NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE AND CULTURAL RESISTANCE IN SARAJEVO'S CLASSICAL MUSIC INSTITUTIONS: A RECENT HISTORY OF ART MUSIC IN SARAJEVO

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Abstract

This document gives a brief history of classical music (Western art music) in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a focus on recent events and developments from the beginning of the siege (1992) to the present. Further focus is placed on the effects of Sarajevo's cultural pluralism on the city's largest classical music institutions, particularly the National Theater and the Sarajevo Music Academy. Lists of frequently performed repertoire and informal interviews with prominent Sarajevan professional musicians show that the classical music institutions in Sarajevo frequently promote intercultural exchange. Furthermore, music was used in besieged Sarajevo as a means of cultural resistance against hatred and violence. International media coverage of Sarajevo's musical activities since 1992 has inspired a worldwide production of academic and artistic works that promote music as a facilitator of dialogue and tolerance.

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Abbreviations

ARBiH: *Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine* (Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

BiH: Bosnia and Herzegovina

BZK "Preporod": *Bošnjačla Zajednica Kulture* (Bosniaks Community Culture "Revival")

HKD "Napredak": *Hrvatsko Kulturno Drustvo* (Croatian Cultural Society "Progress")

JNA: *Jugoslavenska Narodna Armija* (Yugoslav People's Army)

KDB "Preporod": *Kulturno Društvo Bošnjaka* (Bosniak Cultural Society "Revival")

KUD "Gajret": *Kulturno Umjetničko Društvo* (Cultural Artistic Society "Gajret")

MUP: *Ministarstvo Unutrasnih Poslova* (Ministry of Internal Affairs)

SDA: *Stranka Demokratske Akcije* (Party of Democratic Action)

SDS: *Srpske Demokratske Stranke* (Serbian Democratic Party)

SKD "Cankar": *Slovensko Kulturno Društvo* (Slovenian Cultural Society "Cankar")

SONEMUS: Society of New Music Sarajevo

SPKD "Prosveta": *Srpsko Prosvjetno Kulturno Društvo* (Serbian Cultural and Educational Society "Education")

SVEM: *Sarajevske Večeri Muzike* (Sarajevo Evenings of Music)

UN: United Nations

UNPROFOR: United Nations Protection Force

VRS: *Vojska Republika Srpske* (Bosnian Serb Army)

Terminology

For the purposes of this document, I use the term "classical music" to stand for Western art music. I have chosen this term for its ease of use, and because the definition of "classical music" as Western art music is understood by the Bosnian musicians, administrators, journalists, and patrons whom I interviewed. "I don't think there is a perfect term which would describe this classical music but I think that the whole world is used to use this term."[1]

Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina are commonly called Bosnians or Herzegovinians, depending on their region of residence. For the purposes of this document, I frequently use the term "Bosnian" and "Sarajevan" when referring particularly to those living in Sarajevo or in the Bosnian region of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I use the term "Bosnian Croat" and "Bosnian Serb" to refer to two major ethnic groups residing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as opposed to the terms "Croat" and "Serb", which refer to citizens of Croatia and Serbia respectively. I use the term "Bosniak" to refer an ethnic group also commonly known as "Bosnian Muslims", regardless of religious observance. There is some controversy surrounding the term Bosniak. In the past, it has been used to refer to all inhabitants of the Bosnian region. Thus the current definition of the term Bosniak is problematic, as it can imply that those without a religious or cultural connection to Islam are in some way outsiders. However, it remains the only term that can be used to describe Bosnians who are culturally affiliated with a Muslim heritage, regardless of belief or observance.

In general, categorizing the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina into Bosniaks, Bosnian-Croats, and Bosnian-Serbs unfairly leaves out many who do not fit into any of the three categories (for example, children of interethnic marriages, those of foreign descent, Jews, and

[1] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 13, 2013.

Roma). However, as the country remains politically divided along ethnic lines, the ethnic composition and identification of Sarajevo's musicians and music institutions must be considered in order to understand their history and current social relationships.

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Introduction

It is important to me, as a young oboist and educator, to assess why and how classical music is valuable. An ability to defend the value of classical music will help my colleagues and me face the challenges of pursuing a highly competitive, and frequently under-funded career. We must be able to make a strong argument for the funding of classical music institutions in our own communities in order to secure a future for young musicians in our field.

My experiences in Sarajevo have given me an idea of how a city with limited financial resources can support its classical music institutions and provide for its professional musicians. While playing with the Sarajevo Philharmonic during its 2010-2011 season, it was apparent to me that many accomplished young performers who graduate from Sarajevo's Music Academy can find adequate full-time employment in their city without facing the cutthroat competition prevalent in the United States. Classical musicians in Sarajevo are respected for their contributions to cultural life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and have received international attention for their tenacity during the siege. In particular, a cellist, Vedran Smailovic, became the face of Sarajevo's civilians during the siege after he was famously photographed playing in the ruins of the National Library in 1992. The classical music institutions in Sarajevo are a source of pride for the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, motivating their continued support in times of political instability and economic uncertainty. Furthermore, the professional music community remains a collaborative and diverse group of ethnic Serbs, Bosniaks, Croats, Albanians and other foreigners.

However, the classical music institutions of Sarajevo rely largely on state support, so political and economic instability can threaten their financial security. A weakened economy,

political gridlock, and the reduction of foreign aid challenge all of Sarajevo's cultural and educational institutions. In the fall of 2012, the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina closed its doors due to political conflict, lack of funding, and administrative disorganization. In 2013, the administration of the National Theater and the Sarajevo Philharmonic stretched a significantly reduced budget to cover salaries and pensions, forgoing performances requiring expensive guest artists. Each cultural institution in Sarajevo must compete for their limited budget to be sanctioned by the Ministry of Culture and Sport.

Despite a lack of complete security, most musicians I encountered while in Sarajevo seemed optimistic about their future. Ultimately, I believe that a study of classical music institutions that rely on state funding, thus dependent on political and popular support, would be relevant to any classical musician in the field of professional performance.

Therefore, I returned to Sarajevo in the fall of 2013 to research why and how classical music is valued in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I have used the archives of the National Theater and the Sarajevo Music Academy to better understand the structure of Sarajevo's classical music institutions and to assess the repertoire they perform. I also conducted interviews to learn about the experiences of Sarajevo's professional musicians and their attitudes toward classical music. My findings, compiled in the following document, support my contention that classical music in Sarajevo is valuable because it serves to promote intercultural collaboration and exchange in a country still recovering from a recent civil war. I hope these findings may be shared and discussed within my own community of American young professional musicians.

Basic Background Information about Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina:

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a small country located in southeastern Europe, formally part of Yugoslavia (1929-1992), the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (1918-1929), the Austro-Hungarian empire (1878-1918), the Ottoman Empire (1463-1878), the Kingdom of Bosnia (1377-1463), and the Banate of Bosnia (1180-1377). Sarajevo is the capital of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is the largest city in the country, with an estimated population of just under one half of a million people.

Currently, Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a divided country in several ways. "The modern day inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina mainly belong to three distinct South Slavic ethno-cultural groups: Since the mid-1960s, *Bosniaks* have been the largest ethno-cultural group in Bosnia, and by 2000 they comprised 48 per cent of the population by ethnic affiliation. They used to be referred to as 'Bosnian Muslims' or simply 'Muslims', because they have been predominantly (but by no means entirely) Muslim by religious affiliation...*Bosnian Serbs* have been relegated to the status of second largest ethno-cultural group, and by 2000 they comprised only 37.1 per cent of the population by ethnic affiliation. They have been predominantly (albeit very nominally) Eastern Orthodox Christians by religious affiliation...There has also been a substantial (albeit steadily shrinking) *Bosnian Croat* minority, which by 2000 made up only 14.3 per cent of the population. They are predominantly (albeit often very nominally) Roman Catholic."[2] Although Bosnians "speak a common and mutually comprehensible language"[3] the language can be labelled as Bosnia, Croatian, or Serbian depending on the ethnic-cultural background of the speaker.

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2 Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries, *The Balkans: A Post-communist History* (London: Routledge, 2007), 329.
3 Ibid., 329.

Politically and regionally, Bosnia is also divided, as per the Dayton Peace Agreement, signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. There are two autonomous governments: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska, each controlling a particular region (the Republika Srpska is located in the north and east, while the Federation controls most of the central and western areas of the country). Furthermore, the territory in the western part of the country is known as Herzegovina, and is more Croat-dominated. Additionally, Bosnia and Herzegovina has three presidents representing the three primary ethnic groups, as well as three capital cities: Sarajevo, Banja Luka (the capital of Republika Srpska), and Mostar (the capital of Herzegovina).

I have chosen to focus on the recent history of the classical music institutions in Sarajevo, meaning that I am focusing on institutions under the administration of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the majority of the musicians employed by the Sarajevo Philharmonic and the Music Academy of Sarajevo consider themselves to be Muslim, all three ethnicities are represented in Sarajevo's cultural institutions, as well as those who have Jewish, Romani, Albanian, or foreign heritage. It is also important to note that most citizens of Sarajevo call themselves "Bosnian" regardless of their ethnic or cultural background. As Bideleux and Jeffries note in *The Balkans: A Post-Communist History*, "From late medieval times... the traditional *collective* regional/territorial appellation for *all* inhabitants of Bosnian and Herzegovina was 'Bosnian' (*Bosanac), irrespective* of their individual ethnic and religious affiliations."[4]

[4] Ibid., 331.

Chapter 1- A Brief Survey of Music History in Bosnia and Herzegovina Before 1992

In order to contextualize the recent history of Sarajevo's classical music institutions and understand their current operations, it is necessary to acquire a basic knowledge of the general history of art music in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since Sarajevo's first private music school was founded in 1900 while the city was under Austro-Hungarian occupation, the city's classical music institutions have continued to expand, despite disruption and several setbacks caused by three wars in the past 100 years. Musicians in Sarajevo, both native and foreign, have ultimately shaped the city's classical music institutions to reflect Sarajevo's diverse history. The institutions have helped shape a "Bosnian" musical identity while simultaneously welcoming foreign influence and cross-cultural exchange.

Although today's Sarajevan music institutions were founded during the Austro-Hungarian era, Bosnian musicologists consider the heritage of Bosnian art music to include earlier developments made during ancient history, the middle ages, and under Turkish occupation. In *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini*, the Dean of the Sarajevo Music Academy, Ivan Čavlović organizes the development of Bosnian art music into nine periods. "History of music in Bosnia and Herzegovina...can be divided into the following periods: ancient music up to the settlement of Slavs, music in medieval Bosnia, music during the Ottoman rule, music during the Austro-Hungarian rule, music between the two world wars, music during World War II as a transition period, music from 1945 to 1992, music during the 1992/95 war as a transition period and music after 1995.[5]

Records about professional musicians in Bosnia and Herzegovina date back to the 15th century, when Bosnian and Herzegovinian entertainers were hired to perform for the festival of

[5] Ivan Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Muzička Akademija, 2011), 364.

St. Blaise in Dubrovnik. Other documents show that the feudal courts throughout the region, including those of Herzeg Stjepan Vukčić and Steven Tomašević (King of Bosnia from 1461-1463) employed musicians and possessed instruments. Records also indicate that the courts' musicians occasionally travelled within the region to perform in acts of celebration and diplomacy. Not much is known about religious music in medieval Bosnia. According to Bosnian musicologist Zija Kučukalić in *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, "There is no evidence that Church music, either of the western or eastern ritual, was played in this period. However, it can be supposed with some certainty that church music not much different from that played in other countries was cultivated in village and town churches, in court chapels and in Franciscan and Orthodox monasteries."[6]

Starting in the 16th century, Bosnia and Herzegovina "to all intents and purposes became a province of the Ottoman Empire."[7] The region remained under Turkish rule for approximately four hundred years, until the Austro-Hungarian occupation began in 1878. In the past, historians and musicologists have tended to dismiss Turkish influence on the development of Bosnian art music. Kučukalić writes that under Turkish occupation, "Although many remarkable works of art, particularly in the field of architecture and literature, were created during this period, there are no data on musical activities going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina of that time. The Turks were not interested in the development of even their own secular music and, due to the character of their religion, ritual music was not cultivated by them either. Thus musical creativity in this period found its expression chiefly in folk music into which the oriental elements were constantly penetrating." [8] Similarly, Bideleux and Jeffries, in *The Balkans: A Post-Communist*

6 Zija Kučukalić, *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, trans. Branka Bokonjić (Sarajevo: Association of Composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1967), 20.
7 Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosnia: A Cultural History* (New York: NYU Press, 2001), 89.
8 Kučukalić, *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 25.

History, claim that Turkish occupation did little to change Bosnian musical life, and write that "many of the same practices could continue, albeit with slightly different words or names."[9]

Lovrenović, in *Bosnia: A Cultural History*, and Čavlović provide a more complex analysis of Bosnia's cultural development during Ottoman rule. Lovrenović explains why a long period of cultural stagnation seem to have occurred during the 17th and 18th centuries. Due to the weakening Ottoman Empire's "climate of general stagnation and social anarchy, the great constructive and cultural impetus of the sixteenth century petered out."[10] Čavlović describes several ways in which Ottoman occupation most likely affected Bosnian music history. "Information on professional music in the Ottoman period is very scarce, but one can safely say that, at that time, musical practice in Bosnia was similar to the one common throughout the Ottoman Empire, due to the fact that professional musicians were an integral part of the Ottoman army. In comparison to medieval Bosnia this period is perceived as a hiatus, however, it is a period or arising of new folklore impulses, especially in terms of creation of new forms such as sevdalinka that has lived on to the most recent time."[11]

Despite Kučukalić's, Jeffries' and Bideleux's claims, the Ottoman occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina made a significant impact on the country's cultural heritage including, almost certainly, its musical heritage. However, the Turkish influence on the development of Bosnian art music has not been well investigated, particularly because most music from the Ottoman period was part of an oral tradition rather than being written down. Lovrenović writes, "Bosnia at the end of the fifteenth century and during the sixteenth underwent deep and far reaching structural changes, the most obvious and lasting being the influx of oriental civilization and

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9 Bideleux and Jeffries, *The Balkans,* 336.
10 Lovrenovic, *Bosnia,* 98.
11 Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini,* 365-366.

Islamiziation, the intensity and extent of which have still not been satisfactorily explained and evaluated."[12] To this day, the classical music institutions in Sarajevo often promote Turkish art music, acknowledging the influence of Ottoman occupation on Bosnia's musical heritage. The Sarajevo Philharmonic regularly plays Turkish music, both sacred and secular, and has frequently engaged Turkish composers, conductors, and performers as collaborators (see chapter 2). Hopefully, future Bosnian musicologists will further study the history of musical exchange between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Turkey, particularly between Sarajevo and Istanbul.

The influence of the Catholic church on Bosnia's musical history has been more well-documented than the influence of Turkish sacred and secular music during the 16th through 19th centuries. The Bosnian Franciscan order received musical training in Italy, where they learned the Medicean edition of the Gregorian chant, with unique, idiomatic cadencing. During the 17th century, several Bosnian Franciscans published books of songs, both in Latin and in Bosnian, including Matheus Bartl (Mato Banjalučanin), and Marijan Aljinić. The musicians of the Franciscan monasteries continued to compose and publish music through the 19th century.

Today's most well-researched Bosnian-Franciscan musician is Franjo Bosanac, also known as Franciscus Bossinensis. Bosanac worked both in Bosnia and in Italy, where he published two books of lute tablatures: *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto. Libro primo. Francisct Bossinensis Opus* (1509) printed in Venice by Ottavio Petrucci and *Libro Secundo* (1511), printed by Pertrucci in Fossombrone. The books contain directions on how to read tablature, a sonnet dedicated to Gerolamo Barbadigo, arrangements of Italian frottole for solo voice with lute, and newly composed solo ricercares. Bosanac's publications are notable, according to Kučukalić because "with his transcriptions of

[12] Lovrenović, *Bosnia,* 93.

frottole he paved the way for solo singing with an instrumental accompaniment and thus became one of the forerunners of the early baroque monody, and his ricercares are the first original compositions of this form written for the lute."[13]

The Ottoman occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina ended after a mass peasant uprising from 1875-1878. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the weakening of the Ottoman Empire was recognized, the Balkan territories were re-divided, and Bosnia and Herzegovina came under a forty-year Austro-Hungarian rule. The Austro-Hungarian occupation led to significant, enduring cultural changes throughout the country, particularly in large cities like Sarajevo. Lovrenović writes, "During the period of Austro-Hungarian rule fundamental changes took place in the cultural life of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Far more direct exposure to the intellectual life of western Europe; study in Vienna, Budapest, and other university towns of the Monarchy; a lively many-sided circulation of cultural currents: all these factors combined–in conditions where a new middle class was being consolidated and culture was being secularized–to create dynamic cultural milieus and a local secular intelligentsia in Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja Luka, such as has never before been experienced in Bosnia."[14] Similarly, historian Robert Donia contends in *Sarajevo: A Biography,* "Although [Austro-Hungarian] officials failed to inculcate enduring loyalty to the empire in founding European institutions in Sarajevo, they endowed the city and Bosnia-Herzegovina with a lasting legacy of education, cultural, and research institutions."[15]

The period of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially during the first decade of the 20th century, was marked by rising nationalism in addition to increasing Western European influence. Thus the development of classical music in Sarajevo during that

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[13] Kučukalić, *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 28.
[14] Lovrenović, *Bosnia,* 152.
[15] Robert Donia, *Sarajevo: A Biography* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 92.

time was shaped by both cosmopolitanism and nationalism. On one hand, many of Sarajevo's professional musicians were foreign, representing a diversity of backgrounds when they came together to found several major classical music institutions. On the other hand, the turn of the 20th century marked the foundation of nationalist cultural and educational societies. These societies unified members of a particular religion, ethnicity, or class, and supported their members' artistic and educational endeavors by hosting amateur musical ensembles. "The societies were, with the exception of the workers' society ››Proleter‹‹, founded on national principals. Their role was to promote music, of course, but to promote such music in such a way that would stress the sense of communality, not only within the national group in a particular town, but also by fostering links, real as well as mythical, with larger national groups elsewhere, primarily in Croatia and Serbia."[16]

Regardless of rising nationalism and discontent, and as a result of increased Austro-Hungarian investment in Sarajevo's cultural life, Western European art music was popularized in Sarajevo, and throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the Austro-Hungarian occupation. Many of the buildings that housed Sarajevo's classical music institutions were built during the Austro-Hungarian period, including the Army Hall and the National Theater. Kučukalić writes that under Austro-Hungarian rule, "Bosnia and Herzegovina established its first direct and permanent contact with European musical tradition. This was due to the efforts of the Austro-Hungarian administration to provide some cultural diversion including musical performances for its military and civil staff."[17] Troupes of foreign musicians travelled to Sarajevo to perform for Austro-Hungarian officers. For example, in 1909, Jewish-Polish violinist Bronislav Huberman

[16] Bojan Bujić, "Navigating Through the Past: Issues Facing An Historian of Music in Bosnia", *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music,* 37, 1 (2006), 77.
[17] Kučukalić, *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 31.

(known later as the founder of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra) came to Sarajevo in 1909 to produce Austro-Hungarian operettas.

Some of the first classical music ensembles formed in Sarajevo were singing groups. *Männergesangsverein*, a male singing company, was formed in Sarajevo during Austro-Hungarian occupation, and continued to perform there for 43 years. Seven concerts were produced annually for the Assembly Club at Vereinhaus, which is now the National Theater. Almost all of the singers were foreigners, many of them Czech, though a few Bosnian singers eventually joined. The group was led by Czech conductor, Josip Vancaš, and a band of Czech military musicians were sometime engaged as accompanists. Czech immigrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina were strongly involved in the development of the country's classical music institutions. For example, Franjo Maćejvoski (1871-1938) trained in Prague before moving to Banja Luka in 1900, where he conducted the Croatian singing company *Nada* and led the Cathedral choir. In 1905, he relocated to Sarajevo where he founded and ran the city's first music school from 1908-1915. Some of his students were later accepted to study at conservatories in Krakow and Prague. Later, Maćejvoski was hired to lead the choir and orchestra of the National Theater in 1922.

Around the turn of the 20th century, foreign classical musicians in Sarajevo began contributing toward defining a Bosnian national musical heritage through the collection folk tunes. Czech musicologist Ludwig Kuba collected 965 folk tunes in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1888–1912 and published them in "Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja" ("Journal of National Music"), between 1906 and 1910. Franjo Maćejvoski also collected folk music and wrote original works based upon folk idioms. At the same time, several ethnic and religious groups

founded the following "Cultural-Educational Societies" within Bosnia and Herzegovina: Serb *Prosveta* (1902), Croat *Napredak* (1905), Jewish *Benevolencija* (1892), and Muslim *Gajret* (1903), which later became *Preporod*. Each of these societies sponsored choral societies, singing groups and even some small instrumental ensembles.

Several Czech musicologists, particularly Bogomir Kačerovsky, Ludwig Kuba, and Franjo Maćejvoski developed repertoires for budding nationalist singing groups based on newly documented folk songs. The nationalist singing groups formed in Sarajevo around the turn of the 20th century included: *Sloga* (Serbian, formed in 1888), *Trebević* (Croatian, 1894), *Gajret* (Muslim, 1903), *Lira* (Jewish, 1900). Later, *Proleter*, a workers' singing group formed in 1905. The singing groups, though often led by Czech immigrants, promoted a nationalist agenda both through their makeup (each group represented a singular "ethnicity") as well as by their performance of folk songs. Thus, despite their foreign backgrounds, Czech musicians strongly contributed toward distinguishing various "Bosnian" identities, or national styles, within the context of Western art music.

