *Bošnjak* regularly reported on the anniversary of Abdülhamid II's accession to the throne (Turk. *cülüs-ı hümayun*) which was celebrated on 31 August of the Gregorian calendar, and his birthday (Turk. *velâdet-i hümayun*) on 16 Şaban of the Islamic lunar calendar.<sup>54</sup> Overlapping with the mid-Şaban religious feast of *Leyle-i Berat*, the birthday moved each year relative to the solar calendar.<sup>55</sup> Both sultanic holidays ranked high in the Porte's arsenal of propaganda devices. In Bosnia, the Porte exploited the celebrations politically by decorating, among others, prominent Bosnian Muslims, Nikola Kašiković, the editor of the Bosnian Serb

<sup>49</sup> Donia 1981, 178; *id.* 2006, 108–109.

<sup>50</sup> *Hamidija marš* (mat. 5691L[lc]/cat. Zonophone X 100659) recorded in Sarajevo in late May 1907 and *Hamidi marši* (Lyrophon 47778), recorded probably in 1908. See Pennanen 2007, 120.

<sup>51</sup> *Bošnjak* 8 October 1906.

<sup>52</sup> *Bošnjak* 10 November 1904.

<sup>53</sup> ABiH, ZVS, 2146 res/1908: Gradačac District Commissioner to PG: forbidden songs, 29 April.

<sup>54</sup> Donia (1981, 179; 2006:83) and Imamović (1998, 402) erroneously take the accession anniversary for sultanic birthday celebrations. All known sources exclusively mention Muslims and Serbs celebrating the *cülüs-ı hümayun* in Habsburg Bosnia; see also ABiH, ZMF, Pr 4930/1907: PG to Joint Finance Ministry, 7 October. The local authorities reported that no celebrations of the Sultan's birthday took place.

<sup>55</sup> See, e.g. *Carigradski glasnik* 4/16 February 1895.

literary review *Bosanska vila*, and even high-ranking civil and military officials, among others, with medals of various Ottoman orders.<sup>56</sup> As we will see, the holidays were politically undesirable in the eyes of the Provincial Government, which took strict measures against them. However, in the neighbouring Sandžak of Novi Pazar, occupied but not administered by Austria-Hungary, the feasts were openly celebrated. Thus, the *Bošnjak* occasionally reported on the sultanic festivities in Pljevlja (Turk. Taşlıca), where the local Austro-Hungarian garrison cannons fired salutes and the garrison's military brass band performed *Hamidiye marşı* in front of the Ottoman barracks. In addition, the local Ottoman authority invited Austro-Hungarian officers to a festive meal in honour of the sultan.<sup>57</sup>

In Bosnia, during the year 1900, the Muslim and Serb opposition prepared to demonstratively celebrate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Abdülhamid II's accession. The Kállay regime was extremely concerned, demanding that the celebration be solely of a religious character. In addition, the authorities attempted to prevent the forbidden forms of celebration from spreading among rural Muslims, a large population that might demand the return of Bosnia to the sultan.<sup>58</sup> The regime's policy of limiting the celebration to a *dova* (Turk. *dua*) prayer for the caliph, the leader of the Islamic polity, in mosques became apparent in some pro-Habsburg newspaper articles as well.<sup>59</sup> Despite the ban, the opposition organized protest celebrations widely in the twin provinces, especially in the Sarajevo bazaar quarter Baščaršija.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, some oppositionists were able to travel to Pljevlja and celebrate the accession anniversary there. Take, for instance, the year 1907 when, according to an Austro-Hungarian report, 40 members of the Bosnian Muslim opposition participated in the ceremonial events which the local Serb notables had organized.<sup>61</sup>

Apart from non-religious contexts, *Hamidiye marşı* also served a symbolic function at Bosnian Muslim evening parties connected with Islamic holidays, as the Ottoman sultan was the Caliph of Islam. During his reign, Abdülhamid II promoted Pan-Islam to encourage the common identity of the worldwide Muslim community and highlighted the political dimensions of the Ottoman caliphate in the empire as well as in Islamic areas under Western colonial rule.<sup>62</sup> Given Ottoman political and economic weakness, the Sultan valued all the more the potential prestige and influence inherent in his role as caliph.

