

Jonas BRUVERIS

# Modernity in Music Culture of the Independent Lithuania: Reception and Yearning

*Modernybė nepriklausomos Lietuvos muzikos kultūroje. Receptija ir siekis*

## Abstract

Modernity appeared in the Lithuanian art in the first decade of the 20th century. Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis' ideas do not link Lithuanian music from the point of view of its indispensable national character to the features of the folk music, corresponding to the tendency of the literary and art criticism to link the national character of works with the personality of the artist, but not with the choice of historic and other topics or subjects of the work. Cultural life of the Independent Lithuania has changed in essence. Professional art institutions have been established, possibilities, paths, and volumes of organization of the cultural life were incomparably increased. Music culture is analysed in the article within the context of the entire artistic life; a certain variability of reception and estimation of modernity in a) European music in general, b) in the Lithuanian culture of art (programmes of concerts, theatre repertoires, etc.), and c) in the creative work of Lithuanian artists.

**Keywords:** modernity, traditionalism, nationalism in art.

## Anotacija

Modernumo apraiškų lietuvių mene pasirodė XX a. pirmame dešimtmetyje. Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio idėja lietuvių muzikos jos būtinio tautiškumo aspektu nesieti su liaudies muzikos savybių panaudojimu atitiko moderniosios literatūros kritikos ir dailėtyros nuostatas meno kūrinio tautiškumą ne sieti su istorinių, krašto gyvenimo ir panašių temų bei siužetų pasirinkimu, o kildinti iš kūrėjo tautinės asmenybės. Atkūrus Lietuvos nepriklausomybę, kultūros gyvenimas pakito iš esmės. Įkurtos profesinės meno įstaigos, pasikeitė ir išaugo kultūros gyvenimo organizavimo galimybės, būdai ir apimtys. Straipsnyje muzikos kultūra nagrinėjama meno gyvenimo apskritai kontekstuose. Pastebėtas receptijos ir vertinimų įvairavimas atsižvelgiant į modernybės pristatymą: a) Europos muzikos kultūroje apskritai, b) Lietuvos kultūroje (koncertų, teatrų repertuaras ir pan.) ir c) lietuvių menininkų kūryboje.

**Reikšminiai žodžiai:** modernumas, tradiciškumas, meno tautiškumas.

## Introduction

In Lithuania, the period from 1900 to 1940 consisted of two phases. The artistic life of both phases depended on different political circumstances. The first two decades of the 20th century may be characterized as a culminating phase of the national revival movement (after the third division of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795, Lithuania became part of Russia; national revival movement started at the beginning of the 19th century). In May 1904, the Tsarist ban on the use of Lithuanian language in public and the press was lifted (it had lasted for 40 years; periodicals and books were published in Lithuania Minor and distributed illegally in the land), and the artistic life flourished intensively in the country, as well as in the Lithuanian communities elsewhere. The so-called Lithuanian soirées (concerts of choruses and soloists, drama performances) and art exhibitions soon turned into the main public form of cultural life. Lithuanian music nationalism came into being. Scientific, artistic and other societies, as well as political parties, were established. The following data may illustrate the extent of accumulated creative energy and cultural activities. Before the First World War, concerts and drama performances took place

in about 200 towns and villages of Lithuania. From 1904 to 1919, 61 periodicals were published (not all at the same time) in Vilnius (Kazlauskaitė 1988: 96). In general, about 200 Lithuanian periodicals were published from 1905 to 1917, and about 2000 periodicals appeared from 1918 to 1940 (Urbonas 2004: 1083, 1085).

The second phase: 1918–1940, time of the Independence. Professional state art institutions were founded; rapid creative public activity began in all arts. Political and cultural life was forced to be concentrated in Kaunas, the narrow space of the temporary capital (in 1920–1939 Vilnius and a part of Eastern Lithuania were occupied by Poland). Everybody's activities were visible to everybody, and stimulated each other; interaction of ideas manifested itself particularly evidently in the creation of vocal, program music and theatre productions. Major part of artists consisted of representatives of the fast period, but a new generation grew up, too. Two main problems were common to all arts and remained significant up to now: the idea of modernity in Lithuanian art, knowledge and popularization of modern art in general, and the interaction of modernity with the national character of art. The period of the following twenty years must be taken into consideration as well. The lives and creative activities of

artists were continued in the new circumstances of the first Soviet, Nazi and the second Soviet occupation; this reality violently altered the possibilities of the realization of their ideas and also affected personal lives.

Tendencies towards modernity came out in all branches of Lithuanian art in the first decade of the century or somewhat earlier. Aspirations for individuality of an artist and originality of his work were among the main inducements of the yearning for modernity, followed sometimes by critical attitude towards the significance of traditional realism and romanticism for art creation in modern times. Creative work by Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis is a characteristic phenomenon of the time, validity of his thoughts concerning art has been confirmed by history. Čiurlionis was glad to learn a lot at Leipzig Conservatoire (1901–1902). He especially appreciated the lessons of counterpoint by Salomon Jadassohn, and once reminded an important rule to a friend: he, who wants to invent new forms, must first of all master the old ones (*M. K. Čiurlionis* 1960: 93). Performances of *Judas Maccabaeus* by Händel, *Götterdämmerung* by Wagner made a particularly strong effect on him; in *Musikbibliothek Peters*, he copied scores of symphonic poems by R. Strauss. Naturally, Čiurlionis regretted professor Carl Reinecke's demands to not overstep the rules of musical language displayed in the orchestral works by Weber and Mendelssohn – in his work he wanted to say something “in his own words” (Ibid.: 91; “Reinecke frowns at dissonances and does not want to tell them to perform my overture”, Ibid.: 125). In 1904, the period of the modernization of his musical style began. Various aspects of Čiurlionis' modernity are revealed by Vytautas Landsbergis, Gražina Daunoravičienė, George Kennaway, Rimantas Janeliauskas a.o., and may be briefly estimated like this:

[Čiurlionis] was in the ranks of modernists, those who employed more or less systematic twelve-tone or individual techniques. Seccession gestures of score ornaments, pre-optic flashes, cryptographic themes and magical palindromes, cycles of transpositions of the basic structures created by Čiurlionis as early as 1904–1905, Webern's group, the rudiment of spirals of inversions, and the kernel of the series of all intervals were those material documents, which manifested the vision of emerging Modernism in his creative work. (Daunoravičienė-Žuklytė 2016: 622–623)

Čiurlionis also regretted professor's disapproval of folk-song-like motives in his compositions. National character of his own work and of the Lithuanian art in general was always in the centre of Čiurlionis' attention. In 1909, Čiurlionis wrote an article *On Music*. It was a certain manifesto of Lithuanian musical nationalism. In the article, the national character of professional music was traditionally linked with the use of features of the folk music. In that way, Čiurlionis characterized Lithuanianness

and musical nationalism on the whole. However, he was a pioneer when the nationalism of Česlovas Sasnauskas' works (there were no folk elements in his music) derived from the personality of the composer as a Lithuanian. This idea was adopted by Juozas Gruodis, a partisan of the continuous renewal of music creation. He affirmed in the article of the year 1925 that all composers – representatives of the classicism, romanticism, impressionism or expressionism – were the “modernists” of their times (Gruodis 1965: 164–165); nevertheless, his reception of modernity may be characterized as wary. Another aspect of the problem has been emphasized by Gruodis in a public lecture of the year 1928: there is not enough folk tunes to write a national composition, and it could not be composed by composer from other nation; composer “must be the son of the nation” (Ibid.: 183). Ideas of modernity and nationalism were elaborated again by modern composers Jeronimas Kačinskas and Vytautas Bacevičius during the discussion that arose in the thirties. They also derived nationalism from the composer's personality and universal experience, i.e. “how the Lithuanian creator uses principals of art experienced in his own consciousness” (Petrauskaitė 1997: 188). Bacevičius and Kačinskas left for the West. In 1948 Gruodis was accused of formalism; he died of a heart attack on the same day when his article of excuse – heavily corrected by editors – was published.