Furthermore, a generation of Sarajevan amateur singers who joined the choral societies were educated about Western art music. In his article, "Navigating through the past: issues facing an historian of music in Bosnia", Bojan Bujić writes that in the early 20th century, Sarajevo's choral societies "were ideally suited in a community where the emerging bourgeoise could participate in music-making without the need to pass through any formal musical education. Choral societies themselves provided the basis for such an education, even if an elementary one, and their role as a bridge between the earlier folk tradition and the new sophisticated art music cannot be overestimated."[18]

[18] Bujić, "Navigating Through the Past: Issues Facing An Historian of Music in Bosnia", 77.

Unlike the singing groups, whose makeup reflected the political, ethnic, and religious divisions that were strengthening in the South Slavic region during the turn of the 20th century, early professional instrumental ensembles in Sarajevo were more integrated. In particular, these ensembles served to integrate Sarajevo's foreign and religious communities. For example, some of the first musicians who played in the concerts of the "cross-national institution"[19] that was the Sarajevo Philharmonic Society included a Slovenian who studied in Vienna with Franz Lehar, a Sarajevan cellist who studied with Maćejovski, and two Jewish string players.

As noted, the rising interest the "Bosnian" national musical style reflected the regional rise of nationalism in the early 20th century. Balkan nationalism was evident in the social and political unrest that led to the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28th 1914, and, ultimately, the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (which later became Yugoslavia) in 1918. However, despite the fact that "Sarajevo emerged from the First World War an orphan of the defunct Austro-Hungarian monarchy and became part of a new royal South Slav state,"[20] the cultural institutions founded in Bosnian and Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian occupation continued to expand between World Wars, particularly in larger cities like Sarajevo.

A state-funded public school of music, called The Regional School of Music, opened in 1920 as a six-year secondary school, headed by Cvjetko Rihtman. In 1927, it expanded to an eight-year program that prepared students to study at a conservatory or academy of music. As the school continued to grow, instruction was offered in voice and winds, in addition to piano, strings, and music theory. The school hosted regular performances, included monthly faculty

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[19] Ibid., 80.
[20] Donia, *Sarajevo,* 130.

concerts and biannual student concerts.

In 1919, The People's Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina sent a petition to the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes calling for the establishment of a Bosnian national theater. Sarajevo's *Narodno Pozorište*, or National Theater, opened in November of 1921. From the time of its foundation, the theater showcased the confluence of Bosnian and Western European culture. However, upon the foundation of the theater, few Western-style cultural institutions existed in Sarajevo. In the 1971 50th anniversary monograph of the Sarajevo National Theater, Vlajko Ubavić writes that when the theater opened it was, "without its own actors and directors, teachers, set designers and other experts, playwrights, audience, critics, or adequate material and financial resources; without permanent communication with other regions, with Europe and the world, without any serious insight into the Yugoslav, European and world theater production."[21]

Due to the lack of local artistic leaders and resources, upon its opening, the National Theater hosted series of touring productions from the opera houses of nearby cities, such as Osijek, Zagreb, Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Vienna. The first grand opera performed in Sarajevo was *Porin,* a Croatian opera presented by Osijek Opera on June 3rd, 1922. The series continued with a combination of regional works (such as *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*) and standard repertory (such as *Carmen* and *Pagliacci*). Meanwhile, the first Sarajevan musical productions at the National Theater were lighter operettas, which were more manageable for local artists and popular with Sarajevan audiences. To accompany these productions, a theater orchestra was formed in 1921. Despite its humble capabilities, it was the first professional large instrumental

[21] Vlajko Ubavić and Josip Lešić, eds., *Monografija o Sarajevskom Narodnom Pozorištu.* (Novi Sad: NIP "Forum", 1971), VII, my translation.

ensemble in Sarajevo. The following year, in 1922, an 18 member professional chorus affiliated with the National Theater was founded.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic Society, known in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the *Sarajevska Filharmonija*, began operating around 1920. The institution supported concerts featuring a variety of ensembles. "Though it supported an orchestra, this was not its exclusive aim and it was really a concert society on the model of Central-European concert societies which began to emerge in the early nineteenth century...in keeping with its modest financial resources, relied heavily on local performers, only occasionally bringing soloists from elsewhere. The local artists formed ad hoc chamber music groups."[22] A small group of music teachers: Josip Goldberg on violin, Jakov Sternberg on viola, Beluš Jungić on cello, and Klemens Menšik on piano, formed the Sarajevo Quartet of the Philharmonic Association, giving their first performance on April 15th, 1920.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra was founded in 1923, giving their first performance on October 24th of that year. It was the first professional symphony orchestra founded in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was derived from other, smaller, ensembles, and the founders included teachers as the Regional School as well as some amateur players and local musicians in military ensembles. The mission of the philharmonic was multi-faceted: "not only to form an orchestra and organize recitals and concerts, but also to aid musical institutions, and take care of the musicians, their status, and work, and to open professional libraries."[23] The orchestra overcame some initials struggles, including a cancelled 1928-1929 season due to financial difficulties. From 1929 to 1941 the Sarajevo Philharmonic continued to grow and perform regular concerts.

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[22] Bujić, "Navigating Through the Past: Issues Facing An Historian of Music in Bosnia", 80.
[23] Kučukalić, *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 40.

Several composers were affiliated with the Sarajevo's classical music institutions during the interwar period. They were mixture of natives and foreigners, and included Franjo Maćejovski (1871-1938), Beluš Jungić (1892-1968), Alfred Pordes (1907-1941), and Josip Majer (1888-1965). Many of their works were either pieces for musical plays or arrangements of folksongs for choir or military brass band. However, none of them have gained international notoriety for their original art music. Bujić explains that during the early 20th century, "Bosnia produced good performers but no distinguished composers...they embarked on producing occasional works and settings of folk music, aping the style of their models in Serbia and Croatia. In that way they got accustomed to working within a narrow band of creative possibilities...remaining on the level of ››commodity‹‹ music."[24]

Cultural life in Sarajevo was significantly disrupted during World War II, as Yugoslavia fell under the occupation of Axis powers. For example, from 1941-1945, the Sarajevo Philharmonic's activities were suspended. Some Croatian singing societies continued their work, but most singing organizations were closed during World War II, especially by 1944 when all public gatherings were forbidden. Sarajevo's classical music institutions suffered not only from the occupation but also from the loss of its Jewish community. "By the end of 1941 most Jews had been transported to concentration camps. It is estimated that the small Jewish population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, numbering about 14,000, was reduced to just 2,000 by the end of the war."[25]

The Partisans, a communist, pan-Yugoslav, guerrilla resistance movement, were able to expel Axis powers on May 15th 1945 and their leader, Marshal Josip Broz Tito was elected prime

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[24] Bujić, "Navigating Through the Past: Issues Facing An Historian of Music in Bosnia", 78.
[25] Tim Clancy, *Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Guilford: The Globe Pequot Press, Inc., 2010), 29.

minister of the new communist Yugoslav state, called the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. During the second World War and the rise of the Partisan movement, the rise of socialism and an increased revolutionary spirit was reflected in the arts. Newly composed "Partisan songs" became popular, and were intended to reflect a national style while conveying Partisan ideology. Also, in 1942, a newly-founded Sarajevo Radio Station sponsored the foundation of a small orchestra, led by Oliver Ristić, which performed standard symphonic pieces as well as Partisan movement choirs and other compositions.

The middle of the twentieth century marked the significant growth of Sarajevo's classical music institutions, although not all of the newly-founded and restructured institutions succeeded. In his brief account of the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, travel writer Tim Clancy describes the mid-twentieth century as "a kind of national renaissance."[26] State support for the arts and cultural promoted the stable growth of Sarajevo's classical music institutions through the mid-1980s. Bujić writes, "Following the Soviet model of art for everyone, after 1945 the state provided generous support to professional musical institutions, something that did not exist in Bosnia and Herzegovina hitherto."[27]

Musicians who traveled or immigrated from other cities throughout the Balkan region played a significant role in the development of Sarajevo's classical music institutions in the mid-twentieth century. "The burgeoning of musical life in Sarajevo after the Second World War could not have been possible without an influx of highly-trained and experienced composers and conductors, coming mainly from Zagreb, and to a lesser degree from Belgrade.... The activity of the Sarajevo Opera and Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra were to a large degree sustained by

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[26] Ibid., 31.
[27] Bujić, "Navigating Through the Past: Issues Facing An Historian of Music in Bosnia", 80.

them and they have thereby earned the right to be remembered not only in the history of music in Bosnia, but also in the wider sphere of civic recognition."[28]

Operatic performance resumed at the National Theater in Sarajevo when Verdi's *Traviata* premiered in 1944. The Sarajevo Opera was officially founded in 1946 and become one of Sarajevo's most important classical music institutions during the mid to late twentieth century. "The most actively present musical organization in Sarajevo's civic life after 1945 was undoubtably the Sarajevo Opera."[29] Cvjeko Rihtman was appointed at the first director, new musicians were hired, and an opera choir was established. Additionally the opera orchestra was able to serve as a strong core for the Sarajevo Philharmonic.

Beside the Sarajevo Opera, several other classical music institutions were founded in the decade following World War II. 1950 marked the formation of the Sarajevo Ballet *Ensamble* with a school of its own. The Sarajevo String Quartet was formed in 1954, with a second quartet of the same name founded in 1968. Additionally, several orchestras were formed throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, though most of folded due to a lack of good musicians outside of Sarajevo. Similarly, many amateur choirs folded shortly after being restructured starting in 1945. According to Bujić, "the amateur choral societies...were re-named and re-shaped, and from the formerly denominational cultural societies emerged as organizations with trade-union affiliations. Their luck in any case considerably diminished by the early 1960s with the increase in the popularity of new mass media such as film and television."[30]

From 1948-1953 the Sarajevo Philharmonic went by the name "The Orchestra of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina". During this time, the orchestra was led only by

[28] Ibid., 80.
[29] Ibid., 81.
[30] Ibid., 81.

conductors from former Yugoslavia, although soloists were still generally invited from abroad. Furthermore, it became a priority for the orchestra to perform pieces by composers from Bosnia and the rest of former Yugoslavia. As the orchestra rebuilt itself, its members included amateurs, bar musicians, Roma musicians from Subotica, Serbia and discharged military musicians. Later, as a generation of students graduated from the Music Academy, an increasing number of the orchestra's members were professionals. Prior to the early 1990s, positions in the orchestra were honorary, meaning that the musicians were paid per service and the concerts were arranged by a Sarajevan concert agency. Musicians in the Sarajevo Philharmonic were drawn from other full-time professional orchestras, namely the Sarajevo Opera Orchestra and, starting in the 1960s, the Sarajevo Radio Television Orchestra. Čavlović argues that the quality of the Sarajevo Philharmonic was limited due to the fact that the orchestra was per service, it "couldn't rise in quality as a non-salaried ensemble." [31] However, Dževad Sabanagić remembers, "The Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra consisted of professors from the Music Academy, members of the Sarajevo Opera Orchestra and Radio Television Sarajevo Symphony Orchestra. Those were the best musicians in the city and the productions were pretty big."[32]

Čavlović emphasizes the importance of amateur musicianship in the history of classical music in Sarajevo during the 1960s and 1970s. Amateur musicians reflected the socialist ideals of the time; they were performing music "for the people, by the people". Furthermore, the rise in the number and quality of amateur musicians paved the way for the establishment of stronger professional-level ensembles, contributing to the growth of musicians, audiences, and musical education.

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[31] Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini,* 244, translation.
[32] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.

In addition to the growth and development of classical music ensembles, institutions, and audiences in the mid-twentieth century, classical music education also expanded in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A significant number of graduates from Sarajevo's music high school continued their studies at the Sarajevo Music Academy, and afterward, with the social support, contributed to the development of educational music programs throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. Elementary music schools were opened throughout the country, and secondary music schools opened in Mostar, Banja Luka, and Tuzla. Additionally, music classes were offered at gymnasiums (secondary schools which prepare students academically for university entrance). A department of music at the Teachers' Training College in Sarajevo opens 1952 and the Academy of Music, which provided instruction in all instruments, voice, theory, and musicology, in 1955. In 1947, the Institute for Folklore Studies was founded as a department at the National Museum by Cvjetko Rihtman (1902–1989).

Miroslav Špiler (1906-1982), a Croatian composer, helped lead Sarajevo's classical music institutions in the 1960s and 1970s and represented how musicians were affected by the political and cultural changes that occurred in Yugoslavia during the mid-twentieth century. Špiler studied composition with Arnold Schoenberg in Berlin from 1926-1927 and later studied with Vincent d'Indy from 1929-1930 in Paris. After that Špiler travelled as an accompanist for his brother, a violinist, throughout central Europe. From 1931-1941 he returned to his native Croatia, where he served as a conductor, musical editor, and accompanist at the Zagreb radio station. Špiler's musical career in Yugoslavia continued to grow as he became involved in the Partisan resistance movement during World War II. In 1943, he joined the Partisan movement as a musical associate in central committee of the communist party of Croatia. One year later,

Špiler become the manager of the musical section of cultural-artistic department in the department for information for Zavnoh (anti-fascist council). After liberation, Špiler became the head of the musical department of Radio Zagreb and then later in Belgrade. He came to Sarajevo in 1953 as a professor in a high school for pedagogues. After the Music Academy was founded, Špiler worked as a professor from 1955-1975 and served as the dean from 1960-1963. Additionally, from 1966-1971 he was the president of the association of composers of Yugoslavia.

Upon the graduation of the first generation of music academy students, the level of musicianship rose in Sarajevo's ensembles, and the number of educational and performance institutions peaked in the 1970s and 1980s. Additionally, political support and a prosperous economy led to the increase in quantity and quality of classical music institutions in Sarajevo in the 1970s and 1980s. Dževad Šabanagić remembers, in particular, the Sarajevo Opera thriving. "The opera had a big repertoire, four premieres per year, sometime three. But they had 12, 15, sometimes even up to 17 performances per month."[33] From 1960-1975 the Opera employed Liljana Molnar-Talajić, who went onto to a successful international career performing at the Vienna State Opera, La Scala, Covent Garden, and the Metropolitan.

A second Sarajevan symphony orchestra, comprised primarily of recent graduates from the Music Academy, was formed by 1962, hosted by Sarajevo Radio and Television. However, a Radio Television Sarajevo Chamber Orchestra existed prior to 1962. (The orchestra transitioned from being a chamber orchestra to a full symphony orchestra between 1957 and 1962.) The Radio Television Sarajevo Symphony Orchestra occasionally played public concerts, but mostly worked to make recordings. They sometimes performed works by Yugoslav composers and were

[33] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8th, 2013.

frequently collaborators with the semi-professional Radio Television Sarajevo Chorus.

Fahira Karhasanović, who worked as a music librarian for the Radio Television Sarajevo Symphony Orchestra during the 1980s remembers how the orchestra operated on a day to day basis. She described the frequency of the rehearsals and how the concerts and recordings were organized. "The Radio Television Sarajevo Symphony Orchestra didn't have its own concert hall, so we had to come to the city center, with our instruments, to the Army Hall, to have a concert there every month. We worked every day from 8:30 until 11:30. On Thursdays, we had a double service and everything we worked on had to be recorded on those days. All of the recordings are still available at the archive of the Radio Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina building."[34] Dževad Šabanagić recalls, "The Symphony Orchestra of Radio Television Sarajevo was required to record 60 minutes per month and even today those recordings still exist in the archive of the Radio Television. We cherished music composed by domestic composers and European composers as well."[35]

By the mid 1970s, classical music institutions in Sarajevo were thriving. By that time, there were 12 concert associations employing about 1000 artists, as well as about 60 independent artists. Beginning in 1966, each republic within Yugoslavia was granted control over its own cultural development, and Bosnia and Herzegovina was given a larger budget. The state supported artists by buying artwork, granting scholarships, and providing artists with space to live and to work. Also, around that time, artists were given stronger intellectual property rights, protected by the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Sarajevo Music Academy's size peaked, with 45 professors and associate professors and over 200 students in 7 departments prior

[34] Fahira Karahasanović, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16, 2013.
[35] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.

to 1992.

Under socialism, artists in former Yugoslavia united and formed associations to advocate for their interests and rights. An association of performers, the Association of Music Artists was formed in 1950. In the same year, 13 member formed the Composers Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which grew to 43 members by 1989. Other groups included the Association of Musicians of Theater and Symphony Orchestra, the Association of Opera and Operetta and Choir Musicians, the Association of Musicians of Pop and Folk Music, the Association of Musical Pedagogues, the Association of Folklorists and the Friends of Music Society. Teodor Romanić, former president of the Association of Music Artists remembers how the unions promoted and supported Sarajevo's classical music community in ex-Yugoslavia. "We had a competition. We had concerts. We worked a lot. Everyone was close to each other, so we knew what was going on in Ljubljana, Belgrade, and here."[36]

As classical music institutions continued to grow from the end of World War II, through the 1980s, there were an increasing number of educational concerts for children. In 1976, Vlajko Ubavić (at the time the director of the National Theater) wrote, "A predominant focus at our theater is on young people. Although some people think that the 'golden age for Sarajevo's pupils' was between the two world wars, these years we have performances for students in general education and vocational schools every Monday and Tuesday, and student performances every Friday."[37]

Due to quality of musical education and state support for cultural institutions under socialism, the some amateur choral societies founded earlier in the 20th century managed to

[36] Teodor Romanić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, December 13, 2013.
[37] Ubavić and Lešić, eds., *Monografija o Sarajevskom Narodnom Pozorištu,* XI, translation.

thrive in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, the former director of the Sarajevo Opera, Miroslav Homen, recalls working as the conductor of "Seljo", an amateur choir affiliated with Sarajevo University. "I was leading the choir *Seljo* for thirty years. It was one of the best choirs in Yugoslavia and it was a choir who won many first prizes in various international competitions.... *Seljo* meant a lot for culture here. *Seljo* is an amateur choir but we prepared Handel's Messiah, Mozart's Requiem, Verdi's Requiem, and Carmina Burana. masses of Handel and Haydn."[38]

Music festivals were an important element of Sarajevo's art music scene during the 1970s and 1980s, according to Čavlović. One of the biggest festivals was "Sarajevske Večeri Musike", "Sarajevo Nights of Music", or "SVEM", began in 1972. "There were five concerts in the SVEM season, and we would perform pieces by only one composer, like Beethoven for example, for all five concerts."[39] Beginning in 1989, SVEM became affiliated with the Sarajevo Winter Festival, a general festival of cultural events originally founded due to the 1984 Olympic Games.

In second half of the 1980s, the Composers Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina arranged a festival called "Days of Musical Creation of BiH", or "DMS BH", at which only pieces by composers from Bosnia and Herzegovina were performed. The DMS BH festival contributed to the growth of the number of composers and pieces written in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[40] The festival was held in several cities, though usually in Sarajevo, and most of the performers were local. The featured works were mainly composed for chamber ensembles. Composers in Sarajevo were also actively involved in collaborations with musicians in other regions in Yugoslavia. Many attended an annual seminar, the " Festival of New Yugoslav Music" in Opatija, a city in Croatia with a history of hosting composers such as Mahler, Lehar,

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[38] Miroslav Homen, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 17, 2013.
[39] Fahira Karahasanović, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16, 2013.
[40] Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini,* 257, translation.

and Kalman. Percussionist Irfan Kamenjašević remembers traveling there to collaborate with composers. " I played some pieces written by Professor Josip Magdić at the annual congress of Yugoslav composers in Opatija."[41] Composer Ališer Sijarić also remembers the final two conferences, and how they fell apart due to break up of Yugoslavia. "So the first time I was well, there were mostly composers from all over Yugoslavia, that means from Slovenia, from Macedonia. And then second time I was, there were some problems. The composers from Kosovo didn't come, or some didn't come. And the political influence of this political tensions in Yugoslavia of that time were clear to see on that, on that festival."[42]

In 1984, the city of Sarajevo hosted the Winter Olympic Games. As international attention and tourism increased during that year, cultural and artistic venues in Sarajevo were well-patronized. There were an increased number of performances surrounding the Olympics Games. For example, the Sarajevo Opera "performed more programs during that period. They had around five performances per week."[43] The Opera produced four premieres, more than average, including, *Prince Igor*, *The Bartered Bride,* Monteverdi's *Il combattimento di Tancredi i Clorinda*, and a staged version of *Carmina Burana*. Also, at the Olympic Games, "official performances of the anthems were done by the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra. Nothing much changed for the Radio Television Symphony Orchestra in terms of their work routine...The Radio Television Symphony Orchestra was based quite far from the city center, so they were not involved in the olympic events."[44]

Dževad Šabanagić points out, "The main event was the Olympic Games, music was secondary." However, "All of us who were there at that time were very proud that our city and

[41] Irfan Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.
[42] Ališer Sijarić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 10, 2014.
[43] Fahira Karahasanović, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16, 2013.
[44] Ibid.

our country hosted the Olympics in Sarajevo. There weren't so many concerts, but, for example, I had a few concerts with my quartet which were held for special audiences and athletes in one hall in Mojmilo [the Olympic Village]. There were also some concerts in the National Theater which were a part of the Olympic Games."[45] Remembering the excitement surrounding the 1984 Olympics, many regard the 1980s in Sarajevo as a peak period of positive international recognition and cultural success, prior to the economic decline and rising ethnic tensions that led to war in the 1990s.

Knowledge regarding the history of music in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the medieval period through the 1980s is important for understanding Sarajevo's classical music scene during the decades surrounding the turn of the 21st century. To this day, Sarajevo remains a unique host to the confluence of Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian influences. "Sarajevo found itself in the overlap of two cultural orbits: one largely traditional, centered in Istanbul; and the other European and "modern" emanating from Vienna."[46] The history of both intercultural exchange as well as interethnic conflict in 20th century Sarajevo has shaped the makeup and operations of the National Theater and the Sarajevo Music Academy. "After one period, in which the development of musical culture and art was stabilised as much as it was allowed by the general social circumstances of a historical period, another period starts and completely nullifies previous social relations and achieved levels of the overall social development."[47] Throughout Sarajevo's history of both Eastern and Western occupation, and its position in the center of conflict during both World Wars, classical music institutions in Sarajevo have struggled to represent a Bosnian national identity while they persist as monuments to Western European

[45] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[46] Donia, *Sarajevo,* 60.
[47] Čavolvić, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini,* 363.

heritage. However, the institutions thrived, becoming sources of national pride, in mid-twentieth century socialist Yugoslavia. Thus, the development of classical music in Sarajevo that occurred between the late 19th century and 1991 continues to be an important part of Bosnia and Herzegovina's cultural history, and the city's classical music community has remained as a frequent host of intercultural and international collaboration during and after the siege of Sarajevo.