In Bosnia, *Hamidiye marşı* belonged to the musical evenings of Muslim societies during *Bajram*, *Kurban bajram* and the Islamic New Year. Bands performed it, for instance, at the *Kurban bajram* evening party of the Muslim Workers' and Craftsmen's Association Huriyet on 11 January 1909 in the Sarajevo Association House, as well as a year later at the *Bajram* party of the Jajce Islamic Reading Room (Islamska kiraethana u Jajcu).<sup>63</sup> Thus, politics and religion intertwined during the musical evenings. However, realizing that the Young Turk government would offer them no support, the leaders of the Muslim opposition party MNO accepted the annexation and declared their loyalty to the Dual Monarchy after 10 February 1910. The declaration coincided with a large-scale Ga-

<sup>56</sup> *Bosanska vila* 11, 17 (1896) 279; *id.* 13, 2 (1898) 31; *id.* 13, 18 (1898) 294; cf. Deringil 2004, 35–37.

<sup>57</sup> *Bošnjak* 16 September 1897; *id.* 7 September 1899.

<sup>58</sup> Imamović 1997, 94, 121.

<sup>59</sup> Bogićević 1969, 325–327; *Bosnische Post* 31 August 1900; *Osvit* 5 September 1900.

<sup>60</sup> Bogićević 1969, 327–328.

<sup>61</sup> ABIH, ZMF, Pr BH 1096/1907: PG to JFM, 17 September 1907.

<sup>62</sup> See Deringil 2004, 46–49; Karpas 2004, 132.

<sup>63</sup> *Musavat* 13 January 1909; *Bošnjak* 2 January 1910.

jret evening of music and drama which reportedly suffered from poor attendance.<sup>64</sup> The political turn brought about a change in the entertainment programmes as well.

Performances of *Hamidiye marşı* continued throughout February 1910. Whilst available sources indicate all other performers seem to have abandoned it, the piece remained in the repertoire of the band of the Banjaluka Muslim Craftsmen's Association Fadilet (Muslimansko zanatlijsko udruženje Fadilet) at least until March 1911. In addition, the *tamburitza* orchestra of the Nevensije Muslim Temperance Society Iršad (Muslimansko antialkoholno društvo Iršad) performed it at the society evening party in May 1914. The latter occasion is the last known Bosnian performance of the march.<sup>65</sup> The date is surprisingly late, since by mid-1913 the Balkan states had defeated the Ottoman Empire in the First Balkan War and had nearly driven it out of the peninsula; the role of the empire as the protector of the Bosnian Muslims had vanished.

After the deposition of Abdülhamid II, ideologically opposing Ottoman pieces began appearing in the musical programmes of Bosnian Muslim societies. In April 1911, for instance, a military band performed *Mahmud Şevket Paşa marşı* by Gerardo Coletti at the evening party of El-Kamer in the Sarajevo Association House.<sup>66</sup> At that time, Mahmud Şevket Pasha (1854–1913) was an Ottoman general and a Young Turk leader who had played a vital role in subduing the reactionary counter-coup and ending the reign of Abdülhamid II in April 1909.<sup>67</sup> If the performance of *Mahmud Şevket Paşa marşı* was a political statement, it signalled a shift in Bosnian Muslim politics. The crucial questions are: which side selected that march for the programme, the programme committee or the military band conductor, and on what grounds?

*Hamidiye marşı* was also one of the political symbols of the anti-Austrian Bosnian Serb opposition, which nominally supported Bosnian autonomy under the Porte. The following examples illustrate the uses to which the imperial march was put at Serb evening parties. During the Kállay regime, the *Bosanska vila* reported that in Pljevlja across the border, the local Serbian Singing Society Bratstvo (Brotherhood) organized a celebration on 31 August 1897 for the 22<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of Abdülhamid II's accession. The programme included the "Hymn of the Sultan" (i.e. *Hamidiye marşı*).<sup>68</sup> After the liberalization of Habsburg colonial policy, Serbian cultural societies were able to perform the sultanic march in Bosnia proper: in Bjelina (nowadays Bijeljina), north-eastern Bosnia, the Serbian Singing Society Srbadija sang *Hamidija* at its musical evening on 1 October 1905, using the arrangement for a mixed choir by Czech-born Serbian choirmaster and composer Vladislav Štirski-Nikolajević (1862–1931).<sup>69</sup>

Another vocal version of the march belonged to the repertoire of a visiting choir, which sang it in Bosnia in May 1907. During its concert tour in Bosnia, the Serbian Academic Singing and Tamburitza Society Balkan (Srpska akademska pjevačko-tamburašna družina Balkan) from Zagreb performed the choral arrangement *Hamidija – Ej veliji nijme a lem* by the leading contemporary Serbian composer Stevan Mokranjac (1856–1914).<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Donia 2006, 109; *Muslimanska sloga* 15 February 1910.