Gruodis, the first composer-pedagogue of composition in Lithuania, taught his students essentially the same ideas as Čiurlionis. Gruodis' works and pedagogical activities based on these ideas formed a specific national school of composers. (Ambrasas 2013: 131)

Gruodis' pupils and adherents Antanas Račiūnas, Julius Juzeliūnas and Eduardas Balsys (pupil of Račiūnas) became professors of composition. They educated several generations of Lithuanian composers. In the 1960s, the soviet ideological control of culture somewhat weakened, critique of modern art became not so fierce and all-out. These changes immediately manifested in the creative activity within all arts. The so-called process of stylistic renewal (i.e. mastering of new or relatively new stylistic features and techniques of the Western music) began in Lithuanian music, too. Balsys and Juzeliūnas were the initiators. Juzeliūnas created his distinctive composition system on the basis of certain features of the folk music. However, until now Lithuanianness is usually attributed to modern music, which contains no folklore-like features. In Krzysztof Droba's words, Lithuanian minimal music has a “charming local national color”, which “contradicts the main tendency of minimal art” (Droba 1997: 102–103). Eero Tarasti asked:

Why does Rytis Mažulis' music, though calculated so mathematically, sound so much Lithuanian-like? (Gruodytė 2002: 43)

Čiurlionis was the only modern composer among the first generation of creators of the Lithuanian musical nationalism. As a painter, he was not alone. In 1902–1904 Čiurlionis attended the Warsaw School of Drawing, in 1904–1906 he studied at the Warsaw School of Art; originality of his painting was noticed soon. According to School documents, between years 1904–1905, he was exempted 17 times from tuition fees “for talent and individuality” (Siedlecka 1996: 49; he was at that time the author of about 70 pictures). During the opening ceremony of the 1st exhibition of Lithuanian fine arts in Vilnius (late 1906), the leader of the national revival Jonas Basanavičius paid special attention to “originality and individuality” of Čiurlionis’ works, which “could perhaps become the beginning of the new trend in art” (see in *Pirmosios parodos atidengimas* 1906: 2). Čiurlionis’ painting have been paralleled in time with main styles of modern art. A noticeably formed appreciation: after an exhibition of his works in 1979 in West Berlin (it was the first solo exhibition of Čiurlionis’ art in the West), German art critic Heinz Ohff wrote:

Čiurlionis is entirely and specifically Lithuanian. He is melancholic, mystical, and at the same time extremely serious and meticulous. [...] The work of this Lithuanian, long dismissed as being of only peripheral importance, belongs to the outstanding original achievements of our century [...]. He leads us, by a direct and uncircuitous route, back to the wellsprings of that which we call art. (Goštautas 1994: 523–524)

Antanas Žmuidzinavičius, Petras Rimša were associates of Čiurlionis in organizing the first exhibitions and of the Lithuanian Art Society; just as the greatest part of participants of the exhibitions, they represented to a certain extent various creative tendencies of those days.

While studying in Warsaw, Cracow, Munich, Paris (Genève, Rome, Saint Petersburg, Moscow could be added, Petras Kalpokas was the member of Vienna Secession Union – J.B.), Lithuanian artists got to know the trends of impressionism, symbolism, art nouveau, realist painting. Differently from situation in literature (innovators of fiction opposed new art with the old one), rather strong opposition to young generation’s propaganda of early modernism did not exist in Lithuanian fine arts. (Veljataga 2007: 28)

Difference of opinion existed, of course. In an article about the second exhibition, Vladas Mongirdas reproached priesthood with a wish to get only pictures of the saints and to drive artists into a narrow path. He spoke very negatively of works of the aged painters, and gave high praise to the (more) modern ones; Čiurlionis was particularly belauded (Vl.M. 1908: 2–3). The tone of writing about the same exhibition by Jonas Kriauciūnas was different (his article was

published in the newspaper edited by Juozapas Ambraziejus, a priest of Vilnius’ churches). The author states that works of modern artists totally prevail over exhibition. “So to say, it is revolution in fine arts” (Kriauciūnas 1908: 46). To author’s mind, enigmatic character and mysteriousness of the new art asks for an elaborated fantasy. He says he does not know the future – does this new trend mean really serious road towards the perfection of art, or is it in the meanwhile a groping search to find it, and when our wide society will be able to grasp the meaning of it?

Folk art has always been an abundant part of exhibitions. Of course, national character of fine arts was variously discussed. Adalbertas Staneika wrote from Munich that poetry and fine arts are able and must get Lithuanian Spirit out of the prison of strange forms. Folk songs, legends and tales are the little grains of the Spirit from which great trees will grow and demolish the walls of the jail (Staneika 1908: 3). So, the idea of necessity of the national spirit in art may be understood as an effort to avoid the non-creative repetition or mimicry of the elements that were somewhat invented and already known elsewhere. Theologian, philosopher, poet and publisher Adomas Jakštas-Dambrauskas “was lost in admiration” during the second exhibition of Čiurlionis’ cycle *The Zodiac*. While writing about the 3rd exhibition, he finds samples of the true (not decadent) symbolism, rejects musicality of the pictorial sonatas by Čiurlionis, does not find Lithuanianness in his work, and praises Lithuanian sights in paintings of other painters (Druskis [Adomas Jakštas-Dambrauskas’ pen name] 1909: 1860–188). The years of first exhibitions were also a time of rapid development of the art criticism. Small newspapers consisting of four pages have also published articles about art and culture, works by writers, sometimes even translations of large works by foreign authors (f.e. five-act drama *Les Mauvais Bergers* by Octave Mirbeau in *Vilniaus žinios*, summer of 1908). Protection of traditional values and broad intellectual scope of writings by Jakštas-Dambrauskas stimulated several decennia of debate, enriched cultural space with various ideas (he died in 1938). In 1907, Jakštas-Dambrauskas began publishing the monthly *Draugija* (each number containing c. 100 pages) with supplement *Ateitis* for the youth (from 1911, each number containing about 50 pages; he edited some other journals and newspapers as well). Articles, poetry and other works by Lithuanian and foreign authors, reviews of local and foreign press and books (published abroad several years, a year ago or even in the same year) have been (in chapters *Bibliography and Criticism*) immediately reviewed.<sup>1</sup> Dispute between Jakštas and Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas in 1926–1927 may be numbered among most interesting polemics of the later years. After studies in Fribourg and Munich, Mykolaitis, a symbolist poet, dramatist and literary scholar, began his pedagogical career at the Kaunas’

University in 1923, and in 1924 started editing the journal *Židinys* (in 1925 a cycle of his symbolist poems *Hymns of Pessimism*, in 1927 a cycle *Between two Dawns* were published). His reasoning about the essence of art as a case of the human creation, beauty in art, definition of social, national, religious, moral ideas as outward but not essential features of art (Mykolaitis 1926: 279), etc., and some critical observations on Jakštas' theories were met in Jakštas' turn very critically.<sup>2</sup> Jakštas presented mathematical formula of art (Jakštas 1927: 39). He reproached Mykolaitis for the recognition of vagueness and inconceivableness of artistic ideas of modern art, as well as the interpretation of darkness as the depth (Ibid.: 37).<sup>3</sup> Jakštas wrote a letter to Marc de Munynck, professor of the Fribourg University, and asked for a closer definition of his several ideas quoted by Mykolaitis.

The idea of linking national character with the folk art, mythological or historical topics, landscapes of the fatherland etc., has been constantly renounced by representatives of new tendencies. In 1910, Marija Pečkauskaitė (pen name Šatrijos Ragana, debuted as a writer in 1896; her works represent features of impressionism) disagrees with Jakštas-Dambrauskas' opinion twice in the article *Thoughts on Art*: a Spaniard or an Italian can paint some Lithuanian sight, but they could not be numbered among Lithuanian painters (Pečkauskaitė 1910: 2). However, Jakštas-Dambrauskas' art and literary criticism wasn't always so naïve. While reviewing a book of poems by Kazys Puida (pen name Žegota) he notices that new poets neglect poetry rules, and compares verses of the young poet with the ones by Paul Verlaine, Konstantin Balmont, and Jan Kasprovicz (representative of the Polish modernist movement *Young Poland*): Verlaine and Balmont are decadent only in mind, the form of their poetry is perfect; Žegota has *animam naturaliter poeticam et symphoniolem*, but his verses are full of twaddle and incoherence of form. The story *Autumn* by Puida is estimated much better – it contains more poetry as the verses of the author (Jakštas 1907: 185). In 1923–1924 and 1930–1931 Puida edited three journals devoted to literature and arts.