Chapter 2- Detailed Historical Account, 1992-present

The Siege of Sarajevo:

In the late 1980s, economic decline and rising nationalism presaged the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Slovenian and Croatian politicians proposed a looser confederation of the six Yugoslav republics, (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia) which was rejected by Serbian communist leader Slobodan Milošević. As a result, Slovenia and Croatia declared independence from Yugoslavia on June 25, 1991, and the Yugoslav wars broke out.

Subsequently, a referendum was held in Bosnia and Herzegovina in early 1992 to determine whether Bosnia and Herzegovina would declare independence from Yugoslavia. Many Bosnian Serbs boycotted the referendum; their November 1991 creation of a separate Bosnian-Serb Republic within Bosnia and Herzegovina had been declared unconstitutional and illegal. Despite the boycott and controversy surrounding the referendum, Bosnia declared its independence on March 1, 1992.

The Bosnian Serb community felt threatened by the emergence of an independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which Bosnian-Serbs would comprise a minority. In fact, Donia argues that, "the siege of Sarajevo was conceived and carried out as retaliation for indignities, real and imagined, suffered by the Serb people."[48] After independence was declared on March 1, Bosnian-Serb nationalists began erecting barricades at key transit points in Sarajevo in order to show their opposition. The SDA (the Bosnian Muslim political party) reacted by putting up barricades of their own. Sarajevan citizens gathered in front of the Catholic cathedral and in the

[48] Donia, *Sarajevo,* 289.

neighborhood of Novo Sarajevo to protest the barricades and call for a unified, independent, cosmopolitan, peaceful Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The European Community recognized the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina on April 6, 1992. Once again, barricades were erected, and fifty thousand people marched in protest, crowding the city streets. Several Serb snipers hidden inside the Holiday Inn, and perhaps also from a house across the Miljacka river, shot and killed six protesters. Because of this incident, April 6 1992 is now considered as the first day of the siege of Sarajevo, which lasted until 1996.

During the siege of Sarajevo, the city withstood attacks from the Serbian army (JNA), later superseded by the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), who occupied the surrounding hills. From the very beginning civilians and civilians institutions were targeted. In April of 1992, targets included the Koševo Hospital, the Institute for Physical Therapy and Rehabilitation in Ilidža, the Oriental Institute, and the Olympic Museum. Later, in August of 1992, Sarajevo's cultural institutions seemed to be key targets; the City Hall (which hold the National Library) and much of its contents were destroyed, and the *Oslobodjenje* newspaper headquarters and Sarajevo RTV center were attacked. Teodor Romanić, former conductor of the Sarajevo Radio Television Symphony laments that the recordings they made were "all destroyed during the war."

The targeting of Sarajevan civilians, infrastructure, and cultural institutions was a strategy of Serb aggressors. In *Sarajevo: A Biography*, Robert Donia argues that, "SDS leaders (Bosnian Serb nationalist leaders) aimed to use Sarajevo and its citizens as hostages to strengthen their negotiating position. The Bosnian Serb nationalists instituted the siege and promulgated systematic violence as a means of highlighting their own ruthlessness, making their own

depravity their greatest lever in negotiating with the timid international community.... Sarajevans suffered death and deprivation from intermittent shelling with heavy weapons, sniping, and the cutting off to essential services, not in a stalemated military struggle or stalled conquest by the Bosnian-Serb Army (VRS; *Vojska Republika Srpske*), but in a calculated reign of terror."[49]

The international community was well-aware of the violence suffered by Sarajevo's civilians. On August 24, 1992, the United Nations Human Rights Commission sent Tadeusz Mazoweicki, a special reporter, to the city. He testified, "The greatest threat to life at present comes from the shelling of civilian population centers and the shooting of civilians in besieged towns....The siege, including the shelling of population centers and the cutting off of supplies of food and other essential goods, is another tactic.... The city is shelled on a regular basis, in what appears to be a deliberate attempt to spread terror among the population. Snipers shoot innocent civilians.... I was also able to see the damage done to the hospital itself, which has been deliberately shelled on several occasions despite the proper display of the internationally recognized Red Cross symbol."[50] Despite reports from international observers like Mazoweicki, the UN maintained its policy to intervene only to offer humanitarian aid rather than military protection.

During the siege, many civilians fled Sarajevo, but many also remained in the city. "Many feared uprooting their lives for an uncertain future in an unfamiliar place. Most had secure jobs. Even if normal employment activity was halted during the war, most jobholders were entitled to an apartment that became familiar and well appointed over years or even

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[49] Donia, *Sarajevo,* 288-289.

[50] From UN, Commission on Human Rights, Economic and Social Council, "Report on the situation of human rights in the territory of the former Yugoslavia submitted by Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, August 28, 1992" (New York: UN Economic and Social Council, 1992). Quoted in *Sarajevo: A Biography* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), by Robert Donia, 303.

decades of residence. Most had family and friends that they did not want to leave. Many valued the city's urban diversity and its economic advantages over the countryside. Relatively few found no way to leave or were deterred by fear of what they might encounter on the way out of the city. And most lived daily with the hope, however unrealistic, that the madness would end shortly."[51]

Meanwhile, those who fled the city coped with grief over the loss of their community and guilt over their inability to help. In *Sarajevo, Exodus of a City*, Dževad Karahasan describes fleeing Sarajevo in February 1993, resettling in Austria, and thus gives a expat perspective. He is hurt not only by his own loss, but also as a witness to the destruction of his city and the diaspora created by its exodus. "Trust their author, who is otherwise a cool and not particularly sentimental man, that the banal simple facts of forced exodus hurt the most. Not only and not so much the details of one's own actual exodus...what hurts much, much more is witnessing the veritable exodus of the city."[52]

Though many fled, civilians from all ethnic groups remained in Sarajevo during the siege, and Sarajevo in many ways maintained its legacy of diversity and interethnic cooperation. "Despite some differentiation among major groups in the city, large numbers of Serbs and Croats, and a smaller number of Jews, remained in Sarajevo during the war and suffered with Bosniaks the indiscriminate death, injury, deprivation, and fear created by the Serb nationalist assault on the city. Sarajevo retained its common life throughout the war."[53] Thus, it is important to distinguish Serb-nationalists from the general population of Bosnian-Serbs in Sarajevo, many of whom became civilian victims of the Serb-nationalist army.

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[51] Donia, *Sarajevo,* 317.

[52] Dževad Karahasan, *Sarajevo: Exodus of a City,* trans. Slobodan Drakulić (New York: Kodansha America, Inc., 1993), 17.

[53] Donia, *Sarajevo,* 321.

Karahasan explains how Sarajevo's interethnic connectivity could not be destroyed by the siege, despite the attackers' motivation to ethnically divide Bosnia and Herzegovina. "I spoke to a journalist.... The practical American...asked why we Sarajevans didn't accept the partitions of Bosnia and the city, if that could be a way to peace. I replied that I wholeheartedly agreed, if he could only propose a way to divide Bosnia and Sarajevo. As my neighbors were taking shelter in the basement (shells literally pouring down around the building), I could concretely demonstrate to the American a sample of the ethnic structure of Bosnia and Sarajevo within our building. Pointing my fellow tenants out, one by one, I showed that only one out of ten married couples occupying the ten apartments in the building is of the same ethnicity. I myself noticed that fact only then."[54]

The territorial defense units of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH) in Sarajevo had prepared for war prior to the siege. They were well-manned, but had significantly fewer weapons than the Serb nationalists. ARBiH had "no usable heavy weapons when the war began except a single tank that had been used to train MUP forces, and by the war's end they had acquired only ten to twenty artillery pieces, one hundred mortars of various sizes, and some recoilless rifles."[55] Without adequate defending forces, the citizens of Sarajevo remained in constant danger of snipers and mortar fire. "Until the cease-fire of February 1994, the VRS fired an average of three hundred artillery or mortar rounds at the city every day; on July 22, 1993, the UN reported a record 3,777 impacts."[56]

Although the international community condemned the Serb nationalist attacks on Sarajevo, those who had the power to break the siege, namely the United States and the

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[54] Karahasan, *Sarajevo,* 46.
[55] Donia, *Sarajevo,* 310.
[56] Ibid.

European community, remained reluctant to intervene. As mentioned above, UN policy was to abstain from military commitment and, rather, to focus on escorting humanitarian aid into Sarajevo. Clancy writes, "The role of the UN in the Bosnian conflict continues to stir much debate and has been viewed by many as at best ineffective, and at worst negligent and bordering on criminal.... The UN was mandated to secure humanitarian routes, and as peacekeepers they were denied the right to defend themselves. As a result, a total of 320 UNPROFOR were killed while on duty. They were sent to 'keep peace' with no peace to keep."[57]

Citizens of Sarajevo criticized the lack of intervention and Western indifference during the siege. Karahasan writes his opinion regarding Western indifference, first stated in a speech that he gave to his Sarajevan theater students during the siege. Karahasan also questions why the international media became interested in artists stranded in besieged Sarajevo. "You are better than the gentlemen in the West, who are not helping us, although they can: you are better than them because you are alive and they are indifferent.... And do you know what those wretches are doing to feel something? It is all in vain, they do not feel, they are indifferent. True, they are watching our misfortune like a badly directed movie, but they are so intrigued by our misfortune and our lives only because there is nothing to be seen in their own lives."[58]

However, in part due to the interest of the Western media, Sarajevans became known for their cultural resistance during the siege. Acts of cultural resistance included the hosting of academic conferences, the publication of black humor, the invention of new devices for heating and cooking, a 'Miss Sarajevo' beauty pageant, and the development of internet connectivity to send messages to relatives living abroad as refugees. The musical *Hair* was produced and

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[57] Clancy, *Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 38.
[58] Karahasan, *Sarajevo,* 31.

performed on December 1st 1992. Clancy argues, "Cultural life did not die during these times; it flourished in the most defiant form of non-violent resistance."[59] Cultural resistance connected Sarajevans to the international artistic community and drew media attention to the plight of besieged civilians. For example, "Many [UNPROFOR] French officers, in particular, supported cultural activities in the city and attended some of the relatively few cultural events that could be organized in times of relative quiet."[60] Susan Sontag came to Sarajevo to produce the play "Waiting for Godot". As Sarajevo's artists appeared on news in the United States and Western Europe, they became recognizable faces and relatable personalities representing the hardship and loss endured by the victims of the Bosnian War.

Furthermore, Donia argues that, "Sarajevans survived under the siege by adhering to their normal routines and rhythms of everyday life to the greatest possible extent. Social scientists and psychologists have noted that preserving a sense of normalcy is a common response to violence, and this was no doubt the case in besieged Sarajevo."[61] In his essay, "Tales from the Wild East", Macedonian Goran Stefanovski makes a similar claim, "You can see productions, made smack in the middle of a historical earthquake, which bear no resemblance to that reality. They witness something else—a certain escapist solipsism of 'this is not happening, this is not here, this is not us.'"[62] Other historians and artists have taken the argument further, claiming that the citizens of Sarajevo were not merely maintaining their cultural life in order to survive, but strove to survive in order to preserve their cultural life. "Historian and Sarajevo resident Dževad Juzbašić characterized that period in his life as a 'struggle for mere survival, but also for the

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59 Clancy, *Bosnia and Herzegovina,* 40.
60 Donia, *Sarajevo,* 304.
61 Ibid., 318.
62 Goran Stefanovski, "Tales from the Wild East", in *Theatre and Performance in Eastern Europe, The Changing Scene*, eds. David Barnett and Arthur Skelton (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2008), 154.

defense of human dignity.'"[63]

The first documented concert in besieged Sarajevo was performed by pianist Esma Pašić on July 9t 1992 in the grenade-destroyed concert hall of the Sarajevo Music High School, organized by HKD *Napredak*. After that, over 2000 concerts were organized and performed in Sarajevo under siege, "of different characters and content and different purposes."[64] The concerts were organized by a variety of music institutions and cultural-educational societies, including the Music Academy, HKD *Napredak*, KDB *Preporod*, SKD *Cankar*, and Chamber Theater 55, which hosted a festival called *Ljeto u kamernom* or Summer Chamber Music. Concert venues included the Cathedral, the Church of St. Anton in the Bistrik neighborhood, Chamber Theater 55, the concert hall of the Music High School, the Army Hall, the Bosnian Cultural Center, and various other places regarded as "safe" from shelling and sniper fire. Additionally, Zvjezdana Patak remembers that concerts were performed for victims at the city hospital. "We played a lot at the city hospital, to visit the ill and wounded. It meant a lot for them, people still remember those concerts. I heard in some talk shows that the the director of the hospital, Dr. Nakaš, was praising us, that it was important for us to play for the wounded people. He was thankful for those concerts."[65]

Generally, concerts were matinees, held during the day or early evening, which was safer for the performers and audiences. In order to avoid becoming targets of attack, the time and location of concerts was often kept secret, publicized only by word of mouth among trusted friends. "It was a closed circle of people who attended the concerts. It wasn't open for

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[63] From ed. Suada Kapić, *Life*, (Sarajevo: FAMA, 1995). Quoted in *Sarajevo: A Biography* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), by Robert Donia, 321.

[64] Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini,* 260, translation.

[65] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.

everyone."[66] During the war, musicians were not usually compensated financially for their performances, but rather received humanitarian aid packages and cigarettes, which were unofficial currency in besieged Sarajevo. When describing the unique difficulties encountered by those involved in Sarajevo's wartime classical music performance, journalist Goran Milić wrote in 1997 that there was a, "from today's perspective—unbelievable, weird, and almost surrealistic history."[67]

During the war, a group of musicians serving in the military formed an Artists' Brigade. Peter Slavi writes about the group in his article on Sarajevo's recovery from the siege, published in *World and I* in 1999. "When the siege immobilized the [Sarajevo Philharmonic] orchestra, about fifteen members joined an army band of wind players organized by [Emir] Nuhanović, who served as both officer and commander. The band traveled to various Bosnian cities, each time setting out on foot at night with the instruments, helping each other carry the heavy ones. They made their may through a tunnel under the airport—the only way out of Sarajevo—and then climbed Mount Igman to reach trucks on the other side, beyond the Serbs encircling the city. After their performance, the ensemble would walk back into Sarajevo through the tunnel, carrying food for their families."[68] In violinist Ruth Waterman's collection of Bosnian and Herzegovinian musicians' memoirs, she also mentions the wartime performances of the Artists' Brigade. An interviewee tells her, "most of my friends they were in something called the artists' brigade. It was nice. They did something on the TV, they made some TV show, playing music, I mean, it was better than to go somewhere fighting."[69]

The Sarajevo Radio Television Orchestra ceased its operation in September of 1991.

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66 Fahira Karahasanović, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16, 2013.
67 Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 263.
68 Peter Slavi, "Symphony and Dissonance: Uniting Bosnia Through Music", *World and I*, 4, 14 (1999): 210.
69 Ruth Waterman, *When Swan Lake Comes to Sarajevo*, (London: Canterbury Press Norwich, 1998), 195.

However, the Radio Television chamber orchestra continued to perform during the war, under the direction of Rešad Arnautović. Zvjezdana Patak, currently a violinist in the Sarajevo Philharmonic, remembers playing in the ensemble, "A very small number of musicians were in Sarajevo from the Radio Television Orchestra, maybe 12-15 people. I don't know the exact number."[70] The most important concert of this chamber orchestra was a performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony with conductor Iggo Rainer in September 1993 in Sarajevo City Hospital.

Several vocal ensembles were formed either just before or during the siege. They included a Croation choir, "Trebević", with Milan Jeličanin as conductor, a Muslim women's academic choir led by Rešad Arnautović, a vocal octet, and choir "Gaudeamus". The siege caused the suspension of the Sarajevo Opera from 1992 until 1996. However, the opera did host a wartime concert of arias on May 28, 1994. The Ballet of the National Theater had only one show during the war. *Bolero* was premiered in November of 1994, performed 16 times.

Instrumental chamber ensembles active during the siege included the Sarajevo String Quartet and the Sarajevo Baroque Trio. The Sarajevo String Quartet was first called "String Quartet of the Sarajevo Opera Orchestra" and was formed in June 1992. Their first concert was held on August 2 1992 in New District Church, dedicated to the Sarajevan victims of the war. The "Sarajevo String Quartet of the Chamber Theater 55" formed in 1993. The members were Momir Vlačić, first violin, Kamenko Ostojić, second violin, Dijana Ihas, viola, and Miron Strutinski, cello. After Vlačić was killed by a sniper in October of 1992, Dževad Šabanagić joined as a replacement first violinist. After the death of Ostojić, he was replaced by Hrvoje Tisler. The quartet performed over 100 concerts in Sarajevo and over 50 concerts on tours

[70] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.

abroad. Dževad Šabanagić remembers the tour and recalls having to find new personnel for the ensemble once again upon his colleagues' decision not to return. "We went on tour in 1994. The president, Alija Izetbegović, gave us permission to go, but I had to promise him that we would come back. But after the tour, my colleagues stayed away.... So I came back alone to Sarajevo and I formed another quartet again."[71]

The siege also disrupted the Sarajevo Philharmonic; archives were destroyed, instruments were damaged, and seven members were killed, including the first trombonist, Dragan Ošap, and the second flute and piccolo player, Hajrudin Husanović. However, the orchestra continued to rehearse in basements by candlelight and performed approximately 60 concerts during the five-year siege. They performed a large number of concerts in Sarajevo, in other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad. The orchestra was conducted by Rešad Arnautović, who conducted the first war concert on December 29, 1993. Teodor Romanić also conducted.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic performed 20 concerts abroad during the siege, including at the Ravenna Festival in Italy. Zvjezdana Patak described these concerts: "We had a tour. Of course we had free days and everything that we needed. Professor Teodor Romanić was the conductor and we played Dvořák's New World Symphony. I remember we gained a lot of sympathy from the Italian audience. We started from the south to the north. Later on, we didn't play the Dvořák Symphony any more. We travelled to many cities in Italy, so I cannot remember all of the names of the cities. We played Bach; the program was adapted for smaller venues because we performed in churches. Especially in smaller town, the churches are the only places where you can have a concert."[72]

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[71] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[72] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.

Dževad Šabanagić remembers the audience reception received by the Sarajevo Philharmonic on tour. "The audience didn't come just to hear the music and also to see the miracle of the philharmonic that works, plays, and exists during the war. It was unbelievable how the audience watched us with wonder, with sorrow, with emotion. The audience couldn't believe it."[73] Zvjezdana Patak also remembers what is was like to encounter foreign supports and collaborate with foreign musicians, "I gained a lot friends and made a lot of contacts in Sicily. So the people were constantly following the news about the situation in Sarajevo and giving us updates. So we were well informed about the situation there. Some of them offered to help me, trying to persuade me not to go back to Sarajevo. They were more afraid than I was. For them it was terrible but for me it was normal, I knew what was going on. They were letting us know every day and they asked me to stay there. I told to myself, Sarajevo, BiH, my people are dying there. What is happening to them is happening to me. That's my final decision, that's the end of the story."[74]

Classical musicians in Sarajevo drew international attention when the Sarajevo Philharmonic and the chorus of the National Theater gave a televised performance of Mozart's Requiem in the ruins of the City Hall on June 19, 1994, with Zubin Mehta conducting and guest artists Jose Carreras, Ruggiero Raimondi, Cecilia Gasdia, and Ildikó Komlósi. Musicians from Zagreb and Ljubljana came as guests musicians to supplement the depleted orchestra. The concert was held during a temporary cease-fire, on a relatively peaceful day, and was broadcasted internationally. "The organizers said they hoped to raise more than $5 million for refugee aid from donations called in during live broadcast to Italy, Japan and the Middle East and

[73] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[74] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.

taped broadcasts in other countries."[75] Because the performance was held in ruins, the conditions did not allow for a large audience to attend. A *New York Times* article described the situation, "While rehearsals at other sites were open to the public, the library is not equipped for an audience and the promoters closed the 35-minute concert to all but 50 invited guests, including some of the top United Nations officials in Bosnia. Dozens of armed Bosnian policemen and soldiers guarded the building and kept vehicle traffic and local people at least a block away."[76] Regardless of the harsh conditions, the performance gave Sarajevo's musicians a opportunity to protest what was happening in their city, to speak out "not only against genocide, but against urbicide." [77]

Several other internationally renowned classical musicians gave performances in besieged Sarajevo. American soprano Barbara Hendricks, as a UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador, came at the end of 1993 to perform a New's Years concert calling for peace. About 200 people came to the midnight performance at the BiH Television building despite the continuation of shelling through the night. Later, cellist Valter Dešpalj came to Sarajevo to play the Dvořák Cello Concerto on January 25, 1995. After the siege ended, even more internationally renowned classical musicians performed Sarajevo to assist the post-war recovery. In October of 1996, Yehudi Menuhin conducted a "Concert for Peace" with the Sarajevo Philharmonic. Conductor Riccardo Muti came in 1997 to lead Beethoven's 3rd Symphony with a combined orchestra of musicians from the Sarajevo Philharmonic and the Orchestra of La Scala.

Educational institutions continued to operate during the siege of Sarajevo as much as possible, and young musicians continued to study at music elementary schools, the music high

[75] Chuck Sudetic, "Sarajevo Journal: In the Very Ashes of War, A Requiem for 10,000", *New York Times,* June 20, 1994.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 12, 2013.

school, and at the Music Academy. Čavlović writes, "Music education in elementary and secondary schools, and especially at the Music Academy, continued even more than expected to be allowed by wartime conditions."[78] Although many music teachers fled the city, many remained behind, including conductor Teodor Romanić. Violinist Faruk Sijarić served as Dean of the Music Academy from 1987-2003. Additionally, several Sarajevo composers continued to work under the siege. Two composition collections were published during the war, *Ratne kajde* by Julio Magdić and *Stilizacije bosanskih narodnih pjesama* by Rešad Arnautović.