<sup>65</sup> *Muslimanska sloga* 3 March 1911; *Vakat* 30 April 1914.

<sup>66</sup> *Muslimanska sloga* 24 March 1911.

<sup>67</sup> Zürcher 2004, 404.

<sup>68</sup> *Bosanska vila* 12, 17 (1897) 270.

<sup>69</sup> *Srpska riječ* 15/29 September 1905.

<sup>70</sup> ABiH, ZVS, opći spisi, 22/218/3/1907: censorship report, 28 May; *Srpska riječ* 6/19 May 1907; *id.* 15/28 May 1907. Mokranjac wrote the arrangement in 1895 for the Belgrade Singing Society's (Beogradsko pevačko



Interestingly, all the Serb performances mentioned above were vocal – in phonetic Ottoman Turkish – rather than instrumental, which was the standard practice at Bosnian Muslim musical evenings.

The First World War revived performances of Ottoman marches in Bosnia and placed them in an entirely new context: at the end of October 1914, the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers thus becoming an ally of Austria-Hungary. Thus, in certain ceremonies, military bands in Bosnia probably performed *Reşadiye marşı* by Italo Selvelli (1863–1918) which was the imperial march of Sultan Mehmed V (reign 1909–1918).<sup>71</sup> Newspapers reported that the Ottoman Consul General Resul Efendi participated in various official ceremonies, such as the *dova* prayer for the new Ottoman Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin (1918–1922).<sup>72</sup> The imperial march that the bands performed on these occasions between early July 1918 and the end of the war was *Mahmudiye marşı*, which Giuseppe Donizetti had composed for Sultan Mahmud II; Mehmed V also used it as his imperial march.

### Ottoman Brass Band Music at Evening Parties

Imperial marches represented only a fraction of Ottoman brass band music performed in Habsburg Bosnia. One of the frequently performed Ottoman marches was *Cezayir marşı* (Turk. *Cezayir* “Algiers, Algeria”), or *Džezair* as it was known in Bosnia, from about 1839. The march is often attributed to Giuseppe Donizetti, and the reference to Algeria was probably due to the French invasion of that Ottoman province in 1830.<sup>73</sup> *Cezayir marşı* spread widely during the nineteenth century: in Greece, it was known as the wedding melody (*patinada*) *Tzizayir*, in Macedonia as a listening piece of the Ottoman-style *čalgija* repertoire and in some Arab areas of the Ottoman Empire as a march or a dance piece.<sup>74</sup> In Habsburg Bosnia, *Cezayir marşı* was frequently performed at the musical evenings of Muslim societies, and since Bosnian professional folk bands recorded it commercially, it arguably belonged to the standard Bosnian urban repertoire.<sup>75</sup> Against this background, the complete disappearance of *Džezair* from modern Bosnian music culture seems odd; Sarajevo *saz* lute player Amir Haskić (b. 1900) made the only known post-Second World War recording of *Džezair* for Radio Sarajevo in 1963.<sup>76</sup>

Another Ottoman march of relatively frequent public performances at evening parties was Toni von Görög’s *Hıdiv Abbaspaşa marşı*, “The March of the Egyptian Khedive Abbas Hilmi II” (reign 1892–1914). In addition, the *tamburitza* orchestra of the Temperance Society Iršad performed Rıf’at Bey’s (1820–1888) *Sivastopol marşı* (*makam*

društvo) tour of Sofia, Plovdiv and Istanbul. The choir performed the arrangement for the Sultan in Istanbul in April 1895 and recorded it in Belgrade in 1903 for the Gramophone Company (mat. 2004h/cat. 14626) (*Carigradski glasnik* 13/25 April 1895; Andreis et al. 1962, 621). For the score, see Mokranjac 1994, 165–168.

<sup>71</sup> For a reissue of an early recording of *Reşadiye marşı*, see Kalan CD 150. For the march in Ottoman Macedonia, see Džimrevski 2005, 87.