At that time tendencies of modernisation manifested themselves in all forms of fiction. Contrary to the tradition of declarative patriotism, “an attention to human drama is focused in historical dramaturgy,” tradition of the everyday drama has been modernised “taking into consideration general tendencies of naturalism, symbolism, expressionism” (Martišiūtė 2004: 18). Manifestations of Jugend style appeared as well:

Comparison with the German literature shows that the Jugend ideas in the Baltic literature are accepted with creativity, adjusting them to own cultural experiences. (Mykolaitytė 2004)

In 1907, the first selection (called almanac) of articles, prose texts and verses titled *Gabija* (name of the goddess of fire in Lithuanian mythology) was published in Cracow. Editor Albinas Herbačiauskas (one of the managers of Lithuanian society *Rūta* in 1904; in 1911–1924 he was the lecturer of Lithuanian language at Cracow university) declared there the beginning of Lithuanian modernism, and became its leading figure (his *Crown of Thorns*, 1908, was called by critics the first example of the really modern Lithuanian prose). Two samples of Sofija Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė's work were included as well. The above-mentioned article by Čiurlionis was published in her book *In Lithuania* (1910).<sup>4</sup> With cultural criticism so peculiar to *Fin de siècle*, Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė states that realism said everything that was possible to say, and is now a “totally inadequate form for the Lithuanian art” (Čiurlionienė [Kymantaitė] 1910: 56). She points out the trilogy *Shadows of the Ancestors* (1908) by Vydūnas as an excellent example of the new Lithuanian drama (Čiurlionienė 1910: 55–56; according to general opinion of the present criticism, Vydūnas has created a modern ritual theatre). Thinking that her poem *Great Green Woods* (1915–1945) fulfilled the demands that were formed in youth, Čiurlionienė later wrote:

All realistic means, the entire life experience must serve the flights of spirit, [...], must serve to reveal the symbol, which summons up an entire creative longing for beauty and goodness hidden in the human essence. (Čiurlionienė 1960: 328)

In 1913, an excellent impressionistic novel *Kuprelis* (diminutive form of hunchback, the main character) by Ignas Šeinius, writer and diplomat, appeared; the author became the most famous representative of impressionism in Lithuanian prose. Another unique personality was Jurgis Baltrušaitis. After the studies at Moscow University, he remained to live there, and became one of the leading poets of Russian symbolism of the first decades of the century (“J. Baltrušaitis implanted his LITHUANIAN WISDOM into the Russian poetry”, wrote Igor Severyanin, a prominent representative of the Silver Age of Russian Art; see in Kubilius 1967: 20); when writing the text of *Preparatory Action* (preliminary part of *Mysterium*, summer 1914), Scriabin consulted with him. Stasys Šilingas discussed in public lecture Baltrušaitis' spiritual relationship with Rabindranath Tagore and Čiurlionis' creative work (see in *Vilnius kronika* 1914: 3). In 1920 he became Lithuanian ambassador to Russia; his Lithuanian poetry then appeared. Baltrušaitis helped Marc Chagall to leave Belarus for Paris. According to literary scholar Vytautas Kubilius, model of impressionist style developed by Šeinius was for some time “the most influential school for young authors” (Kubilius 1996: 135); as examples,

the symbolism connected with Čiurlionis' art, idea of the musicality of poetry, and Baltrušaitis' poetry, became the most influential literary attraction at the beginning of existence of the Independent Lithuania; Motiejus Gustaitis (poems of 1914–1917) was the forerunner (Ibid.: 154).

The twenties began with new events in the spread of ideas of modernity. Art exhibition of the year 1920 was estimated by Jakštas-Dambrauskas as consisting of variably expressionistic works; Vytautas Bičiūnas was mentioned as the main representative of such tendencies (Jakštas 1921: 93). Jakštas' standpoint was negative, of course. On the other hand, his article is full of useful information about the rise of expressionism and related phenomena.<sup>5</sup> In May 1922, an exhibition of works (over 60 paintings and graphics) by Marc Chagall took place in Kaunas. He also read fragments of the autobiography *My Life*. Exhibition caused a stir, but also a certain derangement even among artists – how could it be estimated? In Bičiūnas' words, his impressions were varied; he tried to discover differences between and analogies with the features of various styles, and thus to find “something distinctive, singular, mysterious” in Chagall's creative work (Bičiūnas 1922: 4).

Society of Creators of the Lithuanian Art (established in January 1920, consisting of sections of all arts; over 100 artists joined the Society) was the main organizer of the artistic life. It was pretty vivid and imbued with striving for modernity. In 1920, Higher Courses of Drawing were founded upon Justinas Vienožinskis' initiative.<sup>6</sup> In 1922, the Courses were reorganized into the Art School. At about 1930, the culminating phase of the striving for modernity in fine arts began. Different groups of artists began organizing their own exhibitions. Society of Independent Artists was founded by the representatives of the younger generation. Debates among representatives of modernist groups took place, too.<sup>7</sup> In 1932, the manifesto of the group *Ars* was published, the first exhibition took place. The group consisted of eight modern artists (six of them had studied in Paris and took part in various local exhibitions); expressionism prevailed, ideas of fauvism, cubism, constructivism, art deco were noticeable as well. In 1921, Vytautas Kairiūkštis founded the Lithuanian School of Drawing in Vilnius (in spite of the fierce anti-Lithuanian policy of the Polish state and church power, Lithuanians strived to maintain and develop the national culture). Works by Kairiūkštis himself belong to excellent early samples of the Lithuanian avant-garde painting (cubism, constructivism, supremacism).

The organization of artistic life at that time reflects in one's own way the character of creative tendencies. Society of Church Art, Society of Female Artists as well as groups of Individualists and Realists in Artists' Union have been established, exhibitions of Belgian, Estonian, Latvian, Italian, Hungarian, modern French art, works by Jacques

Lipchitz were held. Modernist ideas found expression in all kinds of fine art. Modernist architecture of interwar Kaunas is a special phenomenon. It is granted the European Heritage status. Buildings of Kaunas' style exist in other cities as well.

Speaking about the inter-war innovatory art, epithets like moderate, solid, reliable, come to mind first. It was an art that did not rush after one-day problems and short-lived blaze of glory, but was attentive to the fundamental issues of the nation's existence. The formal structure of many works reveals a certain mark of moderation and traces of academic skills. These traces point to a tenacious tradition lying in the depths of Lithuanian modernism, [...] starting with an assortment of themes, motifs and means of visual representation, and ending in a hardly defined general mood, spiritual tonality, and a range of aesthetic and worldview values. It is the distinguishing feature of Lithuanian modernism. (Mulevičiūtė 2001: 212–213)

In 1922 the brochure *The Prophet of the Four Winds* was published. A group of young authors (Kazys Binkis, Salys Šemerys, Petras Tarulis (pen name of Juozas Petrėnas), and Juozas Butkus, according to their own words, restless, giddy creatures) proclaimed in that way the beginning of the avant-garde creative activity. At first sight the program of the group seemed to be more noisy than definite; naturally, the ideas of the group were alien to the representatives of romantic, symbolist another tendencies; newspaper *Jaunimas* (The Youth) published very critical information about this action of “K. Binkis and Co.” (K-lis 1922: 3–4). However, the artistic world was very intrigued by the appearance of the resolute new movement, and was also interested in the future results. In 1924 the first issue of the magazine *Four Winds* was published. Key ideas by André Breton (*Manifeste du surréalisme*), Tristan Tzara (*Dada Manifesto*) as well as reviews of other modern phenomena, translations by various texts into Lithuanian and samples of the creative work by members of the group were published (a collection of Dadaist poems *Degenerate is Singing* by Pranas Morkūnas, written in 1928–1930, was published in 1993). In the article *New Music*, composer Kazimieras Viktoras Banaitis described modernist musical language and emphasized the connection between innovator's individuality and national character, Richard Strauss, Reger, Hindemith, Schönberg, Berg, Debussy, Scriabin, Stravinsky, Bartók, Szymanowski and others were mentioned, and such conclusion was drawn:

... the short-sighted Philistine opposition was unable to stop the rise of music. (Banaitis 1927: 9)

Lithuanian opposition was varied. The author of the article published in journal of the youth union considered new literature as a consequence of torments and atrocities of war, and as an artistic manifestation of the crash of the restored industry, factories and machinery. Futurists shout:

... down with aesthetics, down with flower-gardens, we will dirty your parterres with our muddy boots. (Vydmantas 1924: 6)

Juozas Petrėnas related activities of modernists with the “new force, with democracy, with the working people” (Petrėnas 1926: 8). In 1928 the so-called trial of the *Four Winds*, i.e. a large discussion, took place. Oppositionists acknowledged the value of novelties, but reproached modernists with frivolous bravado and roughness. Their ideas were mostly realized in poetry. A poem *The Forest of Anykščiai* (1930) by Juozas Žlabys-Žengė (cubistic parallel to the romantic poem by Antanas Baranauskas, published in 1860–1861) has been estimated as especially characteristic example. The trial stimulated a custom to make up public discussions about arts; in 1929, the trial of Romanticism took place at the University.