Čavlović contends that war in Bosnia and Herzegovina rekindled feelings of patriotism, which has shaped the history of music and aesthetics since 1992. " Music during the war was radically bringing in national idioms as a general and base idea."[79] He compares the rise of patriotic songs during the siege to their rise during World War II amongst the Partisan resistance. Many of the patriotic and anti-war songs were written in Sarajevo's well-known pop-rock style. However, some classical composers, such as Asim Horozić were also involved in writing patriotic music. The creation and broadcasting of these songs were symbolic of the resistance to war and devastation. In the first half of 1995, all patriotic songs were banned from being broadcast under pressure from representatives from the international community, who argued that the songs triggered feeling of nationalism.

Amidst Sarajevo's musicians' continued cultural resistance, violent attacks on civilians escalated for years, peaking on February 5, 1994. A shell fell into a crowded marketplace, killing 68 people and wounding around 200 others. A UN investigation was launched, and controversy erupted regarding the shell's origination. Bosnian Serbs denied firing the shells, claiming that

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[78] Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 262, translation.
[79] Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 259, translation.

the Bosnian Army (ARBiH) shelled its own people to gain international sympathy, though the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) ultimately found the shells were fired from Serb territory. Regardless, the "Markale Massacre" garnered international media attention and prompted international leaders to call for an end to the war. After another shell fell on the marketplace on August 28, 1995, killing another 38 people, NATO responded by launching airstrikes against Bosnian Serb forces.

Post-Siege Recovery:

A gradual series of events led the end of the siege during the first few months of 1996. "Impetus to end the siege and war came from developments outside Sarajevo: a change of government in France, an impending election in the United States, global outrage over Bosnian Serb atrocities at Srebrenica in July 1995, and the success of Croat and ARBiH offensives against Serb forces in western Bosnia."[80] As the international community, particularly the United States, began to intervene directly in February of 1994, the violence was temporarily reduced. However, the cease-fire did not last, and the Serbs once resumed attacks on Sarajevo's civilians with full force between April and August of 1995. This, in addition to an increase in confrontations between Serb nationalists and UNPROFOR, led to NATO air strikes and UN approval of US and French intervention. An agreement on principles for peace talks was made on September 8, 1995, in Geneva. The conference took place during November 1-21, 1995 in Dayton Ohio, and an agreement was signed shortly afterward, in Paris on December 14. A final cease-fire was called on October 12, 1995. February 29, 1996 marks the ceremony in which Federation Interior Minister Avdo Hebib declares the siege to be over after the highway from

[80] Donia, *Sarajevo,* 329.

Sarajevo to Zenica was reopened.

On New Year's Eve 1995, after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, the Sarajevo Philharmonic performed a concert that "marked the first time in four years that Sarajevans could attend a public event without fearing for their lives. It was a demonstration to the city's people that the war might be truly over."[81] The concert was led by American conductor Charles Ansbacher, with a program including Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Strauss II's *Die Fledermaus* Overture, selections from Bernstein's *West Side Story*, and Beethoven's Emperor Concerto played by pianist Jon Kimura Parker.

The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, otherwise known as the "Dayton Agreement", set up the current state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, dividing the country into two entities (The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska) and setting up a complex power sharing agreement between Serb, Croats, Bosniaks. Although the Dayton Agreement brought peace, it also reenforced ethnic segregation. "With international blessing, the Dayton Agreement institutionalized many of the national divisions that has dominated society since 1990."[82] Additionally, the agreement divided Bosnia and Herzegovina into ten cantons, limiting the power and resources of the city and national governments, who traditionally supported cultural and educational institutions.

The siege of Sarajevo took the lives of 11,541 victims[83] and, as Donia notes, "These numbers, which remain uncertain and contested, in any case fail to capture the fear, agony, and loss felt by Sarajevans who remained in the city. The war and siege ended without a victor. Persons on all sides were incredulous that the struggle had gone on for so long and been so

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81 Slavi, "Symphony and Dissonance", 210.
82 Donia, *Sarajevo,* 335.
83 Sarajevo Research and Documentation Center, www.idc.org.ba

utterly destructive.... The Sarajevo siege wrought great and long-lasting devastation on the city that is still felt today."[84] Sarajevo is filled with constant reminders of its recent violent history. Although many buildings have been rebuilt and much of the infrastructure repaired, many façades remain scarred by shells and bullets. Parts of the city and its suburbs remain dangerous due to due to unexploded mines, collapsing buildings, and shoddy infrastructure resultant of rushed rebuilding. Physical and psychological health problems plague many of the survivors of the siege. Nationalism continues to halt social and political progress. Sarajevo's neighborhoods remain, to some extent, ethnically segregated.

However, Sarajevo's cultural life has remained a source of pride for citizens during the past two decades of difficult recovery. Donia writes, "If economic stagnation has led many of Sarajevo's inhabitants and friends to despair, a significant revival of the city's cultural life offers hope. The city's common life has been both resurrected and reinvented in a kaleidoscope of postwar institutions. Among those Serbs and Croats who remained in Sarajevo during the war were some of the most respected intellectual, cultural, and political leaders of prewar Sarajevo. In the aftermath of war, they have joined with many in the Bosniak majority population to continue the tradition of common life in the city."[85]

Čavlović argues that after the end of the war, it was important for Sarajevo's cultural recovery to produce regularly scheduled concerts, regardless of their quality. The quality of musical institutions in post-siege Sarajevo suffered due to the fact that many of Sarajevo's musicians and patrons fled the city and many resources were destroyed during the siege. Čavlović estimates that around 300 musicians left Sarajevo between 1992 and 1995. The

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[84] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 334.
[85] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 349.

number of full-time employees at the Music Academy was reduced from 45 to 18, and the number of music teachers in elementary and secondary schools reduced by about half. Fahira Karahasanović recalls, "When I started to work here at the Philharmonic after the war, I was horrified by how things were running. They were preparing a whole symphony in two days, and the level of performance was terrible. But that was the way things worked. It didn't matter that we didn't have four horns, you just play the concert with the people you have."[86] On its website, the Sarajevo Philharmonic's administration expresses a sense of pride in the orchestra's tenacity and continued success during difficult times. "Counting decades of work in the environment where social developments ruthlessly affect the cultural circumstances, the Philharmonic Orchestra has been repeatedly forced to start reprinting the pages of its history."[87]

Since the war ended, the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra has continued to grow and rebuild, working with conductors Charles Ansbacher, Zubin Mehta, Riccardo Muti, and Yehudi Menuhin, touring internationally, recording, and premiering new works. The orchestra has retained the attention of diplomats, politicians, and journalists from the United States and Western Europe, as it represents a successful post-siege interethnic institution. On December 22, 1997, the Philharmonic performed for President Bill Clinton during his visit to see Sarajevo's post-siege recovery first-hand. Afterward, he remarked, "I was thrilled that the Sarajevo symphony played before I was introduced to speak. Its violinist and cellist, percussionist and flutist, played together before the war, stayed together during the war, answered the mortars and shells with the sounds of music. Seven of the members were killed—Muslims, Croats, and Serbs. Well, they're still here, and they're still Muslims, Croats, and Serbs. And to tell you the truth, I

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[86] Fahira Karahasanović, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16th, 2013.
[87] Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra, http://www.saph.ba/en/about-us/sarajevo-philharmonic-orchestra

know the tuba players from the violinists, but I can't tell the Muslims from the Croats from the Serbs. The harmony of their disparate voices—the harmony of their disparate voices— is what I hear. It reminds me of Bosnia's best past, and it should be the clarion call to your future."[88]

The orchestra was continuously challenged by financial strain and a lack of trained musicians who remained in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, since 1995, the Sarajevo Philharmonic began to operate as a full-time employers of Sarajevo's professional instrumentalists, rather than as a per-service institution. "Before the war the orchestra as we know it didn't exist. It wasn't a public institution, it was per service orchestra. It existed since 1923 and the musicians were gathering every month to play concerts. But it never provided security for musicians to live off working only for the Philharmonic. I was lucky and honored to be the first full-time musician employee of the Philharmonic since 1995. It will be on the books."[89]

Opera production in Sarajevo resumed, due to joint efforts by the Music Academy and Sarajevo Opera, on April 19, 1996, with a performance of Mozart's singspiel *Bastien und Bastienne.* The official reopening of the Sarajevo Opera was marked one month later by the premiere of Pergolesi's *La Serva Pedrona*. To this day, the Sarajevo Opera is a much smaller institution than before the siege, with only a few soloists and without an orchestra of its own. Dario Vučič, former director of the National Theater and the Sarajevo Opera describes the orchestra's diminished resources and his hope that it might one day grow into its former size and become competitive with other opera companies in the region. "In sum we have about seven, six soloists in total, that's very small number of soloists. For example Belgrade I think they have 48

[88] William Jefferson Clinton, "Remarks to the Community in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina" (speech, Sarajevo, December 29, 1997), Government Printing Office, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/WCPD-1997-12-29/html/WCPD-1997-12-29-Pg2096.htm

[89] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.

soloists.... We don't have our own orchestra after the war...we have good cooperation with Sarajevo Philharmonic, I'm grateful for that. But that's normal that opera has their own orchestra.... We had, before the war about 14-17 performances...now we have two, maximum three operas for one month.... I hope that will be change, I hope so very soon, but you never know what it will be."[90]

The restoration of music schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been a crucial factor affecting the recovery of Sarajevo's classical music institutions after the siege. Ivan Čavlović describes the activity of music schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1995. "As a very important part of music history and music infrastructure, musical education after the war seeks to make up for lost time and catch up with the broken history of last century's early 90s. Music schools have been extensively restored in primary, secondary, and higher music education. By the end of the first decade of the 21st century in BiH, there were around 40 primary and 12 secondary music schools, and six higher musical educational institutions."[91]

By the 2005-2006 school year, the Sarajevo Music Academy was able to host over 2000 student and faculty concerts, graduate 1610 students, grant 87 Master's and other specialized degrees, and acquire 8 doctoral candidates in the field of Musicology. The Sarajevo Music Academy has been a member of the European Association of Academies of Music (AEC) since 2003, and since 2005 has been striving to reform its offerings in accordance with the Bologna principles, which ensure comparable standards amongst higher education institutions in Europe. Additionally, the Music Academy works in cooperation with the Royal Music Academy in Stockholm, the Hochschule für Musik in Friedrichsfelde, the Prinz Claus Conservatoire in

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[90] Dario Vučić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 21, 2013.
[91] Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 288, translation.

Groningen, and all other music academies of the Eastern Balkans.

As Sarajevo became a city divided by two entities (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska), a second music academy was founded to serve the music students of Republika Srpska, although some Bosnian Serbs have chosen to remain teaching or studying at the Sarajevo Music Academy. The Music Academy of East Sarajevo was established in 1994 in Ilidža, moving to East Sarajevo in 1996. Conductor Teodor Romanić began serving as a professor at the Music Academy of East Sarajevo in 1999 and described their operations. "They are very young. They gathered during the war so they went to Lukavica and they formed the Academy now. Now they have some good musicians. It's running somehow. It was very weak in the beginning, not many people, but they gathered more by time. They have good connections with Belgrade and Novi Sad. They have a lot of professors from Belgrade and Novi Sad."[92]

Recent Developments and Current Operations of Sarajevo's Classical Music Institutions:

Although classical music institutions function differently than those before the war, and despite the ethnic divisions, economic stagnation, and political uncertainty currently faced by all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, they have continuously grown and stabilized throughout the first fourteen years of the 21st century. The classical music community of Sarajevo is currently centered around two institutions: the National Theater and the Sarajevo Music Academy, and the Ministry of Culture of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina oversees most of the funding and administration of classical music performance in Sarajevo. Additionally, chamber ensembles and soloists are frequently engaged in smaller venues, such at the Army Hall and Bosniak Institute, supported by government, private, and foreign patrons. The professional musicians of

[92] Teodor Romanić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, December 13, 2013.

Sarajevo continue to come from diverse backgrounds, and represent the Muslim/Bosniak, Catholic/Croatian, Orthodox/Serbian, Albanian and other foreign communities.

At the National Theater, there are usually events featuring classical instrumentalists and singers at least once or twice per week. According to the former director, Dario Vučič, the National Theater in Sarajevo is "the biggest culture professional institution in all BiH, not just in Federation, not just in Canton Sarajevo, its all BiH we are the biggest culture institution. And because we are also unique in BiH because we are the only theater who has drama, opera, and ballet. The rest theaters in BiH, its about maybe 70 or 80 or 100 are just drama theaters. We are the only one who has three departments, drama, opera, and ballet. That's unique for our country." Additionally, the Sarajevo Philharmonic, although independent of the National Theater, operates rehearsals and performances in the venue.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic, in addition to serving as the resident orchestra of the National Theater, hosts a regular season of orchestral concerts and occasional regional tours. Since 1994, the Sarajevo Philharmonic has been led by conductors Emir Nuhanović (1994-2008) and Samra Gulamović (2008-present). It recently celebrated its 90th birthday in 2013. After the war ended, the Sarajevo Philharmonic became the only organization in Sarajevo to employ full-time orchestral musicians. Since the opera orchestra was never revived, the Sarajevo Philharmonic serves as the orchestra for both the Sarajevo Opera and the Sarajevo Ballet.

The Sarajevo Music Academy is affiliated with the University of Sarajevo offers training for young musicians at the high school, university, and graduate level. (The high school students are a part of the Music Academy's "Middle School".) The Academy is currently divided into several departments, offering instruction in composition, conducting, instrumental and vocal

performance, pedagogy, theory, and musicology. The institution has grown significantly in the past decade; offering degrees at the doctoral level and gradually opening more courses and lessons in wind, brass, and percussion instruments. Several affiliated ensembles have been developed, including a choir, an orchestra, and chamber string ensemble, and "aMAS" (Ansambl Muzičke Akademije Sarajevo or Ensemble of the Sarajevo Music Academy). Since Faruk Sijarić retired as Dean in 2003, Selma Ferović served until 2007, and Ivan Čavlović until the present.

Several musicologists affiliated with Sarajevo's Music Academy have been involved in documenting the development of Western art music in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, little has been published in English since Zija Kučukalić (b. 1929) wrote *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina* in 1967, which claims to be the "first complete survey of the development of musical culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina."[93] Afterward, the academic study of music in Bosnia and Herzegovina waned, until being revived in the past decade. The history of classical music in Sarajevo has been documented in the Bosnian language in the Music Academy's musicological journal, *Zvuk*, and in *Muzika u Sarajevu : sječanja neposrednog učesnika,* published in 2002 by Teodor Romanić (1926-). Recently, in 2011, Ivan Čavlović, a musicologist as well as the current Dean of the Music Academy of Sarajevo, published a textbook, *Historija Musike u Bosni i Hercegovini*, which is the first national history of music to be sanctioned by the University of Sarajevo. "Due to the lack of professional literature, especially literature of academic level, it is important to emphasize that this publication is the first textbook in the area of history of music that has been gained, through the regular Publishing Council's procedure, the university approval."[94] As Bosnian language sources regarding classical

[93] Kučukalić, *The Development of Musical Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina,* preface.
[94] University of Sarjaevo, http://unsa.ba/s/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1149&lang=english

music in Sarajevo are becoming more readily available, this author hopes to contribute an English-language resource for international academic research on the subject.

Several professors at the Music Academy, including composition professor Ališer Sijarić and clarinet professor Vedran Tuce, have actively promoted the study and performance of contemporary music. Sirajić is also the artistic director of a Sarajevan new music society founded in 2001, called SONEMUS. The ensemble revived the tradition of small new music ensembles formed in Sarajevo in 1972 ("Momus") and 1977 ("Masmantra") by Josip Magdić. SONEMUS hosts an ensemble of regular and associate members, who perform and tour both in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad. "SONEMUS pays special attention to the performance and promotion of works by composers from the countries of Southeast Europe who belong to the modernist aesthetic orientation."[95] Additionally, SONEMUS hosts other soloists, ensembles, and educational events, bringing them to perform and teach contemporary music in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There are several annual arts and music festivals, often affiliated with the Music Academy, that draw foreign guests artists who collaborate with local professionals. Such festivals include the Sarajevo Chamber Music Festival, the Sarajevo International Guitar Festival, Baščaršija Nights (sub-festival which is international festival of folklore with folk/traditional music), the MESS Festival, Sarajevske Večeri Muzike (SVEM), Sarajevo Jazz Festival, Bosnia International Music Festival, Majske Muzičke Svečanosti, Sarajevo Sevdah Fest, Sarajevo Ballet Fest, Muzika na Žici, and the Sarajevo Winter Festival. Most of the music festivals are quite young (1-15 years old). Additionally, local professional musicians are frequently engaged for religious holidays and festivals (Ajvatovica, Ramadan, and Christmas).

[95] SONEMUS, http://www.pre-art.ch/c_data/sonemusCV.pdf

In “Making a MESS Out of Misery”, Meg Swanson describes Sarajevo's annual MESS festival and explains its successful history. Although the MESS is a theater festival, it occasionally involves Sarajevan musicians (for example, the musicians of the Sarajevo Philharmonic performed Battistelli's *Sconcerto* in 2011). It also serves as an example of how cultural events are valued in post-siege Sarajevo. For example, Swanson writes, “the role played by the theatre in particular and the arts in general in generating a sense of cultural vitality and creating a climate of hope [during the war] is recalled with a certain grim pride.”[96] Later, Swanson explains why the festival evokes a sense of pride, explaining, “During the war, the important role of the festival in the cultural life of the city was unequivocal. The continued existence of the festival was a non-military means of resisting the attempted destruction of both the city of Sarajevo and its culture.”[97]

Conclusion:

To this day, the continued growth of Sarajevo's artistic community, including classical music institutions, represents the city's successful resistance to the violent aggression withstood during the siege of 1992-1996 as well as it's slow, but continuing recovery. Bosnian writer Dzevad Karahasan published a unique cultural history of Sarajevo in 1993, at once examining ethical and philosophical questions regarding war and the arts while also connecting these broader questions to his personal and political opinions. Karahasan asserts that Sarajevo's artistic community is defined by the city's unique inter-religious and intercultural society. “This mixture of languages, faiths, cultures, and peoples living together in such a small place produced

[96] Meg Swanson, “Making a “Mess” Out of Misery: The Sarajevo International Theater Festival Ten Years After”, in *Theatre and Performance in Eastern Europe, The Changing Scene*, eds. David Barnett and Arthur Skelton (Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2008), 191.

[97] Ibid., 193.

a cultural system unique to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially to Sarajevo. It was clearly their own, distinctive, and original."[98] He personally became involved in the establishment of the Sarajevo PEN center in 1993, which hosted a diverse community of writers dedicated to the preservation of the freedom to write and publish. "At the PEN center, all of us would gather: Jews and Muslims, Serbs and Croats, Turks and Albanians—all who live here, with all our differences—will get together and talk, engaged in common work by which we help defend our common city and our right to live together."[99]

Karahasan recounts a speech he made to his theater students upon resuming their work in the basement of the theater academy during the beginning of the siege. Like many other journalists and artists, Karahasan makes the argument that continued artistic production during Sarajevo's siege could be a means of resistance and provide personal liberation. "Your work is the only thing that can liberate you from fear, for a moment at least, and help you preserve your human dignity, sensitivity, and reason...what we learn and the trade we serve still remain as our defense."[100] Indeed, Karahasan argues, theater did relieve both his students and their audience from the fear of the war. "Theater like this nurtures and shelters us from fear, like a warm mother's womb, or one of the still undestroyed places of worship."[101]

Since Sarajevo came under siege, the city's citizens have struggled not only to recover from the physical and psychological hardships of war, but have also fought for the economic, social, and cultural recovery of their city, stunted by political division, nationalism, and interethnic resentment. Classical music institutions in Sarajevo have served to promote intercultural dialogue, hosting musicians of diverse backgrounds with a variety of ethnic and

[98] Karahasan, *Sarajevo*, 5.
[99] Ibid., 39.
[100] Ibid., 30.
[101] Ibid., 32.

international supporters. Furthermore, they seem to represent the hope and optimism of Sarajevo's community, and their events are frequented by those seeking a cosmopolitan, educated, prosperous future, particularly during times of fear and uncertainty. For example, after frustration with political corruption, economic stagnation, and unemployment led to unrest, riots, and anti-government protests in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Mostar, in early February of 2014, the Sarajevo Philharmonic went ahead with a concert scheduled on February 13. The orchestra, performing Mendelssohn's 4th Symphony and Tchaikovsky's 1812 Overture, was met by a completely sold-out, eager, and enthusiastic audience. Reflecting the sentiments surrounding this enthusiasm, Čavlović writes about how classical music can be enjoyed across an otherwise divided society, "...music is immune to politics, sociology, psychology."[102] The ability to connect a diverse community, particularly one recovering from a recent inter-ethnic war, is what make Sarajevo's classical music institutions an integral influence on the city's recent history.

[102] Čavlović, *Historija Muzike u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 365.

Chapter 3- Repertoire

The Sarajevo Philharmonic has compiled an archive listing each concert performed since its founding in 1923, including the names of the conductor and soloists as well as a list of repertoire. Sometimes, though not always, the conductors'/soloists' country of origin is also included. Additionally, there is an alphabetized archive of the people, performances, and organizations affiliated with the National Theater from 1921-1971, a book about the Sarajevo Opera from 1946-2006, and a collection of photographs and programs from the Sarajevo Ballet from 2001-2010. A 2006 publication detailing the history of the Sarajevo National Theater also contains lists of repertoire produced by the Sarajevo Opera and Sarajevo Ballet. General programming trends and conclusions about popular and highly promoted repertoire in Sarajevo's most prominent classical music institutions can be deduced from the examination of these records.