<sup>72</sup> *Sarajevski list* 13 July 1918.

<sup>73</sup> Jäger 1996, 66–67.

<sup>74</sup> See Markos 1978, 242–245; Džimrevski 1985, 345–347; *id.* 2005, 305. Syrian- and Lebanese-American musicians Anton Abdel Ahad (*ud* lute) and Philip Salomon (violin), with an anonymous percussionist, recorded the march as the dance piece *Al-Jazayer* in the USA in the early 1950s (for a reissue, see Rounder CD 1122).

<sup>75</sup> E.g. *Bošnjak* 20 April 1905.

<sup>76</sup> Damir Imamović, pers. comm. 2010. For Amir Haskić, see Milošević 1962; Talam and Karača 2008, 36.

Rast, *usul* *düyek* 4/4) from the 1853–1856 Crimean War at several Muslim evening parties between 1911 and 1914.<sup>77</sup> Judging from the numerous recordings, the march was still part of the active repertoire during the last two decades of the Ottoman Empire, and Rauf Yekta used the piece as an example of the *düyek* rhythmic mode in his famous study of Ottoman music.<sup>78</sup> The march must have been a well-known piece in Bosnia since the Trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš recorded the march twice in Sarajevo around 1907.<sup>79</sup>

*İzmir marşı*, which Mehmed Ali Bey (c. 1825–1895) composed in 1877, was extremely popular in Ottoman cities and towns, but was apparently less well-known in Bosnia.<sup>80</sup> One of the known performances of the march took place at the Gajret evening of music and drama in the Sarajevo Association House, which the Society of Islamic Youth organized on 15 March 1907: the band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Baron von Reicher No. 68 performed *İzmir marşı* under the conductor Josef Neuner along with several other pieces.<sup>81</sup> The programme attributed the march erroneously to “Ouddži Šamili Selim” (i.e. *udci* [*udi*]<sup>82</sup> Şamlı Selim, 1876–1924), a music publisher who was active in Istanbul around 1900.

Not all Ottoman brass band pieces in Bosnia were marches. Take, for example, the second annual evening of music and drama, which Gajret and El-Kamer organized on 2 April 1906 in the Sarajevo Association House. The artistic programme consisted of choir singing, brass music, recitation and a theatrical play. The male choir of Gajret performed under singing teacher Kosta Travanj, whilst the band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Baron von Reicher No. 68 performed under the conductor Josef Neuner.<sup>83</sup> The programme was as follows:

*Kaiserhymne*. Military band.

First Part

- 1) *Overture Muhayyer* by Kanûnî Edhem Efendi. Military band.
- 2) *Gajretova himna* (“Hymn of Gajret”) by Safvet-beg Bašagić and Hakiya Buljušmić. Choir.
- 3) *Grande Mazurka* by Osman Zeki. Military band.
- 4) *Poem Savjet očevima* (“Advice to Fathers”) by Safvet-beg Bašagić. Recitation by N. Aličehić, pupil of the third form.
- 5) *Na straži* (“On Guard”), authors not given. Choir. Baritone solo by Selim Hadžiabđagić.
- 6) *Vozila se po moru galija* (“A Ship Sailed in the Sea”) by Hüseyin Niyazi Efendi. Military band.
- 7) *Bosanski napjevi* (“Bosnian Melodies”) by Franjo Maćejovski. Choir.
- 8) *Cezayir marşı*. Military band.

Interval

<sup>77</sup> E.g. *Musavat* 27 February 1911; *Vakat* 30 April 1914.

<sup>78</sup> Rauf Yekta Bey 1922, 3029.

<sup>79</sup> *Sivastopol* (mat. 5698L[lc]/cat. Zonophone X 100666), recorded in Sarajevo in late May 1907 and *Sivastopol!* (Lyrophon 47777), probably in 1908.

<sup>80</sup> See Pennanen 2004, 15.

<sup>81</sup> *Bosnische Post* 11 March 1907.

<sup>82</sup> Player of the *ud* lute.

<sup>83</sup> *Sarajevski list* 30 March 1906; *Bosnische Post* 3 April 1906.

## Second Part

9) *Sulejman Pascha Marsch* (“March of Suleyman Pasha”) by Franz Sommer. Military band.