Juozas Tysliava (1902–1961), a poet slightly connected with the *Four Winds*, author of several books of poetry, studied journalism in 1925–1929 in Paris. He soon made friends with a group of representatives of the avant-garde movement. In 1926, selection of his poems in French *Coupe de vents* (with a foreword by Oscar Milosz) was published. In July 1928 the first issue of the *Revue Internationale Muba* (Mūsų baro apžvalga / Review of Our Domain), edited by Tysliava, came out. Various texts (mostly in French and Lithuanian) by Cocteau, Delteil, Dermée, Arnould, Seuphor, Mondrian, Russolo (article *Rumorharmonium*) and by Latvian, Estonian, Polish, Chilean, Finnish, Serbian, Rumanian artists as well as poems by Binkis, Tysliava, and article *Constructivism in Painting* by Kairiūkštis were published. The issue was illustrated with photographs of works by Kairiūkštis, Mondrian, Malewicz and Lipchitz. The painting of Raymond Radiguet and a poem dedicated to him by Cocteau were published for the first time (postscript on manuscript by Cocteau, dated 10 July, 1928, testified that).

The 2nd issue of *Muba* (August-September, 1928) is also very interesting. Article *Futurismo* by Marinetti (with author's dedication “a Muba, a Tysliava e ai futuristi Lituani la mia fervida simpatica”), large articles by Georges Vantongerloo (*Thoughts about the Absolute Essence of Things*) and Vittorio Orzi<sup>8</sup> (*Futurist Theatre*), various texts by Tzara, Delteil, poems by Tilvytis, Tysliava, Latvian poet Kurcijs and article about new Polish literature by Brzękowski as well as photographs of works by Prampolini, Miró, Delaunay were published. It is interesting to note that Jakštas had a very low opinion of Tysliava's poetry, he regretted the approval of the *Four Winds* by Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas (priest, writer). However, he wrote the following about Binkis, the leading figure of the movement: Binkis tries to cut a decadent furrow but he isn't a true decadent;

“his talent bursts a shroud of decadentism and creates things close to the classical poetry” (Jakštas 1926: 148).

Number of poets, writers and playwrights increased. In 1932, a separate Writers' Union (without journalists) was established; invitations to join it were sent to 70 authors. Numerous translations of works by foreign modern authors were published; poems, stories or fragments of greater works have been often published in magazines devoted to culture and arts. Lithuanian authors (and other artists) knew foreign languages well (a number of them studied in the West, mostly in France, Germany and Switzerland), they also had good knowledge of modern literature, thus modern styles had naturally influenced their creative work. Ideas of modernity and national character were still topical: artists themselves, art scholars, philosophers took part in discussions. In 1921, Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas wrote in philosophy journal *Logos*:

... an artist who is grown into the spirit of his nation creates blossoms from its sap [...], speaks to the nation in the voice of its heart. (Mykolaitis 1921: 55–56)

Jonas Žmuidzinis, collaborator of the monthly *Jaunoji Lietuva*, presented the ideas of Paul Valéry, Marcel Proust, Guillaume Appolinaire, André Breton, Henry Malherbe and others (at that time he studied in Paris) in a large article *New French Literature and Spirit of the Modernism*, concluding that a modernist only could be considered “a conscious contemporary Lithuanian author” (J. Žm. 1930: 212). Theatre director Antanas Sutkus notices that it was namely the necessity to have the art of acting “descending from our nation itself” that has inspired him to write an article about the training of actors (Sutkus 1923: 31; history of acting is concisely reminded, ideas of Georg Fuchs, Gordon Craig, Vsevolod Meyerhold, André Antoine are described). In 1924, the Acting School of the State Theatre and Theatre Seminar in University were founded. The seminar was founded and led by Sruoga (poet, dramatist, writer). He greatly appreciated the works (history and methodology of the reconstruction of theatre performances) by German theatrologist Max Hermann, as well as his activity of organizing theatre studies in German universities (i.e. in 1923, *Theaterwissenschaftliche Institut an der Universität Berlin* was founded, etc.). Sruoga wrote in the article *New Ideas in the Science of Theatre*: just as philosophy after Kant became impossible without taking his ideas into account, the “methodological achievements of Hermann are obligatory today for the existence of the historiography of theatre” (Sruoga 1926: 239).

Naturally, State theatre (consisting of drama, opera and ballet companies) was the main space of concentration of artistic tastes and ideas (Military and Riflemen Union's drama troupes, and twelve short-lived troupes were active as well, Šiauliai Drama theatre was founded in 1931). It was

necessary to stage plays by Lithuanian dramatists, ancient Greek tragedy, Shakespeare, Schiller and others, as well as plays by foreign playwrights based on Lithuanian subjects. Dramas by Henrik Ibsen (most popular dramatist), Jerzy Żuławski, Maurice Maeterlinck, Oscar Wilde, Gerhart Hauptmann, Karel Čapek, Romain Rolland, William S. Maugham etc., as well as dramas of the Nobel Prize laureates of that period (Jacinto Benavente y Martinez, Bernard Shaw, Luigi Pirandello, Eugene O'Neill) etc. were staged; however, the theatre was often reproached for the lack of modern works. In 1934, Antanas Juška, director of the Department of the Ministry of Education, pointed out the repertoire as main problem of the theatre's activity, and also incited an opera troupe to stage some modern works (Gustaitis 1934: 8). By the way, Kaunas' audience sometimes had an opportunity of seeing a different kind of theatre art. In 1923 a part of the split Moscow Art Theatre, in 1924 and 1931 the Latvian National Theatre performed here. In November 1925, a tour of the Moscow Chamber Theatre directed by Alexander Tairov took place. Most notable productions of the company (*Salome* by Wilde, *Saint Joan* by Shaw, *Adrienne Lecouvreur* by Scribe and Legouv e as well as operetta *Girofl e-Girofla* by Lecocq, ballet-pantomime *The Veil of Pierette* by Schnitzler, and drama *The Storm* by Ostrovsky) were presented. Biči unas wrote:

Tairov's theatre could teach us a more sober outlook on nature of the theatre and theatre arts. (Biči unas 1925: 6)

In 1932, touring theatre *The English Players*, directed by actors Margaret Vaughan and Edward Stirling, performed *Candida* by George Bernard Shaw and *Payment Deferred* by Cecil Scott Forester (1899–1966, the author unknown until that time to the Lithuanian audience) in Kaunas. Elegancy of acting, richness of speech intonations, expressiveness of faces of the players were praised in the press, a wish to see the theatre again was expressed (“English Players“ Valstybės teatre 1932: 5; it is known that *The English Players* performed in all 122 countries).

Italian and French opera of the 19th century, Italian verismo and Puccini dominated the operatic repertoire. Five operas by Lithuanian composers were premiered, but none of them could be characterized as modern. In 1932, opera *Priestess* by Vytautas Bacevičius was presented to artists and journalists. The score was still incomplete, opinions on libretto (written by composer himself) and modernized (expressionist in general) musical language (especially in the vocal parts) were mixed. Banaitis was among those who praised the opera. Gruodis' opinion was mostly negative (see in Kisielienskaitė 2005: 390–391). However, ideas of renewal of the repertoire weren't unacceptable to the artistic management of the theatre. In 1928 the Opera Board discussed twice possibilities to stage *L'amore dei tre re* by Montemezzi.<sup>9</sup> Pizzetti's *Debora e Jaele*<sup>10</sup> has been mentioned

among first performances of the season 1929–1930. Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas spoke in an interview to the daily *Lietuvos aidas* (20 December, 1930) about intentions to produce *Jenufa* by Janáček. First performances of an oratorio *Le Roi David* by Honegger<sup>11</sup> and of *Oedipus Rex* by Stravinsky<sup>12</sup> were planned in the season of 1932–1933 (conductor Mykolas Bukša translated the texts). Newspaper *7 meno dienos* (1935, No. 11) informed about a promise of the State Opera to produce *La fiamma* by Respighi.<sup>13</sup> Vitality, radiant warmth and might of the fascination with the new Italian music was belauded in the daily *Rytas*.<sup>14</sup> A bit later, information about *Der Rosenkavalier* by Strauss has been heard. In 1932, a discussion about possibilities of an operetta on the operatic stage arose. Opinions were different. Bacevičius opposed particularly strictly and ordered to stage *Elektra* by Strauss, *Pell as et M elisande* by Debussy.

Unrewarded yearning, alas. On the other hand, there were opera soloists who liked to sing modern music. Vladislava Grigaitienė, the leading soprano, included songs by Debussy, Poulenc, Faur e, Casella, etc. into her concert programs. Vinc e Jonuškaitė-Zaunienė, leading mezzo-soprano, liked to sing Debussy, Falla, R. Strauss. Week of Italian music (1935), week of French art (1937) and week of Italian music and theatre (1939) were organized, guest and Lithuanian performers took part in the concerts. During these weeks, three recitals of Jonuškaitė-Zaunienė took place. The soloist performed songs by Debussy, Ravel, Faur e, Roussel, Respighi, Pratella, etc.;<sup>15</sup> Marija Lipčienė sang arias from operas by Debussy and Ravel in the concert conducted by Albert Wolff; Bacevičius played piano concerto in G major by Ravel, two Nocturnes by Debussy were also performed. Vocal chamber music singer Stasė Dievaitytė included French art songs in her concert programs as well.