There are several ways in which the programming by Sarajevo's classical institutions reflects the unique intercultural heritage of the city. First, Sarajevan music institutions have maintained cultural ties to both the East and West. These ties are represented by the frequent programming of repertoire from the nations encompassed by the Austro-Hungarian empire, especially the Czech Republic, as well as by occasional concerts and events featuring music from nations within the former Ottoman Empire and artists from Turkey. Furthermore, as part of former Yugoslavia, a socialist country more open to travel and exchange with the West than other countries of the Eastern Bloc, Sarajevo has a history of inviting musicians from both Eastern and Western Europe, as well as from North and South America, Asia, and the Middle East.

Sarajevo's classical music institutions, as well as those in other major capitals in ex-

Yugoslavia, also have a unique history of promoting national and regional composers during the 20th century, especially during the 1960s. Composers from Bosnia and Herzegovina and from other parts of the Balkans could be heard in performances and recordings by Sarajevo's classical music institutions, regardless of whether they were able to achieve international recognition or success. In fact, Teodor Romanić writes, "The RTV Sarajevo Symphony Orchestra entirely fulfilled it's task to record and perform pieces of composers from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Every note written in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been recorded and performed. As the output of our composers was alarmingly low, every new piece has been impatiently welcomed. Our composers were in far better position than their colleagues in other centers."[103]

Unfortunately, limitations in terms of concert venues, personnel, and financial resources are also reflected by the repertoire choices of Sarajevan ensembles. Because of small venues and the small size of Sarajevo's orchestras, late 19th-century and early 20th-century pieces calling for an expanded ensemble, such as popular works by Wagner, Stravinsky, and Mahler are rarely, if ever, heard live in Sarajevo. Due to lack of funding and large concert venues, bringing top world-class artists as guests is usually not a viable option. Also, certain popular orchestral and operatic works that are particularly musically or technically challenging, by composers such as Ravel, Debussy, Schoenberg, Webern, Berg, and Richard Strauss, are avoided by Sarajevo's classical music institutions because of the lack of local musicians able to perform such music at an acceptable level.

Some of the earliest Sarajevan productions at the National Theater included popular musical plays, similar to singspiel, at first imported from Belgrade and, later, composed and conducted by Franjo Maćejovski. Notably, the Maćejovski's plays were based on life in Bosnia

[103] Romanić, *Muzika u Sarajevu: Sječanja Neposrednog Učesnika* (Sarajevo: Rabic, 2002), 133, translation.

and Herzegovina, rather than in foreign cities. Later, conductor Beluš Jungić collaborated with Jovan Palavestra to produce *Almasa,* the first play by a native Bosnian author. Beginning in the 1923-1924 season, foreign operettas were introduced to the Sarajevan audience, including Lehar's *Land of Smiles*, Strauss's *Flermaus* and Tijardović's *Mala Floramy*. The managers of the National Theater gave these lighter musical productions, singspiel and operettas, a significant place in the repertory of the theater because they were quite popular, attracting bigger audiences than traditional dramas. However, due to their costs and decrease in public support, the production of operettas at the Sarajevo National Theater ceased from the 1927-1928 season until 1936. Once resumed, operettas continued to appear at the Sarajevo National Theater on a regular basis until World War II, with varying degrees of success and public support. Regardless of their success, being created and performed by a mixture of local, regional, and foreign artists, these operettas continuously promoted intercultural and international collaboration amongst Sarajevo's classical musicians.

Upon the opening of the National Theater, Sarajevo lacked the resources and personnel to produce their own grand operas. Thus, the first grand opera performed at the National Theater was Croatian composer's Vatroslav Lisinski's (1819-1854) *Porin*, on June 3rd 1922, produced by the Osijek Opera. In 1928-1929, Alfred Pordes led the first full operas produced in Sarajevo: Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* and Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana,* with the assistance of foreign soloists. However, after he left in 1931, the productions ended, and the opera was not revived until 1944.

On its first concert, on October 24th 1923, the Sarajevo Philharmonic performed the Overture to the Opera *Porin* by Lisinski, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's Piano Concerto in G

minor, and Ludwig Van Beethoven's Second Symphony. Thus, from the beginning, the orchestra established a tradition of performing both works within the internationally standard orchestral repertoire and works by local (Bosnian) and regional (Yugoslav) composers. The orchestra also began to promote themed festivals, including centennial celebrations of Smetana, Schubert, and Beethoven.

From the year that the Sarajevo Philharmonic Society was founded, it frequently engaged in collaborative performances with other regional ensembles as well as concerts promoting connections between Sarajevo and foreigners. In January of 1924, the Philharmonic Society produced a concert with the choir *Sloga*, and in February a combined concert with *Sloga* and Mostar's *Gajret* chorus. The next season, included collaborations with *Trebević*, *Sloga*, and *Lira.* Foreign soloists invited during the first two decades of the Sarajevo Philharmonic Society included at least five from Czechoslovakia, one from Russia, and one from Austria.

Due to a lack of musicians, many of the early concerts affiliated with the Sarajevo Philharmonic Society involved chamber music and solo playing. For example, in the first season, 7 concerts sponsored by the Sarajevo Philharmonic society were chamber or solo performances, 4 were symphony concerts, and two were collaborations with choral groups. In the second season, 7 concerts were solo and chamber performances, 5 were symphony concerts and two were collaborations with choral groups. This trend continued until the Sarajevo Philharmonic ceased its operations during WWII.

Throughout the first few seasons, standard orchestral and chamber repertoire was interspersed with several compositions by Yugoslav composers. Works were performed by Vatroslav Lisinski, Petar Stojanović, Josip Runjanin, Belus Jungić, Jurij Flajšman, Franjo

Maćejovski, Vjekoslav Rosenberg-Ružić, Krsto Odak, Vinko Žganec, Ivan Zajc, Stanislav Binički, Miloje Milojević, Josip Pavčič, Petar Konjović, Jakov Gotovac, Miroslav Vilhar, Bojan Adamič, Mika Krstic, Blagoje Bersa, Josip Štolcer-Slavenski, Mladen Stahuljak, Anton Hajdrih, Milovan Filipović, Boris Papandapulo, Isidor Bajić, Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, Krešmir Baranović, and Marko Tajčević. Most of the concerts featuring Yugoslav composers involved collaborations with Sarajevo's choruses. Additionally, the music of Czech composers was performed quite frequently. Between 1923 and 1941, Dvořák was performed on 26 concerts, an average of once or twice per seasons, and Smetana was performed on 16 concerts, or about once each season. Works by Janaček and Blodek were also repeatedly performed. The close relationship between Sarajevo's classical music scene and Czechoslovakia is also evident by a performance on March 8, 1925 celebrating the 75th birthday of the first president of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic consistently performed between 7-10 symphony concerts per season from the mid 1950s until 1992, with the majority of performances held at the Army Hall. After World War II, the orchestra performed and promoted works by both national (meaning Yugoslav, at that time) and international composers, and championed new works. For example, the first philharmonic concert after World War II included the Overture to Ruslan and Ludmilla by Mikhail Glinka, Antonin Dvořák's Concerto for Cello and Orchestra, Šárka from Bedřich Smetana's *Má vlast*, *Night on Bald Mountain* by Modest Mussorgsky, and dances from a ballet "The Legend of Ohrid" by Serbian composer Stevan Hristić. Additionally, the Sarajevo Philharmonic collaborated with other cultural organizations and institutions. They worked in cooperation with the Association of Composers of Bosnia and Herzegovina to promote the

development a national orchestral repertoire.

Almost every symphony concert was quite traditional in the sense that it included an overture or another short concert piece, a concerto featuring a guest soloist, and a well-known four-movement symphonic work. The most frequently-performed composers between 1948 and 1992 included Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Mozart, Brahms, Mendelssohn and Dvorak. According to the archives of the Sarajevo Philharmonic, works by Beethoven were performed on 125 concerts, works by Tchaikovsky on 83, works by Mozart on 61, works by Brahms on 56, works by Dvorak on 51, and works by Mendelssohn on 42. On one hand, pieces by these composers are a part of the standard repertoire of many of the world's symphony orchestras, but, regardless, their popularity can also be attributed to two other factors. First, the Sarajevo Philharmonic remained limited in size and budget, and Mozart's, Mendelssohn's, Beethoven's, and Brahms' works call for a smaller orchestral ensemble. Secondly, Sarajevo's classical music scene reflected the city's history of Austro-Hungarian occupation and close cultural ties to the traditions of Austria and the Czech Republic. Since so many Czech musicians were involved in the founding of Sarajevo's classical music institutions, it is logical that Czech compositions, especially popular works by Dvořák, Smetana, and Janacek, would remain local favorites. Some other favored composers included Haydn, Schubert, Schumann, and Rachmoninoff as well as popular operatic composers, especially Verdi, Rossini, and Puccini, performed in concerts featuring vocal soloists.

During the mid-20th century, the Sarajevo Philharmonic maintained a tradition of performing and promoting works by Yugoslav composers. Between 1948 and 1992, the orchestra played 158 concerts that included at least one piece by a composer from ex-Yugoslavia,

meaning an average of 3-4 concerts per season. However, the promotion of national composers by the Sarajevo Philharmonic actually hit its peak during the 1958-1959, 1959-1960 and 1960-1961 seasons, with 9, 11, and 9 concerts featuring national composer respectively. Beginning in 1962, the Sarajevo Radio Television Symphony Orchestra was founded, with one of its missions being to promote national composers, especially living composers from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, after that time, the Sarajevo Philharmonic reduced their programming of pieces by national composers, instead focusing more on performances of the traditional orchestral repertoire.

Fahira Karahasanović, former librarian of the Sarajevo Radio Television Symphony Orchestra remembers how the group, although founded with the mission to perform and record local composers, eventually performed mostly standard orchestral repertoire. "Generally we recorded music written by well-known foreign composers, like Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, all possible composers. There were still some domestic composers recorded; for example, one year we played pieces written by Avdo Smailović. Another year we played pieces of Josip Magdić, a little bit of Mladen Pozajić. In a concert season, we had maybe one concert featuring pieces of domestic composers."[104] As pointed out by Romanić, the output of local composers remained fairly limited, so premieres of their new works could be accomplished in only one or two concerts per season.

In socialist Yugoslavia, classical music institutions were in a unique position to invite soloists and conductors from both the East and the West. In fact, the Sarajevo Philharmonic hosted guests from at least 25 countries between the end of World War II and the beginning of the siege, including frequent collaborations with artists from the USSR (68 performances), Romania (21 performances), France (20 performances), the United States (19 performances),

[104] Fahira Karahasanović, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16, 2013.

Poland (16 performances), and Czechoslovakia (15 performances). However, unlike the past 20 years, foreign conductors rarely led the ensemble. One must note that since Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence in 1992, the definition of national versus foreign has changed, as those from other parts of former Yugoslavia became classified as "foreigners". "It's strange to say, but those who were our citizens, we were citizens of the same country, suddenly became strangers for us, actually foreigners."[105]

The Sarajevo Opera also performed a diverse repertoire after World War II and "gave Sarajevo not only the standard diet of Verdi, Donizetti, Rossini and Puccini, but also an impressive, even astonishing, array of twentieth-century classics: Prokofyev, Menotti, Bartók, Britten, Janáček, Milhaud, Shostakovich, Stravinsky, Egk."[106] However, according to Teodor Romanić, in *Muzika u Sarajevu*, the audiences favored Puccini and Verdi, and performances of their works remained the most popular. Romanić claims that the best-sold shows were Bellini's *Norma* and Verdi's *Nabucco*. Other productions of challenging or non-traditional repertoire were not successful, sometimes even avoided. "In terms of programming contemporary repertoire, there was little propensity, although some good ideas were debated. There was the assumption that some pieces would be too difficult to learn vocally, and certainly the audiences would not be attracted to freely-treated intervals and constant dissonances. For that reason, the programming of contemporary pieces was delayed for a better time or was handed over to the ballet."[107] Romanić recalls the production of Wagner's *Lohengrin* in the 1960-1961 season pushed the limits of the performers' capabilities. "The casting called for multiple compromises due to the lack of male dramatic voices."[108]

[105] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 12, 2013.
[106] Bujić, "Navigating Through the Past: Issues Facing An Historian of Music in Bosnia", 81.
[107] Romanić, *Muzika u Sarajevu*, 61, translation.
[108] Ibid., 60, translation.

Some of the biggest, most well-supported musical performances in the history of classical music institutions in Sarajevo were produced directly after the theater was renovated in the early 1980s. These performances included the operatic productions of *Prince Igor* and *Turandot*, the ballet *Swan Lake*, and a staged version of *Carmina Burana*.

According to Teodor Romanić in *Muzika u Sarajevu*, the Radio Television Orchestra was founded with the mission to supplement what was being produced by the Sarajevo Philharmonic and extend the amount of repertoire being performed in the city. At first, the Radio Television ensemble focused on performances of smaller, chamber works, which were no longer being played the Sarajevo Philharmonic. Then, support was gathered to found a complete symphony orchestra. The justification for the formation of a full orchestra was that the increasing number of trained musicians graduating from the city's music schools could be used to perform and record pieces by domestic composers. Thus, the Radio Television Symphony Orchestra frequently sought to play pieces by composers from Bosnia and Herzegovina and ex-Yugoslavia. However, Romanić points out that the total output of local composers remained quite small, and thus the percentage of new works performed by the Radio Television Symphony Orchestra remained limited.

During the siege, as musicians Sarajevo continued to perform under unusual and difficult circumstances, the repertoire performed was limited to what improvised ensembles were able to organize. After the siege began in 1992, the Sarajevo Philharmonic did not perform for a little over one year, and the Opera remained closed until 1996. Instead, individual and small chamber ensembles, including the Artists' Brigade wind ensemble and the Radio Television Chamber Orchestra hosted daytime concerts whenever possible in small safe venues. (See Chapter 2)

According to their archives, the Sarajevo Philharmonic officially ceased performing on April 10th 1992 and resumed their concerts on December 29, 1993. In that concert, under the direction of Rešad Arnautović, Barbara Hendricks, an American soprano and UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador, came to Sarajevo to perform at the Sarajevo Radio Television headquarters.

According to their records, the Sarajevo Philharmonic played a total of 52 performances while Sarajevo was under siege. The most frequently performed composers included Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Verdi. The music of Beethoven was performed in 14 wartime concerts, while Mozart was featured on 10 concerts, Schubert on 10, and Verdi on 7. The most frequently performed pieces by the Sarajevo Philharmonic in the besieged city include Beethoven's 1st and 5th Symphonies and Egmont Overture, Schubert's 8th Symphony, and Mozart's 40th Symphony.

Certain pieces that are popular amongst audiences from around the world were frequently programmed on performances which intended to connect foreigners to Sarajevo's besieged civilian musicians. Tomaso Albinoni's Adagio in G minor became famously associated with besieged Sarajevo after cellist Vedran Smailović began performing the piece in the city's ruins. It was played by the Sarajevo Philharmonic 10 times during their fall/winter of 1994 tour of Italy. Benjamin Britten's “Simple Symphony” was performed 9 times on the tour as well as 3 times at the National Theater in 1994-1995, Pergolesi's Stabat Mater was performed on tour 6 times in 1994. Also, although they were not performed frequently, Dvořák's 9th Symphony and Mozart's Requiem became affiliated with the Sarajevo Philharmonic's cultural resistance to the siege as their performances were open to foreign audiences (Dvořák's 9th was featured during the opening of the 1994 tour to Italy and in the 1995 tour to Turkey and the Czech Republic. Mozart's

Requiem was programmed at the internationally covered performances led by Zubin Mehta in the ruins of City Hall in June of 1994).

Upon examining the records of the Sarajevo Philharmonic, it is clear that during the siege, music from traditional standard repertoire of the classical music genre was programmed with great frequency whereas lesser-known compositions, particularly from the 20th century were rarely performed. Perhaps both the musicians as well as the audiences sought comfort in the familiar. Also, the limited resources, hardships, and reduced number of available performers prevented pieces from being performed that required larger ensembles, non-traditional instrumentation, or the mastery of challenging techniques.

After the siege ended, the repertoire of the Sarajevo's classical music institutions began to diversify, particularly due to the fact that foreign musicians came to collaborate with the ensembles and fill empty positions. The music of Tchaikovsky, Dvořák, Brahms, and Mendelssohn was played with increasing frequency, especially the violin and piano concertos of Tchaikovsky, Dvořák's 8th and 9th Symphonies, and Brahms' 4th Symphony. Also, due to the attention received by the Sarajevo Philharmonic, international support led to busy seasons and annual tours between 1996 and 2000. During August 1996-1998, the orchestra was invited to the Farfa Guibileo Festival in Italy. At this festival, they performed Mozart, Beethoven, and Italian opera arias, featuring Italian soloists. In April of 1997 an extended tour of Austria, led by American conductor Charles Ansbacher, featured Brahms' 4th Symphony, Mahler's "Songs of a Wayfarer", and *Overture on a Bosnian Theme* by French composer Eric Breton. Between 1996 and 2000, the orchestra went on additional tours to France, Switzerland, Sicily, the USA, and Slovenia, as well as to other cities throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, the

orchestra was sponsored to participate for a number of events and festivals organized as acts of international solidarity and promoting peace. At these events, the orchestra frequently collaborated with other ensembles, performing well-known operatic, orchestral, and choral repertoire by composers such as Haydn, Beethoven, and Dvořák, combined with pieces by Bosnian and ex-Yugoslav composers.

Because many renowned musicians from around the world were interested in the recovery of Sarajevo's cultural life, the Sarajevo Philharmonic frequently featured foreign soloists during the years immediately following the siege, and the Philharmonic's programs almost always filled included concerti or series of operatic arias. Beethoven, Mozart, and Dvorak remained as some of the most frequently performed composers in the late 1990s, and works by Bach and Verdi also became quite popular. Because the Sarajevo Opera is reduced in size and budget, compared to the institution prior to 1992, the Sarajevo Philharmonic is involved in regular performances of un-staged arias. These concerts allow the showcasing of the Opera's soloists without the expense of producing a full, staged opera.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic continued to play several works every season by composers from Bosnia and Herzegovina or ex-Yugoslavia, especially Bosnian composer Asim Horozić. Additionally, composers from around the world wrote pieces dedicated to the victims or survivors of the siege, and some of their works were performed by the ensemble. The music of French composer Eric Breton was performed especially frequently, at least 22 times between the years 1996 and 2000, most often his *Overture on a Bosnian Theme.*

Operatic production resumed after the war with two performances hosted by the Sarajevo Music Academy. Pergolesi's *La Serva Padrona* featured professional singers in lead roles, while

Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne* starred student singers. Both operas were selected due to their short length, small casts, and overall simplicity to produce. The first two fully professional opera performances after the war were first, *Tosca,* followed by *Il Trovatore*. After that, the Sarajevo Opera premiered at least new opera annually until the 2013-2014 season. Most of operatic works produced have been highly popular, within the standard repertory of opera houses throughout the world, such as Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro,* Puccini's *Tosca*, Bizet's *Carmen*, and Verdi's *La Traviata*.

During the first decade of the 21st century, international interest and aid for Sarajevo diminished as Bosnia and Herzegovina recovered from the siege and began to operate with increasing independence. As international attention and sponsorship diminished, Sarajevo's classical music ensembles performed slightly less frequently and went on tour less often. The ensembles continued to collaborate with foreign artists, but no longer attracted guest appearances celebrity conductors like Zubin Mehta, Yehudi Menuhin, and Riccardo Muti. However, as the city recovered, the number and quality of local musicians improved and more concerts were led by Bosnian conductors, featured short concerti played by Bosnian soloists, or featured various opera arias sung by soloists from the Sarajevo Opera. Foreign guests did continue to perform and conduct at larger, well-sponsored events, such as the opening concert of each season and New Year's concerts.

The most frequently performed composers since 2000 include Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Dvořák, Tchaikovsky, Verdi, Rossini, Puccini, and Johann Strauss II. Perhaps due to the rise in popularity of historical performance and baroque music worldwide, and also due to the small size and flexibility of baroque ensemble music, works by Bach, Handel, and Vivaldi were played

more often in the early 2000s than in any other time in the history of the Sarajevo Philharmonic. In April of 2001 the orchestra went on a tour of Germany with a program predominately featuring baroque music. Symphonies and Concertos by Mozart, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, and Dvořák remained frequently-performed worldwide, and their compositions were familiar and manageable for the Sarajevo Philharmonic, just as they were in the mid-twentieth century. In concerts featuring opera soloists, most of the arias chosen were by Verdi, Puccini, and Rossini, as those composers remained familiar and well-loved by Sarajevan audiences. Other celebratory concerts, especially ones scheduled on New Year's Eve and for the annual July "Bašćaršija Nights", maintained a tradition of celebrating Sarajevo's link to Vienna by including the works of Johann Strauss II.

Since 1992, the Sarajevo Philharmonic has performed concerts to celebrate both Christian, Muslim, and secular holidays. The orchestra has given annual Ramadan, Christmas, and New Year's concerts, as well as performances celebrating Easter, Bajram (Eid al-Adha), and International Women's Day. Since 1996, the Sarajevo Philharmonic travels to the smaller Bosnian-Herzegovian cities of Travnik and Bugojno every June to play at the Ajvatovica Festival, a large Islamic religious and cultural festival celebrating the miraculous emergence of a water spring in the village of Prusac. The variety of celebratory concerts performed by the Sarajevo Philharmonic represents how the ensemble embraces Sarajevo's religious diversity. Furthermore, religious concerts allow for the orchestra to collaborate with a variety of foreign artists. A Ramadan concert in August 2010 featured traditional Turkish instruments, the ney and kanun, and at a Ramadan concert in the summer of 2012 the orchestra collaborated with whirling dervishes.