10) Theatrical play *Hadžun* by Riza-beg Kapetanović-Ljubušak. Amateur actors of Gajret and the military band.

## Third Part

Refreshments in the foyer.

The evening began with *Kaiserhymne*, which the audience listened to whilst standing.<sup>84</sup> Such a ritual performance of the Austro-Hungarian imperial hymn was a standard procedure at large-scale evenings of music and drama in the presence of regime dignitaries.

As almost always in such musical programmes from Bosnian Muslims, the military band performed both Ottoman and Orientalist music. The band Kanûnî Edhem Efendi’s (c. 1850–1920) “Overture in *makam* Muhayyer” must have been a brass band arrangement of a classical piece in *peşrev* form which begins the Ottoman *fasıl* concert cycle. The third piece, *Grande Mazurka* by conductor, violin virtuoso and composer Osman Zeki Efendi<sup>85</sup> (later Osman Zeki Üngör, 1880–1958), is a mixed-style “*mazurka*” and actually a eulogy to Abdülhamid II. By naming the work *Bûselik semâî Hamidiye*, Turkish musicologist Yılmaz Öztuna implies that in this work Osman Zeki strives to exploit the scale-level similarity between the Ottoman *makam* Bûselik and the Western minor and to treat *usul* semâî (3/4) as the *mazurka* rhythm.<sup>86</sup> The composition consists of two vocal sections and an instrumental trio. Considering the instrumental rendition of the piece, it remains a mystery whether the performers and the audience at the Gajret evening realized the close association of *Grande mazurka* with the reigning Ottoman sultan.

The information about the song *Vozila se po moru galija*, as a composition by an Ottoman composer, one Hüseyin Niyazi Efendi must be erroneous, since the title refers to a *sevdalinka* song.<sup>87</sup> Available sources say practically nothing about Hüseyin Niyazi Efendi and his output. All told, the sixth piece in the programme remains unknown.

The Orientalist part of the evening is typical of the era; Austro-Hungarian military band conductor and composer Franz Sommer (1852–1908) named *Sulejman Pascha Marsch* after the Ottoman general Süleyman Hüsnü Pasha (1838–1892), who was a general in Bosnia during the Montenegrin-Ottoman war in 1876–1877 and the chief Balkan commander during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878. This popular piece was the regimental march of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 (Bosnisch-herzegowinisches Infanterieregiment Nr. 1) stationed for the most part in Vienna.<sup>88</sup> Lastly, the band performed unspecified music during the interval of the historical drama *Hadžun* by Riza-beg Kapetanović-Ljubušak (1868–1931).

The choral pieces *Gajretova himna* (“Hymn of Gajret”) by Bosnian poet Safvet-

<sup>84</sup> *Bosnische Post* 3 April 1906. The authorities monitored that the *Kaiserhymne* was sung to the original text or one of the authorized translations; see ABiH, ZMF, Pr 1006/1907: PG to JFM, 28 August.

<sup>85</sup> During the Republican era, Osman Zeki Üngör became the conductor of the Presidential Symphonic Orchestra, and in 1930 his composition *İstiklâl marşı* replaced an earlier march as the Turkish national hymn (Öztuna 1990, s.v. Osman Zeki Üngör).

<sup>86</sup> Öztuna 1990, s.v. Osman Zeki Üngör.

<sup>87</sup> The Trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš recorded the song *Vozila se po moru galija* in late May 1907 (mat. 5705L[lc]/cat. Zonophon X 100673).

<sup>88</sup> Brixel *et al.* 1982, 351.

beg Bašagić (1870–1934) and choirmaster Hakija Buljušmić, *Na straži* (“On Guard”) possibly by Czech-born Slovenian composer Anton Nedvďd (1829–1896) and *Bosanski napjevi* (“Bosnian Melodies”) by Franjo Maćejovski contain few direct ideological references. The clearest case is *Gajretova himna*, whose text stresses the importance of education for the Muslim youth.