Repertoire of the State Ballet was more modern. *Firebird* by Stravinsky, *Aubade* by Poulenc, *Sailors* by Auric, *The Romance of the Mummy* (entitled as *The Secret of the Pyramid*) by Nikolai Tcherepnin<sup>16</sup> as well as one-act ballets set to music by Debussy (*Pr elude   l'apr es-midi d'un faune*), Ravel (*Bolero*), and Satie (*Haute couture*) were produced. In 1933, three one-act ballets by Lithuanian composers – In *the Whirl of a Dance* by Bacevičius (first example of atonality in Lithuanian music), *J rat e and Kastytis* by Gruodis (folk tale subject), and *Matchmaking* (burlesque based on folk motives) by Balys Dvarionas – were premiered (*Matchmaking* and *Haute couture* were included into the program of guest performances of the troupe in Monte Carlo (10 performances) and London (32), in 1935).

Danutė Marija Nasvytytė was the initiator of modern dance. In 1939, she graduated from the Jutta Klamt Dance school (Berlin) and established her school in Kaunas, attended by 200 young dancers. State Theatre tours to several other cities took place each season. In 1923 the Klaipėda Music School was founded. The School turned

into a significant centre of musical culture of the Western Lithuania. Of course, the artistic culture developed by local intelligentsia existed in other towns as well.

The repertoire of the State Theatre proposed many possibilities of collaboration between directors, set and costume designers, composers of drama, opera or ballet productions. Staging of historical drama *Šarūnas* by Vincas Krėvė (1929) may be mentioned as one of especially successful examples. The production was realized by director Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas,<sup>17</sup> stage and costume designer Adomas Galdikas and composer Juozas Gruodis. Funeral march written for orchestra belongs (especially from the point of view of harmony) to the best examples of his modernized style. Stage design by Galdikas was awarded with the golden medal of the International Exhibition of Arts and Technics in Modern Life in Paris (1937, his triptych *Lithuania* won Grand Prix). Liudas Truikys was awarded with *Diplome d'Honneur* for stage design of the opera *Three Talismans* by Antanas Račiūnas (Truikys created an original style of opera stage and costume design, his main idea was to find and embody analogies between motion of streams of the musical sounds and visual forms), Stasys Ušinskas, one of the most individual modern painters of the period,<sup>18</sup> was awarded with the gold medal for stage design of the ballet *Matchmaking*. More than 16000 participants in total were awarded various prizes of the Exhibition (Jankevičiūtė 2003: 52). Lithuania took part in 19 of the 75 classes (themes) of displays. Arts such as painting, graphics, sculpture, architecture / projects of already constructed buildings prevailed, 58 prizes were won (M. 1938: 10). In 1936 Ušinskas founded the Marionette Theatre in Kaunas. Puppets made by him were used in the sound film *The Dream of the Fatty* (1938). The film was shown at the World exhibition of 1939–1940 in New York and attracted a great deal of curiosity; the mechanics of puppets improved by Ušinskas had been patented. On 31 October, 1939, the first season of the exhibition was over. However, Lithuanian pavilion wasn't reopened next year. Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union. The displays were saved by USA Lithuanians.

State Opera was the centre of musical life. While new orchestras were organized, the opera orchestra performed symphonic concerts as well. International relations were good – 15 foreign conductors and 55 opera soloists toured there. Concerts were also organized by the Lithuanian Music Society, and by Lithuanian Philharmonic Society (1928–1934). Programs of Lithuanian conductors consisted mostly of the Classic and Romantic works. Of course, new works of Lithuanian, sometimes even new works of foreign composers were performed.<sup>19</sup> The same may be said about concerts of numerous foreign celebrities (some of which also performed in Klaipėda).

Several examples: Robert Heger, Paul Scheinpflug, Franz von Hoesslin conducted traditional repertoire, works by Debussy, Ravel, Fauré, Dukas, Ibert were conducted by Gaston Poulet, Gustave Cloëz; Napoleone Annovazzi conducted Busoni, Malipiero; Oskar Fried and Hermann Scherchen – R. Strauss, Stravinsky; Scherchen once conducted the suite from *Die Dreigroschenoper* by Kurt Weil and *Rugby* by Honegger; Honegger's *Pacific 231* was conducted by George Sebastian; performance of *Don Juan* by R. Strauss was conducted by Emil Cooper, a frequent guest, etc. Numerous performers of the chamber music may also be conditionally divided into two groups. Egon Petri, Jan Kubelik, Georg Kulenkampff, Henri Marteau, Jacque Thibaut, Josef Hofmann, Bronislaw Hubermann, Emanuel Feuermann and others performed traditional repertoire, while Robert Casadesus, Maurice Maréchal, Robert Soetens included works of the new French music (mostly by Debussy, Ravel); program of the concert by Marcel Ciampi (17 December, 1937) consisted of works by Debussy, Ravel, Poulenc, Schmitt, Fauré and the pianist himself; along with Classical and Romantic music, Arthur Rubinstein performed works by Ravel and Stravinsky. Performance of *Mariä Wiegenlied* by Reger and Szymanowski's *La lune solitaire* by Polish star Ewa Bandrowska-Turska during the recital in 1935 was greeted with such a prolonged applause that the singer repeated it (Jakubėnas 1994: 152). In 1933 Stravinsky performed his works, violinist Dushkin took part in the concert. Prokofiev as a pianist played twice in Kaunas, cellist Povilas Berkavičius and pianist Balys Dvarionas took part in performance of the works by the guest. In 1930, 1932, 1933, and 1934 violinist and composer Grażyna Bacewicz, visited Kaunas.<sup>20</sup> Grażyna Bacewicz with her brothers pianists gave three recitals at the State Theatre and Conservatoire Hall, four Radio concerts, and played Tchaikovsky's Violin concerto in an orchestra concert. Works by Grażyna herself – a sonata, 2 caprices for violin solo, and *Caricatures* for orchestra – were an especially attractive part of the concerts. Examples of more or less modern music could be sometimes heard in not so frequent concerts of local and guest chamber ensembles. Organists included in their programmes works that at the time were little known by the local audience (e.g., Zigmas Aleksandravičius performed works by Louis Vierne, Sigfrid Karg-Elert, Max Reger; the cycle by Marcel Dupré *Le chemin de la Croix* and the cycle *Sept chorals-poèmes d'orgue pour les sept paroles du Christ* by Charles Tournemire was in the repertoire of Konradas Kaveckas; Jonas Žukas performed works by Charles Widor, Vierne, Jean Langlais; Zenonas Žukas was also the performer of French organ music; after studies in Kaunas, they studied in Paris, Aleksandravičius also in Rome).

On 12 June, 1926, Radio Kaunas began regular broadcasts in Lithuania. Music programs included live



and recorded concerts, broadcasts of opera (sometimes also ballet) performances and concerts from the State Theatre and Conservatory hall, organ music concerts from the Cathedral formed the greatest part of radio programs. Weekly journal *Radio bangos* published several years' programs of the German, French, Austrian, Italian etc. radio stations as well.

Works by Debussy and Ravel were especially popular among Lithuanian pianists. On the whole, French culture was very popular in the interwar Lithuania. The French also dominated the teaching of foreign languages in schools. Comparatively many representatives of Lithuanian art and sciences studied in France (mostly in Paris).

This generation also knew well the literature translated from the French, because such translations were far more abundant than translations from other languages. (Stepukonienė 2013: 36)

In the article *Grant-Holders of Lithuanian Republic in the Foreign Art Schools 1918–1940* art scholar Giedrė Jankevičiūtė ascertained that “the majority of Lithuanian art students used to go to Paris” and counted 12 art institutions attended by them (Jankevičiūtė 1996: 331–332). Impressive creative, cultural and political activity of Oscar Venceslas de Lubicz Milosz, French poet of Lithuanian descent, imparted distinctive attractiveness to the cultural medium of the French capital.<sup>21</sup> Vytautas Bacevičius included works by Debussy and Ravel in programs of numerous concerts in Lithuania (he performed in provincial towns as well), France and other lands. As an internationally recognized pianist, he was invited to take part in the jury of the II Queen Elisabeth Music Competition (Eugène Ysaÿe Competition) in Brussels (1938; youngest member of the jury; Robert Casadesus, Marcel Ciampi, Walter Gieseking, Arthur Rubinstein, Carlo Zecchi were among members of the jury). Splendid performance of *Feux d'artifice* by Debussy helped Stasys Vainiūnas win a prize at International competition of singing and piano in Vienna, 1933 (*Stasys Vainiūnas* 1991: 263–264). Works by Debussy and Ravel may also be found in concert programs of Balys Dvarionas Aldona Smilgaitė, Galina Juodakytė.