The repertoire performed by the Sarajevo Philharmonic on their most recent tours, both regional and international, is quite diverse. For example, in the 2011-2012 season, the orchestra toured within the country, performing *Peter and the Wolf* in Jajce and Zenica, *Hasanaginica* as well as a program mixing Western and Bosnian music in Zenica, and a program mixing Western and Turkish pieces in celebration of Ajvatovica in Travnik and Bugojno. Internationally, the orchestra played a children's opera *Ježeva Kuća* in Šibenik, Croatia, as well as *Sconcerto* (a short collaborative theatrical work) with Italian actor Toni Servillo in Pordonone. Italy.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic has continued to regularly perform works by regional and national composers, as well as arrangements of popular, traditional, and folk songs, until the present day. Some of the most frequently performed contemporary Bosnian and ex-Yugoslav composers between 2000 and 2014 include Asim Horozić, Jakov Gotovac, Avdo Smailović, and Julio Marić.

Currently, *Hasanaganica*, considered to be "the first Bosnian opera", is performed regularly by the Sarajevo Opera. *Hasanaganica* is based on an epic folk ballad, published in 1774 in Venice by Alberto Fortis in *Viaggio in Dalmazia*. In the 19th century, the ballad was popularized and translated into versions by Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Gottfried Herder, Gérard de Nerval, Alexander Pushkin and Adam Mickiewicz. "The Romantic movement in European literature in the first half of the nineteenth century stimulated a heightened interest in the exotic and in folk poetry. The discovery of *Hasanaganica* aroused interest in the large corpus of South Slav epic poetry....it is still of interest today to scholars and students of literature."[109]
The Sarajevo Opera premiered *Hasanaginica* in 2000. Since then, at least three other Bosnian Operas have been staged at the National Theater: *Aska i Vuk* by Asim Horozić in 2003,

[109] Lovrenović, *Bosnia,* 109-110.

Srebreničanke by Ivan Čavlović in 2004, and *Alma* by Jasmin Osmanagić in 2012.

The Sarajevo Philharmonic occasionally plays orchestral arrangements of Balkan folk music, particularly Bosnian *sevdalinke*. *Sevdalinke* (plural of *sevdalinka*) are slow, emotional songs, often about unrequited love. *Sevdalinke* reflect the intersection of Eastern and Western cultural influences in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Ottoman, Sephardic, and Andalusian elements. Lovrenović comments on how *sevdalinke* connect to a diverse audience throughout the region, "the *sevdalinka*, especially in its melodic structure, has obvious oriental elements. But in its lyrical structure, sensibility, rules of versification, symbols, imagination and archetypes all have their cultural source in a traditional substratum common to the whole Bosnian folk heritage, as is shown by the fact that people all over the country were able to accept the *sevdalinka* as 'theirs.'"[110] Lovrenović also praises the genre, writing, "the Bosnian lyric song or *sevdalinka* is the crown jewel of popular literature."[111]

Karahasan notes that some newer *sevdalinke* are of Austro-Hungarian origin. He writes that the song 'Azra' is an example of "many such songs, composed in Vienna to the verse of German and Austrian poets, that arrived in Bosnia with the Austrian administration. They were accepted as 'Austrian *sevdalinkas*', and people still sing them in Bosnia... Bosnians know that those are not original, 'genuine' *sevdalinkas*, but they love them, sing them, and consider them their own songs."[112] Karahasan contends that "Austrian *sevdalinkas*" reflect Bosnian cultural pluralism, in which new, foreign practices are continually embraced alongside the older, more traditional. "Austrian *sevdalinkas* did not jeopardize their original Bosnian counterparts. The obvious differences between the 'imports' and the 'originals' were neither hidden nor diminished

[110] Ibid., 123.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Karahasan, *Sarajevo*, 63.

with time. This demonstrates that the openness of Bosnian culture to the complex influences of other cultures does not come from its lack of identity, or from its poor awareness of that identity, but from readiness to acknowledge the relevance and soundness of the attitudes of other cultures."[113]

The analysis of the repertoire performed by Sarajevo's classical music ensembles shows how Bosnian classical musicians have embraced the standard repertoire of Western art music, while maintaining unique local traditions, including the performance of Turkish music and *Sevdalinke*. The institutions' Austro-Hungarian origins are reflected by the frequent performance of 19-century central European compositions. Furthermore, the repertoire performed by Sarajevo's ensembles, particularly the Sarajevo Philharmonic, reflects upon the size, growth, and ability of the musicians. Due to its current personnel limitations, the orchestra frequently performs pieces written for a smaller orchestra, calling for no more than two wind players per section. As classical music ensembles flourished during the 1960s-1980s, larger, more difficult works were produced and performed, especially by the Sarajevo Opera. During the siege, as the resources of the ensembles and the number of musicians was reduced, performances featured smaller, chamber works. However, throughout their history, Sarajevo's classical music ensembles have embraced diversity in repertoire selection and welcomed the influence of foreign musicians. Thus, the musical repertoire of Sarajevo's classical music ensembles, as well and the diversity of guest artists who perform in the city, support the contention that classical music institutions in Sarajevo promote intercultural exchange.

[113] Ibid., 64.

Chapter 4- Professional Musicians in Sarajevo: Their experiences recounted in informal interviews and oral histories

Interviews with some of Sarajevo's most successful professional musicians supplement the limited written resources that document the recent history of classical music institutions in Sarajevo. The musicians' oral histories reflect their values and their experiences with intercultural exchange, particularly while receiving international publicity during and directly after the siege. They describe their daily challenges and successes, comparing classical music institutions during the prosperous 1970s and 1980s with those presently operating. The diversity of backgrounds, values, and opinions amongst Sarajevo's classical musicians reflects the city's unique multi-cultural artistic community.

The musicians that I interviewed who received their musical training in Sarajevo or somewhere else within former Yugoslavia committed to their musical education at a young age. Instrumental music is not a part of the general elementary school curriculum. "Especially what is interesting, in regular elementary schools we have only subjects like musical cultural or just music in general, where you can learn just basics."[114] Young students who want additional musical training enroll at special music elementary schools. Irfan Kamenjašević, timpanist for the Sarajevo Philharmonic remembers, "I've always loved music. I started playing drums in a band and my school teacher noticed that I was talented. He advised me to go to the music school."[115] Similarly, flutist Sakib Lačević said, "I was persuaded by the teacher of the elementary school, actually not persuaded, I was literally taken to a music school."[116]

Many of the musicians whom I interviewed were introduced to classical music by a

[114] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 12, 2013.
[115] Irfan Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.
[116] Sakib Lačević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 29, 2014.

family member. Conductor Miroslav Homen told me, “My father was organist in the Cathedral... Organist and choir master. When I was little boy there weren't electrical pumps for organs, so I was assisting my father with pumping the air into the pipes.”[117] Composer Ališer Sijarić recalls, “I was playing violin, even little bit piano because I'm coming from a music family. My father is a violin player and my aunt is a pianist.”[118] Dario Vučič, former director of the National Theater and conductor of the Sarajevo Opera remembers the his first contact with classical music was “when I was a kid, because my parents were singing in the Radio Television Choir, and I was going on rehearsal with them.”[119]

After attending music elementary school, Sarajevan music students must chose whether to attend a 'gymnasium' (a University preparatory school) or to pursue a career in music by attending a music high school. Most of the professional Sarajevan musicians who are at the top of their field attended the Sarajevo Music Academy after finishing a music high school. Some also obtain a post-graduate education from the Music Academy. Due to the small size of Sarajevo's classical music community, and a lack of adequate instruction or resources, some of Sarajevo's professional musicians have a slightly non-traditional education. For example, Irfan Kamenjašević describes how, in order to study percussion, he enrolled in the department of music theory at the Sarajevo Music Academy. “ I finished in the department of music theory in the music high school. Back then there wasn't a department of percussion instruments at the high school. After that I went to the Music Academy, also in the department of music theory. There was no department for percussion instruments in all of ex-Yugoslavia. I was learning from a percussion professor, hoping that a percussion department at the academy would eventually

[117] Miroslav Homen, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 17, 2013.
[118] Ališer Sijarić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 10, 2014.
[119] Dario Vučić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 21, 2013.

open. It didn't happen until a few years ago."[120]

Some of Sarajevo's classical musicians were able to pursue a musical education and develop a professional musical career through the help of a cultural-educational society. For example, Dario Vučič described his involvement with Croatian "Napradek". "And during, I think when I finishing the secondary school, I was how to say when you're getting scholarship? I was the stipendest? I was the stipendest of that society. And when I was also come to academy, I was also continue to get the scholarship from them. And I was in one year, academic school, I was the one of the best, the best not one of the best, the best student in that society. And I get the one award from that society. And that helped me so much because I was going to some, to learn German in Austria. They helped me to have some concerts here."[121] Other interviewees became involved with cultural-educational societies as professional musicians, taking on leadership roles. Teodor Romanić remembers how he became a leader in Serbian "Prosvjeta". "I was president for four years and I worked a lot. There were a lot of older people that stayed in Sarajevo. The Serbians who didn't flee from Sarajevo were coming to our concerts, exhibitions, promotions of books."[122]

Most of the musicians interviewed feel as though classical music is a part of their cultural background, although they do not think that many other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina feel the same way. For example, Fahira Karahasanović**,** the music librarian of the Sarajevo Philharmonic, expressed the feeling that classical music is a part of her culture, though she did not want to speak for Bosnians in general. "It's part of our culture for sure. I don't know about others, but I think of it as such. My whole family is musically educated."[123] Adi Šehu made a

[120] Irfan Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.
[121] Dario Vučić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 21, 2013.
[122] Teodor Romanić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, December 13, 2013.
[123] Fahira Karahasanović, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16, 2013.

similar statement, “I feel it as a part of my culture, but as a part of the country's culture, in general, I don't think it has been accepted like that.”[124]

Many Sarajevan musicians were greatly affected by the siege of Sarajevo, which in many ways impacted both their professional careers and their personal relationships to music. Many musicians in Sarajevo fled the city during the war, particularly those who had familial connections to foreign cities and those who were offered foreign jobs or scholarships to study abroad. Some moved to other cities within former Yugoslavia, particularly within Croatia, while others moved to Western Europe. For example, former Sarajevo Opera director Miroslav Homen said, “I was here only for the first four months of the war and after that I left the city. After that I was hired and I worked in Croatia, I was the chief conductor in Rijeka.”[125] Bogumila and Irfan Kamenjašević remember being persuaded by their family to flee to Germany. “We were not in Sarajevo during the war. We were only in Sarajevo at the beginning, during the first bombardment. Our son was still a baby and Bogumila was breast-feeding him. Because of the stress and fear, she lost all of her milk. Her sister called us and persuaded us to get out of Sarajevo. We thought the war would be short so we went to Germany.”[126]

Zvjezdana Patak and Dževad Šabanagić remember that some musicians used tours abroad as an opportunity to flee Sarajevo. “Some of our colleagues literally ran off without letting us know that they are leaving. But a few of them were fair and they told us that they didn't want to come back, and they let the superiors know.”[127] Additionally, some young music students in Sarajevo left several years into the siege when offered scholarships to study in Vienna. Sarajevo Music Academy composition professor Ališer Sijarić was one of the students given the

[124] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 12, 2013.
[125] Miroslav Homen, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 17, 2013.
[126] Irfan Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.
[127] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.

opportunity. "Then started the war. I was studying during the war, but as I was fourth year of my studying during the war, my professor just went away from here and I studied without professor. Then the music academy in Vienna offered to our music academy twelve scholarships for students for continues their musical studies in Vienna. So I was one of those people chose there, for to go to Vienna. And since 1994 I was studying there in Vienna, composition."[128]

By fleeing, some of Sarajevo's musicians were able to continue their professional growth abroad. Irfan Kamenjašević recalls, "Although I came there as a refugee I have very positive thoughts about my time in Germany and the experiences I gained there. As I said before, I played in 5 or 6 orchestras and I played in a percussion ensemble.... I had another pleasant experience when I was invited to the Berlin opera orchestra with the conductor Daniel Barenboim, where I took an audition. 50 timpanists applied and I made it to the last ten. I had an opportunity to check out my own knowledge at that audition, to see where I was in the world of timpani."[129] Ališer Sijarić said, "Well, the war fucked up my life. In that sense also my personal relation to music, but I would say that my studying in Vienna was more important and that was a consequence of the war.... As a consequence of war, I was studying abroad, and that allowed me to widen my perspective about contemporary music and to be what I am now."[130]

Of the musicians who remained in Sarajevo during the siege, most continued to study and perform music despite the danger and daily hardships. For example, Adi Šehu recalls how the war disrupted his education, but that he continued to study after being displaced to another school. "I started to go in elementary music school in 1990, end of the 1990, in the fall. And I was going to that school until the war began, in 1992, in April. And that school was in the new

[128] Ališer Sijarić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 10, 2014.
[129] Irfan Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.
[130] Ališer Sijarić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 10, 2014.

part of Sarajevo, close to the place where I live. But that territory was occupied during the war, so I've been transferred to another school in another elementary music school in the center of the city, during the siege. But I had a break of a couple of months in that period until people reorganized and started teaching again. So next two or three years I was studying in that school in the center. And for one point I was having classes in two different schools, music schools."[131] He also recounts, "I had my first public performance with my brother, Djani, who plays guitar. I had it, that performance in a cinema hall and we performed one popular patriotic song. It was in 1993."[132] Dževad Šabanagić described how frequently he continued to perform during the war. "I have documented, I have written down that during the war I played 550 concerts—That's a concert approximately every two and a half days, in the city under the siege."[133] In fact, performances continued even while the the city was actively under fire. Teodor Romanić remembers that "I had concerts when grenades were falling on the city. It was normal.... There were a lot of musicians that got killed during the war. Also, when they were coming to the concerts to perform, they got killed. But people were going still. That was normal."[134] Romanić continued to teach at the Academy and Samra Gulamović [the current music director of the Sarajevo Philharmonic] graduated during the war."[135]

Sakib Lačević, professor of flute at the Sarajevo Music Academy, left his music studies to serve in the army during the siege. However, Lačević was able to resume playing the flute when he was asked to join the military orchestra in 1993. "Then there was a need in the military orchestra just before the end of the war to have a flutist and they used me. I transferred from the

[131] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 12, 2013.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[134] Teodor Romanić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, December 13, 2013.
[135] Ibid.

army of BiH [infantry front line] to another segment, I don't know what to call it, to another part, which was the military orchestra."[136] Thus, Lačević never permanently lost his personal nor his professional connections to Sarajevo's classical music community despite his temporary separation while serving in ARBiH. "During the first year there was no connection, we were connected to nothing. We didn't have any opportunities. It was just pure will for survival. It's an intimate thing, if you are interested in it as a personal matter, my love for music never stopped.... In that way I never quit music."[137]

Some of the musicians chose to frankly discuss the hardship and loss they faced while Sarajevo was under siege, while others emphasized the perseverance of those who continued to perform and study music regardless. Fahira Karahasanović, when asked about her experiences during the siege, recalls that the Sarajevo Radio Television Symphony Orchestra was shut down, leaving her unemployed. "I was feeling terrible because I could not go to work. I lived for my work, I worshipped my job."[138] Dževad Šabanagić recalls the danger that he faced when coming back to Sarajevo after his string quartet performed on a tour of England and Norway in 1994. Despite the danger, and the fact that the other members of his ensemble chose to stay abroad as refugees, Šabangić felt compelled to return home, find new colleagues, and continue his Sarajevo String Quartet. "I came back through the tunnel. I think it was the hardest day, coming back from Igman, and it's impossible to imagine that I came home alive and well. I can't believe I managed to survive that heavy shooting in that horrible war. I always say that all of us who stayed in the city, we survived only by coincidence. It was nothing but coincidence, pure coincidence, thank god that we survived. We should all be thankful to god that we survived

[136] Sakib Lačević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 29, 2014.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Fahira Karahasanović, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16, 2013.

because it wasn't logical to stay alive."[139]

Zvjezdana Patak, a violinist who performed with the Sarajevo Philharmonic and the Radio Television Chamber Orchestra during the siege, remembers how much danger she and other members of the orchestra faced as they struggled to keep the orchestra operational while the city was under attack. "With much effort, we managed to keep continuity in the cultural life of Sarajevo during the siege. We senior colleagues helped the young people learn and that's how we maintained the continuation of Sarajevo's cultural events during the war. The rehearsals were not so tough, the hard part was this constant fear and terror getting to the rehearsal and back. We were constantly questioning ourselves...are we going to get there and get back home alive? Several times after rehearsals at the TV station, we used to stay long into the night waiting for the situation and bombing to calm down so we could get home safely."[140] She also said, "Now, from this perspective, it feels like I dreamed some moments, like they never happened. But in fact, I'm they are living inside of me every day. And I think about many moments from the war every day.... Specifically for the orchestra during the war, there were a lot of young musicians in the orchestra without experience. They came into a situation where they had to play very hard pieces for the first time. They somehow pulled it off with the help of older colleagues, working hard and practicing a lot, with some improvised lights and some candlelight, since we had no lights. We answered to our duties and responsibilities in that difficult situation as best as we could. We fulfilled and satisfied the needs of the audience as much as we could. Miraculously, during the war a lot of people were coming to our concerts, even though it was extremely cold, very stressful, under grenade shelling, in no condition for coming. But people were coming, they

[139] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[140] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.

wanted to escape from everything for at least a moment."[141]

Dževad Šabanigić described the feeling that he had when performing in the ruins of the City Hall, "I played there several times. I have some photographs from those concerts. It was a spooky feeling because we were all aware that in city hall there was a national library with a sea of books and documents of unique value that were irreplaceable... I remember the day when the city hall was burning. I was sitting in my garden about 200 or 300 meters away and I saw sheets of books flying into the sky. Some of them were falling into my yard. They were all completely black but you could still read the letters on the sheets because they were imprinted. The feeling was horrifying, very heavy. A man cannot understand that there are people who are able to destroy something like that."[142]

Dario Vučič, when asked about his memories of being a young musician in Sarajevo under siege, recounted Mehta's performance in the ruins of the City Hall building. "And it was also Zubin Mehta, it was the Mozart Requiem. It was the main, I think, musical happen, event, during this war. It was in City Hall during the war. And it was really full experience to learn and to listen in war Sarajevo to listen that musicians...I was watching on TV and I know my some friends who was older than me, they was singing in the choir when he was conducting. It was so much experience. They said it was magical, it was really wow." Vučic also remembers soprano Barbara Hendricks visiting his city in 1994. "And that also Barbara Hendricks was coming during the war. I was singing some child choir when she was come to sing here with some, in Radio Television studio. And it was really excellent."[143]

Of the Sarajevan musicians who were in the city during or directly prior to the siege, the

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[141] Ibid.
[142] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[143] Dario Vučić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 21, 2013.

Bosnian War significantly affected not only their professional musical careers, but also their personal relationships with music. "Music in general for me was a way to forget about all the troubles during the war. I mean, even during the heavy grenade shellings and shootings and all the attacks, practicing and playing was bringing just a little bit of peace. And just, I don't know this word, diverting thoughts from all the troubles. Even during the winter, we had no heating. And, I mean no heating, no water, no food, no anything. No candles even, we had to make our own candles. And there was no scores, we had to rewrite all the scores. We didn't have any musical paper so we had to make our sheet score. So, it was also the way to, it helped us to, uh, lose the time faster, and that's it."[144] Zvjezdana Patak expressed similar sentiments. "It [music] meant a lot to me. I was born in Mostar and my parents lived in Mostar. I was far away and wasn't able to contact them during the war. So the music helped me to keep common sense. It's the same, in moments when I take the violin, even today. When I enter the stage or rehearsal room with my violin, no matter how hard the problems are, they stay on the other side of the door and it is possible for me to forget everything that is happening outside. When I take the violin, I cannot explain in words, but all other things, no matter if they are good or bad, happy or sad, everything disappears. Only focus and concentration for the music exists. I made a lot of friends, I travelled the world, I saw many places that I could dream about if I were doing anything but playing music. Music during the war kept me safe from losing my mind. In some moments it makes you forget what is going on around you. I think many of my colleagues would share this opinion. In all the rough days and nights, the music helped us forget what was going on around us."[145] Dario Vučič said, "It was very terrible period in my life, but it was music,

[144] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 12, 2013.
[145] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.

it was the same, super by music...it was my escape from reality. Like for example, I believe that everybody was trying to find some escape from that terrible period in our lives. But music was something normal for me."[146]

Dževad Šabanigić describes what music meant to the people of Sarajevo, as a whole, during the siege. "Music was the most special thing in the war. I think that in the history of warfare, it is not known that in a surrounded city, so many cultural events occurred. Exhibitions, dramas, but especially concerts.... It was musical insanity and in that time I realized that people are primarily spiritual beings and then material. We were completely 'naked', we didn't have any money, we didn't have food. But we were feeding our souls with music, not only the musicians who were playing the music but our audience as well, who were coming under grenade shells.... It is something that has to be further investigated and researched by sociologists, pedagogues, psychiatrists. Why did people have the urge under great danger to go in the streets to attend concerts and to get back home alive, wounded, or this or that [not at all]?"[147]

Some of those interviewed also expressed the opinion that classical music performances in Sarajevo during the siege were part of a cultural resistance movement and a means of resistance against Serb aggressors. "Classical music in Sarajevo was very important for the people, during the war. Mentioning the concerts, it was kind of a shout to the sky, from people to the world, that we are still living here. It was just one of the ways to say this cannot be happening. Come on, look at this... the biggest fight besides, you know the army fight with weapons was this culture fight, to keep the culture."[148] Similarly, Dževad Šabanigić, remembering touring England and Norway with his string quartet in 1994, describes the

[146] Dario Vučić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 21, 2013.
[147] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[148] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 12, 2013.

performances as an act of resistance. "They could not believe there a string quartet exists in ruined Sarajevo, a place under fire, under collapse, where people get killed. And that urge that existed in all the artists, it was a spiritual resistance, it was our way to fight against evil."[149] Furthermore, Šabanagić points out that classical music performances and other cultural events were seen as a means of resistance even by besieged Sarajevo's political and military leaders. "Our president, Alija Izetbegović once said, 'we are not defending ourselves just with guns against the enemy, we are defending ourselves with Mozart and Beethoven'. He wanted to say that we are a civilized society, not only people with guns. We were fighting to plead to everyone to stop the killing of innocent people, that know how to play music, how to paint, who represent all of the elements of the European community."[150]