As we have seen, the most important settings, in which military bands performed Ottoman pieces in Sarajevo, were the large-scale Muslim charitable parties in February, March or April in the Association House by or for the benefit of Gajret. The society sometimes organized such events alone but usually with El-Kamer, the Sarajevo Muslim Youth Society or the Muslim Workers’ and the Craftsmen’s Association Huriyet. The annual evening parties began in 1905 and waned in 1911 as a tradition directly connected with Gajret. This discontinuity may originate from developments within the organisation. Gajret was in disarray during the last few pre-war years because the MNO strove to control opposition elements within the association. Consequently, even annual general meetings were suspended in 1912 and 1913.<sup>89</sup> Fund-raising, however, did not cease, and other Muslim societies organized evening parties for the benefit of Gajret after January 1911.

Evidently, the last pre-war Muslim charitable evening party in the Sarajevo Association House, with El-Kamer and the Sarajevo Grocers’ Association (Udruženje bakalskih i špecerajskih trgovaca u Sarajevu) as organizers, took place on 4 January 1912. The programme included only one Ottoman piece, namely İsmail Hakkı Bey’s (1865–1927) *Yâdigâr-ı millet marşı*, a march dedicated to an Ottoman warship.<sup>90</sup> According to newspaper sources, this date marks the advent of a period in which military bands participated more rarely than before in the evenings of music and drama in favour of *tamburitza* and other amateur bands.

The change in performer formations raises the question of whether the military bands abstained from performing at minor-scale evening parties or whether the Croat, Serb and especially Muslim societies decided to favour their own and other amateur orchestras over foreign professionals for economic or political reasons. Nonetheless, Bosnian amateur soloists and *tamburitza*, brass and string orchestras had certainly developed their skills over the years, and thus were able to perform part of the required orchestral repertoire. Simultaneously, new *tamburitza* arrangements had become available through, for example, the work of Vilim Brož. Accordingly, the process of Westernization, which the Austro-Hungarian occupation had accelerated in Bosnia, provided avenues for local societies to perform folkloristic arrangements and Western music.

<sup>89</sup> Kemura 1986, 63–66; Okey 2007, 243–244.

<sup>90</sup> *Zeman* 4 January 1912.

## Conclusion: Music, Politics and Aesthetics

All things considered, the colonial administration in Bosnia attempted both to connect itself with Ottoman and Islamic traditions and to disconnect the Bosnian Muslims from politically harmful influences of the Ottoman Empire. In this scheme, music played very significant role.

Ottoman music in Habsburg Bosnia was always connected with the political and cultural conditions of the times; not surprisingly its political usage was multi-layered. Firstly, from the Central European colonial point of view, Ottoman and Orientalist music represented the Orient, the Ottoman past of Bosnia and the traditional urban culture of the provinces. Consequently, the regime acted as a protector of selected Islamic institutions, and its military bands could perform Ottoman and Orientalist music for appropriate Ottoman and neo-traditional ceremonials, thus contributing to the quest for the legitimacy of power. Concurrently, the regime offered minor concessions to the anti-Habsburg Muslim opposition through such acts as, for example, establishing separate train compartments and waiting rooms at railway stations for Muslim women and favouring the Neo-Moorish or Neo-Oriental style in the construction of new public buildings. The policy aimed to silence critical voices and induce the opposition to tolerate – if not accept – the occupation.

Secondly, the anti-Habsburg opposition was able to use Ottoman music, especially *Hamidiye marşı*, to express its resentment of the occupation and to challenge the legitimacy of the Austro-Hungarian rule. Culturally, Ottoman music was closer to the Bosnian Muslim identity than the Central European music the colonizers had imported, and opposition leaders were able to utilize this sort of music in their political propaganda.

The third feature of Ottoman music in Habsburg Bosnia was aesthetic. Certain strata of urban Bosnians, including some colonists, undoubtedly appreciated various Ottoman styles as beautiful or exciting music without thinking of the implied political messages the performances might have had in certain contexts.

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## Abbreviations

ABiH = Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine

cat. = catalogue number

GP = Gradsko poglavarstvo (Sarajevo Town Council; the provisional Sarajevo administration till 1884.)

HAS = Historijski arhiv Sarajevo

JFM = Joint Finance Ministry

lc = lower case

mat. = matrix number

PG = Provincial Government, Sarajevo

Pr = *Präsidial* (Presidial: for more important documents)

res = *reservat* (Under professional secrecy)

STC = Sarajevo Town Council (Sarajevo Town Council; the provisional Sarajevo administration till 1884)

ZMF = Zajedničko ministarstvo finansija (Joint Finance Ministry)

ZVS = Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo (Provincial Government, Sarajevo)

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