Choral compositions formed the greatest part of musical works inherited by culture of the Independent Lithuania from the first two decennia of the century. Religious compositions by participants of the Cecilian movement Juozas Naujalis,<sup>22</sup> Česlovas Sasnauskas<sup>23</sup> and Teodoras Brazys<sup>24</sup> belong to the most beautiful works of that period. Naujalis and Brazys studied church music with Haberl at the Regensburg school, Sasnauskas attended main centres of religious music in Regensburg, Beuron, Prague, Einsiedeln, Monte Casino, Rome (he called himself a pupil of Dom Joseph Pothier). In their daily and creative work they followed directions of the *motu proprio* of Pope St. Pius X

on sacred music (1903), took part in music education, etc. Several masses by Naujalis were published in Regensburg, Düsseldorf, Leipzig, Warsaw, Saint Petersburg, three motets were published in 1901 in Warsaw and became thus better known abroad; information about performance of the motets (along with the works by Palestrina, Victoria, Bach, etc.) at Good Friday service in one or two Austrian, German, Spanish churches and concerts may be today found on the internet. Naujalis' *Prière*<sup>25</sup> recorded by Roß is characterized like this:

KMD (Kirchenmusikdirektor; internationally famous organist of the St. Martin's church in Memmingen – J.B.) Hans-Eberhard Roß spielt ein faszinierendes Kaleidoskop virtuoser Orgelmusik. Beginnend mit dem festlichem Präludium und Fuge G-dur [...] von J.S. Bach schwingt sich der Bogen über das wunderschön-romantische *Prière* des Litauers Juozas Naujalis bis zu zwei Sätzen aus dem *Labyrinth der Welt und das Paradies des Herzens* von Petr Eben. (Faszination Orgel 1: 1)

Several organ pieces by Sasnauskas were published in anthologies edited by Otto Gauss in Regensburg and by Johannes Diebold in Leipzig; their publication in Joubert's anthology was interrupted by the World War (Jacques Handschin, professor of the Saint-Petersburg Conservatory recommended Joubert to publish Sasnauskas' works. Sasnauskas' activities were highly appreciated: he was bestowed the Silver Palms of Officer of the French Order of Academic Palms, the Knight's Cross of Imperial Austrian Franz Joseph Order and the Order of Saint Stanislaus of the Russian Empire. Choral songs by Naujalis and Sasnauskas set to Maironis' romantic lyrics also belong to the valuable examples of Lithuanian choral music.

Ona Narbutienė once divided composers of that time into three groups and named their main members: traditionalists (Naujalis, Brazys, Tallat Kelpša, Kačanauskas), moderate modernists, middle position (Gruodis, Banaitis, Jakubėnas, Nabažas), and two representatives of the Lithuanian avant-garde (Bacevičius, Kačinskis) (Narbutienė 2005: 98). However, someone's appreciation of modernity was not always identic to the possibilities of being modern (for instance, enthusiastic sentences of Juozas Karosas about Stravinsky's art of orchestration and harmony; Stravinsky is characterized in his book as the most prominent, and Schönberg as the most radical modernist of our time; Karosas 1937: 82, 87); not all musicians took active part in public discussions. Naturally, organisation of professional artistic life during the first years of Independence was followed with reasoning and discussions about perspectives and tendencies of the run of music culture. In 1923, Gruodis' first article about the unsatisfactory situation in music culture and natural need for modernity in music creation was published (Gruodis was at that time one of

ten Lithuanian students of the Leipzig Conservatory and the author of violin, two piano sonatas, other chamber music, *Symphonic Prologue*, etc.). In response to Gruodis' ideas, musicologist and composer Juozas Žilevičius analysed in large article the cultural policy of the state, organization and repertoire of concerts, music criticism and aesthetic tastes of audience, counted up works which might be characterized as modern, and made the following conclusion: it is "morbid and too early" to propose to us the "fashion" of modernism (Žilevičius 1924: 3). Brazys, also a musicologist (he collected and examined folk songs, published several textbooks on music theory and Gregorian chant) noticed in time the international recognition of achievements by Alois Hába, and became the first to present pretty comprehensively the micro-tone music and works by Hába in the Lithuanian press (article *Quarter-Tone Music*; opinion of Riemann from *Musiklexikon* and of Wellek's article *Viertelton und Fortschritt* in *Zeitschrift für Musik*, 1925, Heft 6, were mentioned), Brazys' opinion of the possibilities of micro-tone techniques to enrich musical language was negative (Brazys 1926: 6).

Then, Vytautas Bacevičius appeared on the stage (in 1926, he graduated from the Łódź Conservatory, in 1927–1930 studied in Paris). Musicologist Viktoras Žadeika noted that his Prelude performed in recital at the Town Hall had "all features of modern music" (Žadeika 1926: 6). Bacevičius' Sonata No. 1, Prelude and *Poème mystique* performed during the recital in the next year were appreciated by Žadeika even more; the 21-year-old musician was called a composer and pianist of a great talent (Žadeika 1927: 5). On 29 May 1929 an interesting orchestra concert took place at the at Summer Stage: Gruodis, Jurgis Karnavičius (author of numerous chamber, orchestra works, ballets and two operas, graduate and professor of the Saint Petersburg Conservatory, came back to Kaunas in 1927), and Bacevičius conducted their works. Gruodis conducted *Symphonic Prologue* and other works, Karnavičius (who by no means should be numbered among traditionalists mentioned by Narbutienė) conducted suite from the ballet *La Bellote*. However, only Bacevičius (he conducted symphony No. 1 and overture to the opera *The Priestess*) was mentioned in press information about the concert (he "distinguished himself with the modernist works"; s.n. 1929: 3). Banaitis' collaboration with the *Four Winds* movement demonstrated distinctly the unity of appreciation of the modernist tendencies.

While speaking about the discussions of modernity of those times, it is necessary to bear in mind the possible difference of its reception and evaluation: modernity in the world, in everyday concert life, and in the creation of Lithuanian music ("we need modernity", or "let world do what it pleases, it is strange, or – too early, for us"). In 1928

an enmity of meanings came to light very prominently. On 16 February 1928 a concert dedicated to the 10th Anniversary of the Restoration of the Independent State of Lithuania took place at the Music school. Gruodis, the new director of the school, gave a lecture (the school was founded in 1919 by Naujalis, director of the school until school-year 1927/1928; the school was nationalized in 1920; from 1933 it is a Conservatory). Gruodis spoke very negatively of the works of traditionalists (his opinion on modernity was already mentioned in this article). The second lecture was given by Žadeika, the deputy director of the School. He said that works by Naujalis (at the time Naujalis taught organ and Gregorian chant at the School), Sasnauskas and Mikas Petrauskas<sup>26</sup> had a "pretty primitive compositional technique", "poor musical language" and "a weak national element" (Žadeika I 1928: 21). Several composers of the younger generation were praised, while Gruodis was recognized as the leading figure for novelties in his work and strong individuality. To lecturer's mind, development of music does not need revolutionary act – it is a consequence of the evolutionary process (Ibid.: 22). Bacevičius' work was characterized by Žadeika as extreme modernism (Žadeika II 1928: 16). Lectures by Gruodis and (especially) Žadeika gave rise to broad response. Anonymous reviewer of the evening wrote that abasement of distinguished people of the national culture in sight of students unpardonably corrupted the beautiful concert (Buvęs 1928: 3). Brazys wrote very critically about the presentation of Gruodis' *Symphonic Prologue* as the excellent example of Lithuanian modernism. To his mind, modernist musical language (Brazys refers to *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. by Adler) is incompatible with the mode structure of folk tunes and thus destroys the main source of national character; secondly, modernism is not generally an accepted phenomenon of the European music. As an example, Brazys mentioned negative opinion about Richard Strauss by Niemann (*Die Musik der Gegenwart*: 126), an admirer of the music nationalism (Daužgiriētis I 1928: 2; Walter Niemann wrote similarly about Schönberg and several other composers). In reply to Brazys' criticism, music theorist Jonas Bendorius reproached him with tendentious quotation of the Austrian and German authors. He asserts that music of numerous modern composers sounds in the world, and works by Gruodis might be favourably met abroad as well; where are the works of similar quality by our composers of "the classical tendencies?", asks Bendorius (Bendorius 1928: 2). Brazys suggested him to read what was written about Naujalis in *Das neue Musiklexikon* by Einstein and in *A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians* by Eaglefield-Hull,<sup>27</sup> and contended that Gruodis' music would only be appreciated by representatives of the music party led by Schönberg,

Hindemith and Stravinsky, whose music was also met unpleasantly by the audience (Daužgiritietis II 1928: 4; because Vienna was mentioned, Brazys most probably took into account the concert of March 31, 1913 conducted by Schönberg in the Great Hall of the *Musikverein*).