Reflecting on their experiences during the siege, many of the musicians interviewed compared the classical music scene in Sarajevo before the siege, in the 1970s and 1980s, with the current scene. Former director of the Sarajevo Opera, Miroslav Homen, claims that the classical music institutions in Sarajevo were at their best in the 1980s. "It was constantly improving and progressing especially before the war. The best quality was just before the war, especially when we speak just about the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra.... The same thing is for the opera progress, as it was constantly moving forward. Everybody was well prepared just before the Olympics and the best quality was during that period."[151] Dževad Šabanagić concurs, "Musical life in Sarajevo in the 1970s and 1980s was very rich and it had almost the same level of production as the other major cities in ex-Yugoslavia, like Zagreb and Belgrade.... We don't have so many concerts these days, the productions are much smaller as you can see. We have fewer

[149] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Miroslav Homen, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 17, 2013.

operas and ballets and only one symphonic concert per month. After the war, we can see the decrescendo in Sarajevo's musical life."[152] He further explains, "Before the war, our society had a specific plan to expand the orchestra, to build new spaces, to expand the academy, to build up the network of elementary music schools and music high schools.... Everything was closed during the war. Only the Philharmonic remained working, which still isn't a full orchestra, and right now there's no plans for any expansion...we don't have even a slight indication that things are going to improve."[153]

Teodor Romanić also reminisced about the strength of Sarajevo's classical music institutions in the 1970s and 1980s, explaining how being a part of ex-Yugoslavia allowed for exchange and support from institutions throughout the region. "We took all the best students from Ljubljana and Zagreb and brought them here and elsewhere. And we sent back to them our artists and musicians."[154] Additional musicians and artists came from abroad including, "people from Bulgaria, Czech musicians, from Romania, one ballerina was from Japan."[155] As a result of state support and the presence of world-class artists in the city, Romanić recalls that "We played a huge repertoire.... Those were very good shows and they were very good artists. Fine conductors, good repertoire, we played what we knew we could play.... We didn't play *The Right of Spring*, but we played *Petrushka* and *Firebird*.... We had a lot of world-class artists who participated in the Philharmonic orchestra."[156]

However, other musicians working in Sarajevo believe that the Sarajevo Philharmonic is currently getting stronger. Zvjezdana Patak remarked, "Regarding the quality of the orchestra

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[152] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Teodor Romanić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, December 13, 2013.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.

now, every generation of the orchestra has its own qualities.... And now we have a lot of good young musicians, that is the strength now: quality, education, experience. Its normal that the orchestra sounds much better despite that we, older musicians, are slowly getting tired."[157] Similarly, Dževad Šabanagić agrees that there has been a recent increase in the number of well-accomplished classical musicians in the Sarajevo Philharmonic, despite the lack of progress made by the cultural institutions in general. "The quality of playing is better now than it was before the war. Specifically I'm talking about the Philharmonic, which was never better than it is now, by it's content and it's sound quality. I can say that because I played in the orchestra before and also now."[158]

Others have pointed how much the war damaged Sarajevo's classical music institutions and are impressed by how the Sarajevo Philharmonic has be able to grow and improve since then. Cellist Bogumila Kamenjašević contends, "You know, I would rather compare it before the war, immediately after the war, and now. It's better to compare like that, you know why? Now the orchestra is getting back to normal, but after the war the situation was chaotic."[159] Her husband, Irfan Kamenjašević describes how much the orchestra has improved since then, "In the orchestra there were about 20 employees. It was a very difficult situation with the musicians, we had a lot of musicians that were helping out from abroad, from Croatia. After that there were musicians from Bulgaria. In any case, generally we didn't have a full orchestra. But you see now, that 17 years later the orchestra is more complete. I think there has been significant progress in the quality, so this orchestra is heading in a positive direction."[160] However, Bogumila and Irfan go on to agree that the classical music scene in Sarajevo is still not what it

[157] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.
[158] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[159] Bogumila Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.
[160] Irfan Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.

was in the 1980s. "Before the war we had 12 to 15 operatic shows per month plus concerts of the Sarajevo Philharmonic. Today we don't have that many performances. About the quality of the orchestra, I would have to compare it by section, some were better now, some were better before. But the fact is that biggest difference it that before the war there were many more musicians than there are now. There were three orchestras existing in the city."[161] "There was a bigger audience as well."[162]

Sakib Lačević also discussed how the Sarajevo Philharmonic has be rebuilt since the end of the siege. He points out, "the changes occurred in waves. Most of the things that happened couldn't happen overnight. We formed and filled in the orchestra with educated people, literally from scratch."[163] Although the orchestra grew and improved over time, Lačević believes that the Sarajevo Philharmonic should have done even more rebuilding in the years directly following the siege, when more foreign donations were being made. "Everything was elementary, from project to project. My opinion about that time is that we could have invested smarter if we were thinking then as we do today. Back then, we had more funds at our disposal from donations and other sources. I think that many things, actually, I don't think, I am convinced, that many things could have been done better."[164]

Dario Vučič, when describing the challenges of directing the National Theater also emphasized how much Sarajevo's cultural institutions rely on state funding and support, and how, as the support is diminishing, administrators and artists must explore other methods of acquiring sponsorship. " You always have somebody above you, it's minister or a member of board, or I don't know, some government premiere, it's always somebody above you, you are not

[161] Ibid.
[162] Bogumila Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.
[163] Sakib Lačević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 29, 2014.
[164] Ibid.

the only one who decide.... older directors...just wait from the ministry, and they get budget, and they just spend that budget. [Now] you have to find another sources of the, for money.... I think we have enough sources from our some good firms like BH Telecom, or for example, some big industries or something. Or some, another level of government in our country we have a lot. You can find some source for getting money, not just our budget that we get from our Ministry of Culture and Sport."[165]

Ališer Sijarić also found that the siege significantly affected the quality of the classical music institutions in Sarajevo, and that since its end, some improvements have been made. However, Sijarić believes that due to several factors, the improvements are quite small. "The war has severely damaged the education core, you know in the state, because so many good professors, as intellectuals and other people just went away.... when we put this together, the lack of professional people and the ideological stupidity, together, then you can imagine what kind of result you become.... I think that there are some improvements. Still, I think I would expect that these improvements should be more and should be bigger...in such little countries as Bosnia, without support of state, I don't think that the non-commercial culture would be possible at all, you know.... So the thing are getting better, but as a matter of fact due to the individual efforts of a couple of individuals. I'm sorry to say but still I don't see any institutional improvement in that sense."[166]

Some interviewees expressed their views regarding the numerous foreign musicians who have performed with the orchestra as it continues to rebuild. Adi Šehu remarks, "Well, maybe it will sound strange a little bit, but I don't think about foreigners in the orchestra, that they are

[165] Dario Vučić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 21, 2013.
[166] Ališer Sijarić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 10, 2014.

foreigners. My general way of thinking it is like we are all the same, we are citizens of planet earth, so I'm trying not to looks that the people who is coming from where.... Sometimes there is a slight barrier in communication, in speaking different languages, but the most important thing is just enjoy working and all other troubles and these barriers disappear."[167] Zvjezdana Patak expressed her enjoyment of collaboration. "We had wonderful impressions not only then [collaborating with Italian musicians while the Sarajevo Philharmonic was on tour during the siege], but also when we worked with other foreign musicians during the war and after the war. We had musicians from Bulgaria, from Croatia, immediately after the war we had some people from Serbia, from many countries. We had great collaborations and a great relationship with them. These musicians came to collaborate, to meet us, to hang out with us, and also to earn some money."[168] Indeed, some the foreign members of the Sarajevo Philharmonic have found their employment in the orchestra to be mutually beneficial. Bogumila Kamenjašević, a Polish cellist who joined the orchestra in 1989 answers, "Why did I come to Sarajevo? Well during the transition away from communism, the situation in Poland wasn't good. But that wasn't the only or main reason why I decided to come. I was satisfied Gdansk, playing in the Philharmonic Orchestra there; we had very nice tours. But I decided to come because it was an adventure for me and I was always searching for adventures. Something dragged me here, maybe it was Irfan [her husband], haha."[169] She also describes how her career in Sarajevo has exposed her to new musical styles and traditions. "When I moved to Sarajevo, I frequently had the opportunity to play sevdalinka, which is for a Polish girl, something totally new. I've learned a lot about sevdalinka. Learning every kind of musical style is good for the development of a musician."[170]

[167] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 12, 2013.
[168] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.
[169] Bogumila Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.
[170] Ibid.

Dario Vučič also emphasized the importance of intercultural and international exchange in Sarajevo's musical and educational institutions. "I think that's very important to have this changes between another countries, another universities."[171] Therefore, while director of the National Theater, he worked to promote exchanges with theaters and artists in other cities in the region, such as in Banja Luka, the capital of Republika Srpska and Vienna. "And I also I try to do some things, to, because when I was come here, it was like theater very closed in our country, especially in our city. For example, we didn't been in Banja Luka, that's in our country but just in another part of country, we didn't be for 28 years with opera there. 28 years, that's almost 30 years we didn't come from Sarajevo to Banja Luka, that's about 300 kilometers maybe, by bus, by car, never mind.... And last year I signed an agreement with Wiener Philharmoniker, with Vien Philharmoniker, I signed an agreement that our choir, opera choir from Sarajevo, will sing with the Wiener Philharmoniker 2014...we broke this all the borders between some, I don't know, silly nationalism or some sort of the closing just in Sarajevo."[172] Sakib Lačević agrees that the increase in collaboration with foreign musicians has recently improved the quality of classical music in Sarajevo. Particularly, he notes that the Sarajevo Philharmonic has been able to maintain consistency among its personnel due to the hiring of musicians from abroad. "In any case, it is a good idea. Every time, especially in the past 7 years, the intention and ideas are better, to bring people who are young and educated, who have the will to help, and to stay here, as some already have... we finally have, with their arrival, consistency throughout one season."[173]

Ališer Sijarić also discussed the importance of international exchange between Sarajevan musicians and musicians from abroad, particularly in order to exposed local audiences and

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[171] Dario Vučić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 21, 2013.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Sakib Lačević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 29, 2014.

students to professionals in specialized fields, such as baroque and contemporary music. "Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina is too little to have this kind of specialized scene. So its sometimes it's very hard to find the musicians who are practically able to play contemporary music.... So mostly, even for SONEMUS, I was also forced to call at least couple of people either from the countries of the region or from Europe to play with us in order to reach I would say a high standard which would be, well, which would be in that level of standards you can find I don't know, in Vienna, in Berlin, elsewhere."[174]

Most of Sarajevan musicians that I interviewed, though not all of them, were optimistic about the future of classical music in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fahira Karahasanović said, **"**I think its getting better and better. We keep on getting more musicians, good people who play well."[175] Zvjedana Patak, Dario Vučič, Sakib Lačevič, and Dževad Šabanagić concur, saying: "There is hope for classical music in Sarajevo. There will be young musicians to play. Before the war, every city, even small villages had their own orchestra or ensemble, and it will be that way again."[176] "I am always optimistic and I think that will be okay because I know I work in this Academy. And I also know some students and some pupils from the secondary and primary school that's excellent and we have a lot of good talents."[177] "We have an audience and there will be more. I noticed that young people are coming to concerts and they are interested. Interest in studying music is increasing as well."[178] "I think we finally reached a critical mass, a point from which we cannot go back. Despite the fact that the times are very difficult, not only here but in the entire world, this critical mass of people will never allow this to dissolve... we don't have to

[174] Ališer Sijarić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 10, 2014.
[175] Fahira Karahasanović, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 16, 2013.
[176] Zvjezdana Patak, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 23, 2013.
[177] Dario Vučić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 21, 2013.
[178] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.

be afraid for our future. I am not afraid anymore. At one time I was afraid. There is nothing that cannot stop our progress."[179] However, Šabanagić also warns that, "because of financial troubles, everything is stalling."[180]

A few Sarjevan musicians interviewed were not as optimistic about the future of classical music in their city. For example, Ališer Sijarić said, " Well, from, you know, I am a rational person. I can say I wish all the best. But as a matter of fact there are no signs that things are going to be better. Our economy and politics is even going further down. So surely it will reflect on the art. At this moment, I really, I don't see anything good."[181] Also, Teodor Romanić expressed feelings of pessimism about the future. When asked what he predicted for the future of classical music in Sarajevo, he responded, "Nothing good" in both Bosnian and English, elaborating, "There is no money. And primitivism is in charge.... Psychologically we were in the center of attention for culture. Not any more. Now the center of attention are these festivals, like 'Ilidžanska Noć' [Folk music festival]."[182] Some of the older musicians whom I interviewed remember how music Sarajevo's cultural institutions thrived in the 1970s and 1980s and are frustrated by the current lack of development. For example, Miroslav Homen stated, "You have to know that before the war, there was a professional opera orchestra, a professional radio television orchestra, and honorary philharmonic orchestra, jazz band, professional dance orchestra, professional tamburaški orchestra. And everybody is saying we should have it again. But 17 years after the war has passed and nothing has formed."[183]

Many Sarajevan musicians feel optimistic about young talented professional musicians in

[179] Sakib Lačević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 29, 2014.
[180] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.
[181] Ališer Sijarić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 10, 2014.
[182] Teodor Romanić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, December 13, 2013.
[183] Miroslav Homen, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 17, 2013.

Sarajevo, but are wary about lack of state support for music education and Bosnian cultural institutions. "Of course the biggest problem, I suppose like in every countries, is funding. So, the progress of the classical music, the future of the classical music is going to depend on the funds. The problem is that the structure of the government and politics, which is more than complicated: a lot of corruption and absence of moral values between politicians that they have to do something for the benefit of the citizens."[184] Adi Šehu also worries about diminishing audiences should a lack of music education affect patronage. "Our hardest goal to reach is to bring back the audience to our concert halls, to create this new critical mass of people who will cherish classical music, and enjoy it, and also understand classical music.... we lost a little bit, this sense culture in recent years. But I'm sure people in Sarajevo still has it in their hearts and if it gets any worse, that shout, that voice, will come out again."[185] Bogumila Kamenjašvić made a similar statement, that "some things are getting better slowly but steadily. Sometimes we have politicians who don't have a clue, who don't want to have anything to do with classical music, and it is regressive." However, "I think we gained a certain status in the city and in the country. When we say that we work in the Sarajevo Philharmonic, the reactions are pleasant."[186]

The diversity of backgrounds, attitudes, expectations, and values of the musicians interviewed demonstrate the electric nature of Sarajevo's classical music community. As several Sarajevan classical music institutions were able to maintain their operations during the siege, they were held together by a group of musicians who were willing to take risks and make sacrifices in order to preserve their city's cultural life. Furthermore, Sarajevan musicians have been able to relate to international audiences as they comfortably negotiate a multi-cultural

[184] Adi Šehu, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 12, 2013.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Bogumila Kamenjašević, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 9, 2013.

community. Their personal anecdotes and oral histories have become evidence of how classical music can serve a multi-ethnic community by facilitating dialogue between a diverse group of performers, educators, composers, and audiences.

Chapter 5- Media Coverage of Classical Music in Sarajevo During and After the Siege

Sarajevo's classical music institutions have received worldwide attention due to international media coverage of the city's cultural resistance during the siege. For example, "the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra...gained worldwide attention during the siege of Sarajevo. A collection of Muslims, Croats, Serbs, Jews and others that had played under fire, the philharmonic had become of Bosnia's multicultural ideal and resistance to Serb aggression."[187] In the forward to Ivan Lovrenović's *Bosnia: A Cultural History*, Ammiel Alcalay explains, "One of the more ironic and unfortunate by-products of the war in the age of mass media is that it too often tends to be the only conduit through which we grasp some sense of seemingly distant or hitherto unknown cultures.... In this sense, we know more about Bosnia now that many other places we should have at least some knowledge of."[188]

During the siege, reporters and writers told personal stories of Sarajevo's classical musicians, providing readers from the United States and Western Europe with a means of relating to the victims of the Bosnian War. One of the first articles written about besieged Sarajevan musicians was a *New York Times* article in June of 1992 by John F. Burns called "The Death of a City: Elegy for Sarajevo". In the article, Burns describes the daily outdoor performances of a cellist from the Sarajevo Opera Orchestra, Vedran Smailović. "Each day at 4 P.M., the cellist, Vedran Smailovic, walks to the same spot on the pedestrian mall for a concert in honor of Sarajevo's dead. The spot he has chosen is outside the bakery where several high-explosive rounds struck a bread line 12 days ago, killing 22 people and wounding more than 100. If he holds to his plan, there will be 22 performances before his gesture has run its course."[189]

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[187] Slavi, "Symphony and Dissonance", 210.
[188] Lovrenović, *Bosnia,* 9.
[189] John Burns, "Death of a City: Elegy for Sarajevo—A Special Report: A People Under Artillery Fire Manage to Retain Humanity", *New York Times,* June 8, 1992.

Burns goes on to explain that by performing music, Smailović is both able to retain a sense of normalcy and able to express his defiance against Serb aggressors. "Many, like Mr. Smailović who played the cello for the Sarajevo Opera, reach for an anchor amid the chaos by doing something, however small, that carries them back to the stable, reasoned life they led before.... He could have been speaking for all the survivors trapped here, in defiance of the Serbian nationalists' insistence that only the ethnic partitioning of the city, and of the republic, can bring them security. 'My mother is a Muslim and my father is a Muslim,' Mr. Smailović said, 'but I don't care. I am a Sarajevan, I am a cosmopolitan, I am a pacifist.' Then he added, 'I am nothing special, I am a musician, I am part of the town. Like everyone else, I do what I can.'"[190] Burns further emphasizes how music was used for the symbolic resistance of Sarajevo's civilians by describing, "a radio broadcast that was frequently drowned out by exploding shells", in which the announcer "urged people to turn of the volume on the station's Bosnian patriotic songs and Beatles music. 'We cannot kill these maniacs with guns,' he said, 'so kill them with love and music.'"[191] Later, other foreign writers will state similar reasons for musical performance in besieged Sarajevo.

On June 20, 1994, the Sarajevo Philharmonic appeared in newspapers around the world after performing in the ruins of City Hall with Zubin Mehta appearing as a guest conductor. For example, it was featured in another *New York Times* article by Chuck Sudetic. The short article focuses on describing the orchestra's performance of Mozart's Requiem. The publicity of the concert was a reminder to the West that civilians Sarajevo continued to suffer, over two years after the start of the siege.

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[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.

Another example of an article featuring Sarajevan musicians living under the siege was a *New York Times* article by reporter Roger Cohen published toward the end of the war. He wrote about the daily lives of musicians at the Sarajevo Music Academy, in an article titled "Music Helps Sarajevo Stay Sane During the War." In the article Cohen portrays both the destructiveness of the siege as well as the nobility of a few musicians who continue their daily practice regardless of their city's condition. "Once synonymous with civilization, and the universality of music, the conservatory now shows the barbarous legacy of the Bosnian War.... What sets the conservatory apart is the intense spiritual battle waged by students and teachers to save their music, and what it means to them, from the encroachment of war." [192] Cohen contends that classical music in Sarajevo under siege comforted its listeners. "The music, sometimes flowing, sometimes betraying a student's faltering hand, cascades from the Sarajevo conservatory. In its lightness and otherworldliness, it offers solace in a city still raw with suffering."[193]

According to Cohen, seven students and one teacher at the Music Academy were killed during the war. He describes several students and teachers who have faced terrible personal tragedies—death of family members, eviction, estrangement from friends. Cohen continues with quotes about how their music-making is affected by such loss. Ivana Velican, a piano student, said, "I play to defend myself...I mean I am not—I cannot—be free. But I can sit at the piano. And I can hope that everyone learns to feel the love that I feel." Emina Dubravic, the director of the Music Academy at that time also describes a relationship between music and love. "I am trying to give my students as much love for their music as possible...But not only that. Love for

[192] Roger Cohen, "Music Helps Sarajevo Stay Sane During War", *New York Times*, October 23, 1994.
[193] Ibid.

everything. I try to encourage them to see the world in a different way through music, for I do believe in the power of love."

Cohen quotes Angelina Papp, a piano teacher, saying, "Musicians are people who see war as something very strange to them. All musicians of the world speak the same language: the language of their scores. Moreover, music has no limits and so it constantly poses the question, why must we live in this cage?" Then, by quoting Music Academy student Selma Poricanin, Cohen reinforces the claim that classical music performance in besieged Sarajevo was an act of cultural resistance, "Every day we become more full of a certain pride and defiance, not a desire to take revenge, but a will to hold still and win out over this evil."[194]

Musicians in Sarajevo were not only featured in newspapers, but also in commercial and academic magazines and journals. On example is in the Winter-Summer 1995 edition of *Perspectives of New Music.* Gordana Slavicek writes about Josip Magdić, a composer and professor at the Music Academy, who continued to work and reside in Sarajevo through the siege. Slavicek describes, how Magdić, a composer of computer music, has managed to continue working despite the hardships, including frequent lack of electricity. "Magdic says that while he is playing the piano he simultaneously reworks the sounds in his head, making the tones sound more electronic, like the sounds his synth would make."[195] Slavicek notes that Magdić managed to compose over twenty pieces over the course of the siege, despite having to walk over three miles to get water, and having his building hit 56 times by Serb artillery. Her conclusion is quite similar to those made by Burns and Cohen in their *New York Times* articles—that Sarajevo's musicians continued to work during the siege for two main reasons: First, music provided

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[194] Ibid.
[195] Gordana Slavicek, "Music of War", *Perspectives of New Music* 33, 1/2 (1995), 627.

psychological relief to those who could temporarily forget theirs fears and losses while creating music. Secondly, creating music was an act of defiance against the attack on their city. "For him, survival is music. Getting deep into his music and composing, Magdić forgets the sniper bullets, and somehow the close shell blasts start fading away. 'I wanted to fight against the war and the aggression somehow. Music is my best and only weapon.'"[196]

Violinist Dževad Šabanagić was frequently featured by the Western media throughout the siege. He saw the attention as either positive or negative, depending on how Sarajevo was characterized. "I couldn't believe that there was such a big interest. I think during the war me and my quartet was filmed by a 150 different TV crews. The famous reporter, Christiane Amanpour from CNN, came to my home and interviewed me and my mother. Many reporters from the west were reporting objectively about civilized society, but also here were TV stations reporting about the ugliest, worst things in our society. Their goal was to show us as uncivilized. However, many TV stations reported quite objectively, which I know because I was thoroughly following the international reports."[197]

Some historians and writers have critiqued the international media attention of artists in besieged Sarajevo, arguing that, although the attention may have sparked the sympathy of foreigners, it did not directly lead to conflict resolution. In *Sarajevo: A Biography*, Donia argues that, in fact, the presence of international attention without international military intervention, made Sarajevo a valuable "hostage", used by the Bosnian-Serb nationalists for political negotiation. He writes that, "the sensitivities of the global media and international officials enhanced the city's value as a hostage. When the besieging forces deprived the city of essential

[196] Ibid.
[197] Dževad Šabanagić, interview with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, November 8, 2013.

services and aid, UN civilian and military officials frequently granted concessions in exchange for Bosnian Serb nationalist promises to permit the resumption of international aid."[198] This perspective must be considered when assessing the impact made by classical musicians who attracted media attention to the plight besieged Sarajevo's civilians.