In 1930, a booklet dedicated to the 10th Anniversary of the State Music School was published. In the review of activities of the School Gruodis did not allude to the necessity of modernism in music creation (the word *modernity* was not even used). He affirmed that the knowledge of the world music cultures and techniques of musical composing will in due course lead Lithuanian music to the time when it's national nature will be expressed without the use of the folk-like motives (Gruodis 1930: 40). In 1931, Kačinskas, a graduate of Composition and Conducting departments, and of Hába's Quarter-tone studio of the Prague Conservatory, settled in Kaunas. Gruodis permitted him (without payment) to briefly acquaint students with the new music. However, he soon told Kačinskas to break the lessons off and to take out his quarter-tone harmonium; students must be taught the universally recognized music (Petrauskaitė 1997: 38). In an article written next year, Gruodis considered quarter-tones too alien to European and all the more to the Lithuanian music; in a rough copy of the article Algirdas Ambrazas found Gruodis' ironical remarks about *Jonny spielt auf* by Křenek, *Rugby* and *Pacific 231* by Honegger and jazz elements in works by Gershwin and Stravinsky (Gruodis 1965: 224).

However, appreciation of modernity at that time became prevalent in music criticism. In November 1931, a group of musicians (Kačinskas belonged to them) started publishing the journal *Muzikos barai* (Domains of Music). Hába was asked to collaborate. He produced an article about Kačinskas and the composition of quarter-tone and the athematic style of music (published in the No. 1). Kačinskas' article *New Czech Music* was published in the No. 2 (special attention paid to Hába and his pupils). Most interesting articles published in 1932: Juozas Strolia's *Modernism and Us* – critical attitude towards the lack of understanding of the modernism, “except of theoretical works by Schönberg, Hába, Schrecker, and by some other authors, music theory lags behind art creation” (Strolia 1932: 23); further – articles by Kačinskas about Bacevičius, by Bacevičius about Florent Schmitt and Debussy, by Antanas Šerėnas about Stravinsky, by Kaveckas about Vincent d'Indy. Hermann Scherchen wrote in his article *Art Crisis Doesn't Exist* about Schönberg, Busoni's *Doktor Faust*, and Hába. Karel Reiner analysed notation of the twelve-tone system, examples by Schönberg prevailed (1933, No. 1). Strolia stated that collisions between aims of art and society did not signify crisis of art, stagnation only “would be dangerous for art”

(Strolia 1933: 43; Strolia devoted sufficient attention to the modern music in his *Concise History of Music*, 1936). Karel Ančerl wrote about significance of pedagogy of the music interpretation in the case of a wish to perform works by Schönberg and Hába (1933, No. 4–5), etc. In 1931, Bacevičius started teaching at the Music school. In 1933, he edited journal *Muzika ir teatras* (Music and Theatre); Banaitis, Žadeika, Jakubėnas and Bacevičius himself were the authors of the main articles. Other press granted attention to the modern music as well. In 1938, Juozas Banaitis and Jonas Švedas published a manual of music for pupils of IV and V grades of the secondary schools (4 reprints until 1940); main information about polytonal, atonal, athematic music as well as about R. Strauss, Debussy, Schönberg, Stravinsky etc. was given.

In 1932, Kačinskas established the Society of the Lithuanian Progressive Musicians; his athematic style Nonet was for the first time performed by Czech Nonet in Prague. In the fall of the same year, the famous Czech ensemble toured Lithuania, performance of Kačinskas' composition was met negatively by the provincial press. Jakubėnas noticed that the performance of such modern works (especially after the Beethoven's Septet) could even scare provincial audience away from concerts (Jakubėnas 1994: 84). Since then Kačinskas started teaching at the Klaipėda Music School; he opened the Class of Quarter-tone Music and established a Symphony Orchestra. In 1937, Lithuania was admitted to the ISCM (International Society for Contemporary Music); Lithuanian committee (chairman Bacevičius and members Kačinskas and Jakubėnas) took part in meetings of the Society during the World Music Days in Paris. In 1938, World Music Days took place in London. Kačinskas' Nonet was performed by the Czech Nonet, and received full recognition. Composer was cordially greeted by Bartók, set up lasting acquaintance with Alan Rawsthorne, Luigi Dallapiccola, Karl Amadeus Hartmann (Petrauskaitė 1997: 61–62). However, Jakubėnas (he wrote more than once about the modern German and Austrian music) and colleagues were in disagreement about the national character of music. In 1938, discussion between Jakubėnas and Bacevičius arose in the press. Jakubėnas still considered folk music the source of national character (thus, Gruodis' idea about provisionality of the use of folk-like motives got into the “middle position”). Bacevičius and Kačinskas thought similarly about national character of the modern music:

Their vision of modern music was closer to the Western musical avant-garde than to the neo-folklorism popular in Lithuanian music of the time, although both composers absorbed distrust and even hostility towards Arnold Schönberg's school from their teachers in Paris and Prague. (Stanevičiūtė 2009: 10)

Academic *History of Lithuanian Music*<sup>28</sup> presents a certain normative standpoint on the issue. Creative work of the greatest part of composers of the interwar period is analysed in chapters devoted to different genres or kinds of music (stage, orchestra, vocal, religious music, etc.). A special chapter is devoted to the creative portraits of the so-called salient composers. The first group consists of the portraits of Gruodis, Stasys Šimkus, Karnavičius, Banaitis and Jakubėnas. Juozas Tallat Kelpša and Aleksandras Kačanauskas are characterized as continuers of traditions; from such point of view, Šimkus might be reckoned among them; Bacevičius, Kačinskas and Julius Gaidelis form a group of modernists. Creative work of Gaidelis grew rankly in emigration to the USA. However, his symphony No. 2 (1940) clearly reflects some modernist features of his later style (Palionytė 2009: 643).<sup>29</sup> Novelties inspired by the late romanticism and impressionism in the musical language of Gaidelis' coevals Jonas Nabazas (symphonic poem *Song about Sadness and Joy (Zarathustra)*, 1933) and Vainiūnas (*Little Insect Suite* for piano, 1940) were of great promise, too. It is possible to establish the amount of novelties in the work of each talented composer, but such a procedure could hardly help by itself to indicate the degree of his prominence and significance to the culture. However, certain classification helps to notice the extent and peculiarities of coexistence of different creative tendencies, as well as of the degree and results of the yearning for modernity.

In 1922, Gruodis composed a solo song *Spring Night in Berlin*, with poetry by Binkis. Banaitis, Jakubėnas and several other composers chose verses by Binkis for their songs, too. There were rhymes written by Binkis before his futurist *Four Winds* poetry. Gruodis set to music six poems by Binkis. *German Spring* was the only futurist poem among them, however, Gruodis' song turned into the work of exclusive significance.

Binkis legitimated material concreteness based on the principal of active dynamics and deformation in a new way [...], he glanced at the world from an ironic perspective, which did not allow poeticizing. (Kubilius 1996: 209)

Gruodis reflected a whole kaleidoscope of the sudden changes of images [...]; features peculiar to expressionist style – chromatic melodic of awkward contours [...], dissonant harmony often exceeding limits of tonality – stands exposed. (Ambrasas 2009: 529).

A course of rise and reception of modernity in the Lithuanian music was similar to that in other countries. *Spring Night in Berlin* by Gruodis was the first true modern work after Čiurlionis. The song may be seen as an omen of the interwar – and of the later period – yearning towards modernity in Lithuanian music.