Dževad Karahasan also offers a unique criticism of media coverage of besieged Sarajevo. He recalls that he had difficulty relating to members of the Western media, particularly a French journalist that he met in 1992. The journalist was interested in Karahasan's daily life, how he survived the everyday hardships of the siege, such as lack of heat and running water. Meanwhile, Karahasan laments the destruction of his open, multi-cultural community, and is more interested in discussing the importances of cultural pluralism than in complaining about hunger or cold. "Is it clear to you that all the problems—my little ones and other people's big ones—come from the fear of cultural pluralism that has decisively determined certain politics, and turned weapons against those who want to live together and rejoice in their differences? However, to all my attempts to convince him that I am better off than I deserve, the Frenchman responded by repeating that I must be feeling terrible."[199]

Regardless of how international media attention on Sarajevo's besieged musicians impacted foreign policy and whether it accurately reflected the experiences of Sarajevan civilians, it clearly affected foreigners' responses to the war. Since the media began to broadcast classical musicians in Sarajevo appealing for peace during the siege, many artists and writers throughout Western Europe and the US have created works inspired by or dedicated to musicians in Sarajevo.

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[198] Donia, *Sarajevo*, 290.
[199] Karahasan, *Sarajevo*, 61.

One musician in particular repeatedly inspired artists throughout the world, cellist Vedran Smailović. After Vedran Smailović became famous for performing in Sarajevo's ruins and graveyards during the siege, he caught the attention of two Canadian writers. Smailović's story, slightly altered, was woven into author Steven Galloway's internationally best-selling novel *The Cellist of Sarajevo,* published in 2008. Despite its positive reception, Smailović has expressed his distaste for Galloway's *The Cellist of Sarajevo*, noting its inaccuracies and complaining to a reporter from the *The Australian,* "I didn't play for 22 days, I played all my life in Sarajevo and for the two years of the siege, each and every day."[200] Smailović worried that the book would spark unwanted personal attention. "I have a right to privacy."[201] He also felt insulted that Galloway had not consulted with him before writing the book and did not offer compensation for the use of his story and identity. "How is this possible? They steal my name and identity. Nobody can take the rights to that from me. It's quite clear that it is me in the book... I expect damages for what they have done, an apology and compensation."[202]

Although Smailović expressed his dissatisfaction with *The Cellist of Sarajevo*, he was not categorically opposed to his story being shared by Western writers. Smailović worked with Canadian author Elizabeth Wellburn, meeting with her in London, to create a children's book called *Echoes from the Square*, published in 1998.

Regardless of the controversy surrounding the use of his story, Smailović inspired fellow musicians and composers from around the world. David Wilde wrote *The Cellist of Sarajevo* for solo cello, which was performed and recorded by Yo-Yo Ma. John McCutcheon wrote a song dedicated to Smailović called *In the Streets of Sarajevo*. Savatage and the Trans Siberian

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[200] David Sharrock, "Out of the War, into a Book and in a Rage", *The Australian,* June 17, 2008.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.

Orchestra have both performed and recorded *Christmas Eve/Sarajevo 12/24*, which describes a cellist playing a Christmas carol in besieged Sarajevo.

Ruth Waterman, an English violinist who traveled to Bosnia and Herzegovina to help lead the Mostar Sinfonietta, wrote a book about her experiences with musicians in Mostar and Sarajevo between 2002 and 2006. Her memoir, *When Swan Lake Comes To Sarajevo,* describes how classical music institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina struggled to recover after the war, and includes excerpts from conversations and interviews with some of the musicians she meets.

Waterman explains the title of her memoir toward the end of the book. She writes, "And now I remember what I heard someone say—who was it? when was it?--that they'd overheard a woman on the streets, 'When *Swan Lake* comes to Sarajevo, it will mean we are getting back to normal.'"[203] In other words, the success of classical musicians (and dancers) in Sarajevo serves to symbolize the resumption of civilian life after the siege, the triumph of cultural resistance over war's violence and destruction. Waterman also describes how Bosnians have shared their stories and music with her in order to connect to the international community. She writes, "they want the story to go outside their world, to life their inner siege."[204]

Waterman also describes how the Pontamina Choir and the Mostar Sinfonietta (which, although based in Mostar performed frequently in Sarajevo) have created a means of intercultural and inter-religious exchange in Sarajevo. "The Pontanima, meaning 'spiritual bridge', now has about sixty members from all religious communities in Bosnia.... What is even more unusual is that they build their programmes from combinations of Hebrew, Christian Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, and Islamic songs.... To sing songs of the enemy is to enter into

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[203] Waterman, *When Swan Lake Comes to Sarajevo,* 203.
[204] Ibid., 86.

another's world, to destroy the divide."[205] About the Mostar Sinfonietta, she writes, "Mostar is a virtually divided town...but the ensemble is the only body to be completely inclusive, with members from all communities."[206] Waterman recounts a conversation with a young musician in the sinfonietta, who tells her, "'Sinfonietta is very important, very important. It was maybe dangerous to cross bridge to other side to rehearse, but I do it. I don't mind danger. More important to play music together."[207] Thus, Waterman's memoir serves as another source of anecdotal evidence supporting the argument that many classical musicians in Bosnia and Herzegovina strive to overcome ethnic and religious divisions and create intercultural dialogue.

The fame of Sarajevo's classical musicians who continued to work during the siege has triggered a small amount of academic scholarship regarding the role that music has played in creating intercultural dialogue in Sarajevo during the past two decades. In 2010, Craig Robertson published a study in *Music and Arts in Action,* after studying a Sarajevan choir as an example of a "musical conflict transformation project". Robertson claims that, "Music departments did not seem to be exploring the wider social meaning of music, which I began to feel was crucial in order to understand how music might assist in conflict situations."[208] Therefore, Robertson investigated several musical projects intended to create intercultural dialogue in regions of conflict, including Daniel Barenboim's West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, and the Most-Duša inter-religious choir in Sarajevo.

Robertson begins his article by noting that, "while it is not universally accepted, music is increasingly broadly considered to be an effective resource with which to build shared cultural

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[205] Ibid., 96.
[206] Ibid., 1
[207] Ibid., 19
[208] Craig Robertson, "Music and Conflict Transformation in Bosnia: Constructing and Reconstructing the Normal", *Music and Arts in Action* 2, 2 (2010), 39.

identities, since it represents the values and power structures of the societies from which it originated."[209] Therefore, he seeks to find out "why music-conflict projects often do not work and how future projects might work" since he has "concluded that a successful musical conflict transformation project should be possible."[210] Robertson chose to study Most-Duša in Sarajevo because the choir includes members from multiple faiths, and performs songs from Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish, and Muslim traditions.

Robertson concludes that in some ways, Most-Duša succeeds in its mission to promote peace and reconciliation. The performances "recall in the sense that there had been times in Bosnia's past where all of these communities thrived alongside each other."[211] Thus, the choir member feel a sense a unity. "For the duration of their singing they are no longer divided along ethnic and religious lines, they are Most Duša, an exemplar of an orderly, successful and peaceful co-operation regardless of personal background."[212] Due to the results of his prior studies, Robertson did not predict that Most-Duša would have much success at transforming conflicts in Bosnia. However, Robertson is surprised to conclude that, "At this early research stage, music does appear to have had a positive effect on members of Most Duša and their audiences in the context of transforming conflict. "[213]

The state of the arts and culture in Sarajevo continued to receive international media attention after the war ended. For example, Zubin Mehta's performance in Sarajevo has be continually presented by the media as an example of a musical event which successfully promoted peace. As recently as on September 7, 2013, *The Hindu* published an article about a

[209] Ibid., 40.
[210] Ibid., 41.
[211] Ibid., 49.
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid., 51.

performance Mehta was leading on that day in Kashmir, hoping for the same peace that overcame Sarajevo during his 1994 appearance. The article quotes Mehta, remembering, "Not a single shot was fired during my two-hour performance in Sarajevo during the Bosnian war...soldiers on both sides who heard it, felt inner peace. We must never underestimate the power of inner peace that music brings."

The recovery of the city's cultural institutions, particularly the activities of Sarajevo's classical music ensembles, has been covered by foreign media since the end of the war. By writing about the arts in Sarajevo, foreign journalists were able to describe the perseverance of the city's citizens who trying to rebuild their lives while also acknowledging the challenges imposed by loss and destruction.

In 1996, the Sarajevo Philharmonic was featured in a short New York Times article by Robert Sherman, regarding an instrument donation to the orchestra from the South Shore Summer Music Festival. The music festival director is quoted, describing which instruments were donated, "'So far', she said, 'we've received a fine handmade piccolo, a Loree English horn, and three valuable violin and viola bows, all gifts of friends of South Shore."[214] The article notes that the Sarajevo Philharmonic was quite challenged by the condition of their instruments directly after the war. "The most pressing problem was the condition of their instruments, especially the woodwinds, so many of which had been destroyed by the bombardment of the city."[215]

One New York Times article, written by Alan Riding on September 18, 1997, more extensively covers the state of the arts in Sarajevo during the post-war recovery. He notes that

[214] Robert Sherman, "A Pianist's Recital, Instruments for Sarajevo", *New York Times*, June 2, 1996.
[215] Ibid.

"artists argue, culture offers the best hope of reviving Sarajevo's tradition as an open and tolerant city."[216] He goes on to describe the Sarajevo Philharmonic's post-war state as a struggling small ensemble of Sarajevo's remaining musicians. "Before 1992, Sarajevo's three orchestra employed some 300 professional musicians, but most left—and seven were killed—during the war. Now only the Sarajevo Philharmonic Orchestra survives, forced to bolster its 40 musicians by hiring instrumentalists from Slovenia and Croatia."[217] The article points out that a lack of funding as well as a lack of musicians posed significant challenges for the Sarajevo Philharmonic after that war. Emir Nuhanović, who at the time directed the orchestra is quoted, saying "The biggest problem is the lack of musicians. We can get them from abroad but we don't have enough money. We can't even pay salaries. I get money for a concert and I play the concert, but I don't know when the next concert will be."[218]

Later the article describes how the Sarajevo Music Academy survived the war and its post-war state. The dean, Osman-Faruk Sijarić came every day to ensure that the school stayed open throughout the war. At one point, a shell blasted a hole through the wall of the concert room, which is still preserved as a reminder of the attack. However, after the war, enrollment was significantly lower and many faculty members left. For a time, the director worried about being evicted from the building, due to the fact that "the building was expropriated by Yugoslavia's Communist Government from the Roman Catholic Church, which now wants to recover its property."[219]

Another article about the state of the arts in Sarajevo in 1997 appeared in *The American Scholar*, written by Julie Lasky. She notes that through the help of international interest and

[216] Alan Riding, "Stunned by War, the Arts of Sarajevo Are Reawakening", *New York Times,* September 18, 1997.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.

support, the arts thrived in post-siege Sarajevo. Along with high profile events involving Susan Sontag and Zubin Mehta, Lasky claims that in 1996, 65 artistic events were held at the Bosnian Cultural Center, with 100,000 attendees. "I found myself pressed against the back wall of a theater or locked in a corner of an exhibition space, competing for oxygen with the crowds."[220] However, Lasky also writes about an uncertain future for Sarajevo's artistic community, "all of their work was being done with foreign support, and there was concern about what would happen when Sarajevo was no longer a cause celebre of the West."[221]

Lasky contends that the relationship between the arts, Sarajevans, and foreigners is quite complex, and that Sarajevo's artistic productions do not always succeed in creating clear communication between the artists and outsiders. "Paintings, performances, wall graphics, street music embedded copious allusions to Western culture, from Michelangelo to Jurassic Park. And yet I found the Sarajevans sealed off to me by their trauma, and their most global cultural references impenetrably layered."[222] As an example she describes a performance of Mozart's Flute Quartet, which bizarrely leads into a rant regarding a controversial statue near Mozart's home in Vienna. Lasky also writes about her own personal disconnection for wartime Sarajevo's artistic creations. "I had checked my emotional responses at every turn in Sarajevo and wondered why they often seemed deficient.... Whatever appropriate feeling I thought I lacked, they were not restored by art, and clearly not by a roomful of cage birds made by a sculptor who said he had stopped creating human forms during the war. Nor by a short film called, 'I Burnt Legs' that told the story of a young man who worked at a hospital carting bags of amputated limbs to the incinerator. Whether the works were hackneyed or accomplished, public or private,

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[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Julie Lasky, "Art out of Rubble", *The American Scholar* 66, 2 (1997), 251

they shared the intimacy of common suffering. Though they sought a lingua franca in their transcultural references, they remained as obscure to me as the speech acts in my dreams. They were at once familiar and unfathomable, overlaid with meaning that didn't coincide with the source. Looking at them, I indeed felt like a voyeur, but with an imperfect understanding of anatomy."[223]

Despite her personal disconnection, Lasky goes into more detail about how artistic endeavors in besieged Sarajevo were used as a means of resistance. She interviews Suada Kapić, a former television producer, who during the war published a dark humorous book *The Sarajevo Survivor's Guide* as well as a parody issue of *Life* magazine. Kapić claims, "'In Sarajevo, resistance was totally based on civilization. Public opinion in Europe and in America recognized that true, art emanated from Sarajevo. It was good foreign policy.'"[224] Lasky points out that Kapić, along with several other Sarajevan artists, had the opportunity to leave their city for good. Cultural organizations from around the world sponsored exhibitions of the artists' works and payed for their travel abroad. However, Kapić and other artists risked their lives and returned to Sarajevo, evading snipers bullets as they dashed across the airport tarmac. "Why did they return? The artist I spoke to gave several reasons: family, the precarious life of a refugee, belief in their power to help preserve Sarajevo's multicultural society or to compel outsides to prevent further partitioning."[225]

In *World and I* Peter Slavi shows a slightly less optimistic portrait of classical music in Sarajevo several years after the end of the siege, in 1999. He writes that, "the war's end did not give the orchestra peace."[226] He lists several specific challenges that the orchestra faced at that

[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Slavi, "Symphony and Dissonance", 210.

time. "Resentment toward colleagues who had deserted them during the city's trials was only part of the aftermath. The orchestra had been gutted by the war. Shelling had destroyed instruments and left the orchestra's library in shambles. Seven musicians had been killed and a dozen wounded. Many fled the country and did not return. More than seventy strong before the war, the philharmonic was reduced to some forty musicians, too few to play many symphonic pieces.... Replacements for musicians lost during the war have proved hard to find. The supply of trained musicians in Bosnia is exhausted, and the orchestra has little money to attract musicians living abroad. It is financially dependent on the government and philanthropy. Its budget slim, short of office staff, dependent on the goodwill of politicians and patrons, the philharmonic is always improvising, always hustling.... The philharmonic has been on 'a merry-go-round,' says American Charles Ansbacher, its principal guest conductor for over three years. 'It's amazing they haven't completely burned out or thrown in the towel.'"[227]

Perhaps the most recent time during which Sarajevo's classical musicians were featured in the foreign media was on April 5th of 2012, which marked the 20th anniversary of the siege. Vedran Smailović returned to Sarajevo for the first time since the siege to lead a memorial concert in the Holiday Inn, which also served as a reunion for Western journalists who risked their lives staying there to cover the war. The event was aired worldwide on CNN International, and a short Associated Press article describing the performance appeared in numerous newspapers across the United States and Western Europe.

The local media in Sarajevo currently covers classical music events in Sarajevo on a regular basis, through most articles are short, only a few sentences, and focus on basic informative information, such as the date, time, and location of the event and which artists were

[227] Ibid.

featured. Stories about the arts frequently are overridden by political stories in the city's major newspapers and broadcasts. In order to get attention, musical event organizers, musicians, and administrators will host press conferences, which can attract more local coverage.

There are no specialized shows or columns about music in Sarajevo, although most news agencies have culture desks. There are only a few journalists employed by the public, state-sponsored media organizations who specialize in covering musical events. By contrast, before the siege, there used to be about 20 music journalists working at the culture desk for Sarajevo Radio Television. However, media coverage of musical events in Sarajevo is changing due to the popularity of online news sources. There are an increasing number of stories about Sarajevo's cultural events online and more opportunities for freelance journalists to write about music.

Most journalists working in Sarajevo are expected to be able to cover arts and culture in general, but are not expected to cover musical events specifically. Instead, classical music events in Sarajevo are usually covered by students who have studied musicology, ethnomusicology or sometimes even applied music at the Sarajevo Music Academy. However, their stories are almost always informative rather than critical, and the few opinionated pieces are often positive, promotional stories paid for by event organizers. Although Sarajevo had several music critics before the war, there are currently no respected, independent music critics working regularly in the city. Journalist and musicology student Zvjezdan Zivković explains, "This is a very small country and people don't want to get envy with the artists. So if they write a critique it will always be a good critique."[228]

With the increasing amount of opportunities for young writers to critique performances on blogs, social networks, and other online forums, and with the increasing number of students

[228] Zvjezdan Zivković, conversation with author, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 16, 2014.

pursuing musicology at the Sarajevo Music Academy, the quantity and quality of critical coverage of Sarajevo's musical events is likely to increase in the next few years. Furthermore, international media attention on classical music in Sarajevo may continue in 2014 as the European community reflects on the 100th anniversary of World War I. The Vienna Philharmonic, in collaboration with the chorus of the Sarajevo National Theater, will perform in the freshly restored City Hall in June as a part of the commemoration of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. As the world continues to remember the destruction of 20th century war and inter-ethnic conflict, Sarajevo will remain in the spotlight as an example of a European city striving for a more peaceful future. Thus Sarajevan classical music institutions and their musicians will have a continuing role in promoting music as a means for multi-national collaboration and intercultural dialogue.

Conclusion

As the subject of international attention, hosting a unique cultural resistance to the 1992-1996 siege, classical music institutions in Sarajevo have acted as forums for multi-ethnic and international exchange, particularly during times of conflict which jeopardized a community known for peaceful cultural pluralism. The classical musicians of Sarajevo represent a diverse group of religions and ethnicities and have historically welcomed foreigners, publicly promoting intercultural exchange as they gather for performances.

The history of classical music in Sarajevo sheds light on how the city's cultural institutions foster connections between musicians and audiences within their small, but diverse multi-ethnic society, and between artists, patrons, and journalists worldwide. Czech immigrants played a significant role in founding the institutions during the Austro-Hungarian empire, thus sharing their knowledge and cultural background with Sarajevan students and audiences. After World War I, Sarajevo's classical music institutions continued to grow, but remained limited by the number of local musicians and educators, thus continuously welcoming guests and immigrants from other parts of Yugoslavia and abroad. Later, as Sarajevan classical music ensembles flourished in the 1960s-80s, Yugoslavia's unique openness to both Eastern and Western Europe allowed for them to host foreign guest musicians from all over the world. Finally, since Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence in 1992 and Sarajevo was paralyzed in the siege of 1992-1996, the city's classical music institutions have resiliently continued to embrace diversity, employing artists from Bosniak, Croat, Serb, and foreign backgrounds. The repertoire performed by classical music ensembles in Sarajevo also reflects the variety of Western European and, to a lesser extent, Turkish influences on the history of

Bosnia and Herzegovina, as they frequently perform works by Beethoven, Dvořák, and other standard repertoire alongside works by local composers and arrangements of traditional Turkish music, *sevdalinke*, and other folk music.

Classical musicians in Sarajevo have not only succeeded in embracing diversity, but also in maintaining the operations of their institutions regardless of circumstances. The Sarajevo Opera, Sarajevo Philharmonic, and Sarajevo Music Academy endured the siege, continuing to host performances even without electricity, under danger of shelling and gunfire. Since the siege has ended, the institutions have continued to grow and improve, despite facing Sarajevo's limited resources, stagnant economy, and political stalemate. Classical music concerts in Sarajevo are well-attended by an enthusiastic audience, and Sarajevans pride themselves in the positive international attention received by the city's musicians during and after the siege. Therefore, the study of the recent history of classical music in Sarajevo can demonstrate how and why classical music institutions can come to be valued by their community as a fundamental sector of cultural life.

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Appendix: List of Interviews

1. Adi Šehu 10/12/2013
2. Fahira Karahasanović 10/16/2013, translated
3. Miroslav Homen 10/17/2013, translated
4. Dario Vučič 10/21/2013
5. Zvjezdana Patak 10/23/2013, translated
6. Dževad Šabanagić 11/8/2013, translated
7. Bogumila and Irfan Kamenjašević 11/9/2013, translated
8. Teodor Romanić 12/13/2013, translated
9. Ališer Sijarić 1/10/2014
10. Sakib Lačević 1/29/2014, translated