## References

- For instance, some new books presented in 1911: Nikolaus Wetter's *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, 1909; Martin Switalski's *Geschichte der polnischen Literatur*, 1909; Michael Wittmann's *Die Grundfragen der Ethik*, 1909; Georges Dumesnil's *Les conceptions philosophiques perdurables*, 1910; Joseph Donat's *Die Freiheit der Wissenschaft. Ein Gang durch das moderne Geistesleben*, 1910; Friedrich Klimke's *Die Hauptprobleme der Weltanschauung*, 1910; Antonin Eymieu's *Le Gouvernement de soi-même*, 1911; Comte Louis de Clermont-Tonnerre's *Pourquoi nous sommes sociaux*, 1911. Other art and culture journals also kept the analogous thematic structure and extent.
- Search of argumentations extended from antiquity (Jakštas' quotations of Plato [*aei ho theos geometrei*, God always geometrizes] and of Holy Writ [God created everything in *mensura, numero et pondere*, in measure, number and weight, Book of Wisdom, 11: 21]) until the time of discussion in Mykolaitis' articles (ideas of the lecture *La poésie pure* by Henri Brémond, theological modernist, at the *séance publique des cinq Académies*, Paris, 24 October, 1925); Descartes, Leibnitz, Wölfflin, Souriau, Croce e.o. have been called for help, too.
- A remark similar to the sense of words of Magister Ludi to his friend of youth looking at the starry night sky overlaid by the clouds (Hesse's *The Glass Bead Game*): "Sieh", sagte er, "diese Wolkenlandschaft mit ihren Himmelsstreifen! Beim ersten Blick möchte man meinen, die Tiefe sei dort, wo es am dunkelsten ist, aber gleich nimmt man wahr, dass dieses Dunkle und Weiche nur die Wolken sind und dass der Weltraum mit seiner Tiefe erst an den Rändern und Fjorden dieser Wolkengebirge beginnt und ins Unendliche sinkt, darin die Sterne stehen, feierlich und für uns Menschen höchste Sinnbilder der Klarheit und Ordnung. Nicht dort ist die Tiefe der Welt und ihrer Geheimnisse, wo die Wolken und die Schwärze sind, die Tiefe ist im Klaren und Heiteren." (Hesse 1971: 342–343)
- A subtitle *A Critical Look at the Lithuanian Intelligentsia*, to Vytautas Landsbergis' words, "a manifesto of the young generation of modernists" (Landsbergis 1992: 42).
- An exhibition *Expressionismes* of works by Julien-August Hervé in Paris, 1901; Richard Huelsenbeck's activity among founders of *Cabaret Voltaire* in Zurich, 1916; the beginning of Dada movement, Russian imagism are described, samples of German poetry with translations into Lithuanian as well as lines from poems by Balys Sruoga, Butkų Juzė, etc. are given.
- Justinas Vienožinskis was the graduate of Craców Academy of Fine Arts, post-impressionist aesthetics influenced his creative work
- E.g., while reviewing the exhibition of Independent Artists, Paulius Galaunė asked them on what basis did they declare the independence; he noticed "a superficial float in different art directions" and dependence on their teachers, particularly Vienožinskis (Galaunė 1931: 150).
- Vittorio Orazi – pseudonym of Enrico Prampolini's brother Alessandro.
- World premiere of *L'amore dei tre re* by Montemezzi was held at *Teatro alla Scala*, 1913.
- World premiere of Pizzetti's *Debora e Jaele* was held at *Teatro alla Scalla*, 1922.
- World premiere of *Le Roi David* by Honegger was held at *Théâtre du Jorat*, Mézières, 1921; first performances in Paris and Rome in 1924.
- World premiere of *Oedipus Rex* by Stravinsky as an oratorio was held at *Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt*, Paris 1927, as an opera – at *Wiener Staatsoper*, 1928.

- <sup>13</sup> World premiere of *La fiamma* by Respighi was held on 23 January, 1934 at *Teatro Reale dell'Opera* in Rome conducted by the composer himself.
- <sup>14</sup> Brief characteristics of work by Pizzetti, Malipiero, Casella, Respighi, Castelnuovo-Tedesco etc. was published in the article *Contemporary Italian Music* (s.n. 1932: 8).
- <sup>15</sup> Flutist Juozas Pakalnis took part in performance of the second movement (*La flûte enchantée*) of song cycle *Shéhérazade* by Ravel. Some years earlier, Jonuškaitė-Zaunienė gave concerts with Louis Fleury in Italy.
- <sup>16</sup> Nikolai Tcherepnin – Russian émigré in Paris, representative of the Russian impressionism.
- <sup>17</sup> Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas was born into the family of Lithuanian doctor in Moscow, for 10 years he was an actor of the Moscow Art Theatre.
- <sup>18</sup> Ideas of constructivism, cubism were characteristic to Ušinskas' creative work; a splendid example – stage and costume design for production of *Les cloches de Corneville* by Planquette.
- <sup>19</sup> E.e., program of the concert conducted by Balys Dvarionas, 26 November, 1936 consisted of the *Song about Sadness and Joy* by Jonas Nabažas, Symphony No. 1 by Shostakovich, *A Varmland Rhapsody* by Kurt Atterberg (a work composed the same year), and Tchaikovsky's Concerto No. 1, pianist Arthur Rubinstein.
- <sup>20</sup> Gražyna Bacewicz's father Vincas Bacevičius and brother Vytautas lived in Kaunas, brother Kęstutis (Kiejstut) was 1931–1935 a gymnasium music teacher, wrote to the press. The first sister's visit lasted about 6 months, "she mastered the Lithuanian language very systematically" (Bacevičius, f. 118, ap. 1, b. 188, l. 1).
- <sup>21</sup> Sentence "Oscar Milosz is by far the most beautiful European gift to France" by poet Paul Fort (1872–1960) may be found more than once in studies about Milosz; another author writes that Milosz, the last representative of his name, has inherited its spiritual tradition and ethnic mysticism, however he "aimait la France, c'était un vrai Français par l'esprit, malgré ses origines lithuaniennes" (Charbonnier 1996: 103–104).
- <sup>22</sup> Juozas Naujalis (1869–1934) was an organist and choir master of Kaunas' archcathedral from 1892 until death.
- <sup>23</sup> Česlovas Sasnauskas (1867–1916), was an organist and choir master from 1894 until death at St. Catherine church in St. Petersburg.
- <sup>24</sup> Teodoras Brazys (1870–1930) was a priest, 1907–1917 choir master and orchestra conductor of Vilnius' archcathedral; turned out from Vilnius by Polish administrator of the Vilnius' diocese for participation in Lithuanian cultural and political life.
- <sup>25</sup> *Prière* is one of three pieces by Naujalis published in *Les maîtres contemporains de l'orgue*, an anthology edited by Joseph Joubert, 1914.
- <sup>26</sup> Mikas Petrauskas (1973–1937) was the author of the first Lithuanian opera (*Birutė*, Vilnius, 1906) and operettas.
- <sup>27</sup> *Das neue Musiklexikon* was the German edition of the Arthur Eaglefield Hull's Dictionary.
- <sup>28</sup> *History of the Lithuanian music*, Book No. 2, edition of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre and of the Institute of Culture, Philosophie and Arts, 2009.
- <sup>29</sup> In 1980, Gaidelis' Symphony No. 4 was proposed by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra to be nominated for the Pulitzer Prize, but the proposal did not reach the Pulitzer jury "due to financial difficulties" (Palionytė 2008: 244).

## Literature

- Ambrasas Algirdas, Juozas Gruodis, in: *Lietuvos muzikos istorija. II knyga. Nepriklausomybės metai 1918–1940*, Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, Kultūros, filosofijos ir meno institutas, 2009, p. 514–540.
- Ambrasas Algirdas, Mikalojus K. Čiurlionis and Gruodis: At the Source of the National Composers' School, in: *Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875–1911). His Time and our Time*, Gražina Daunoravičienė, Rima Povilionienė (eds.), Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 2013, p. 115–132.
- Bacevičius Vytautas, Występy Gražyny Bacewicz na Litwie, in: *Vytautas Bacevičius*, Lietuvių literatūros ir meno archyvas, f. 118, ap. 1, b. 188, l. 1.
- Banaitis Kazimieras Viktoras, Naujoji muzika, in: *Keturi vėjai*, 1927, Nr. 3, p. 9.
- Bendorius Jonas, Mūsų muzikos modernistų „lietuviškumo“ arklukas, in: *Rytas*, 1928 balandžio 4 d., Nr. 79 (1259).
- Bičiūnas Vytautas, Marko Šagalo parodos ir paskaitos įspūdžiai, in: *Lietuva*, 1922 gegužės 25 d., Nr. 117 (939).
- Bičiūnas Vytautas, Maskvos „Kamerinio teatro“ vaidinimai Kaune, in: *Lietuva*, 1925 rugpjūčio 26 d., Nr. 189 (1985).
- Brazys Teodoras, Kėtvirtinių tonų muzika, in: *Muzikos aidai*, 1926, Nr. 2, p. 6.
- Buęs, Muzikos mokyklos koncertas Lietuvos nepriklausomybės 10 metų sukaktuvėms paminėti, in: *Rytas*, 1928 vasario 27 d., Nr. 47 (1227).
- Charbonnier Alexandra, O. V. Milosz. *Le Poète, Le Métaphysicien, Le Lituanien*, Lausanne: Editions l'âge d'Homme, 1996.
- Čiurlianienė (Kymantaitė) Sofija, *Lietuvoje (Kritikos žvilgsnis į Lietuvos inteligentiją)*, Vilnius: Juozapo Zavadskio spaustuvė, 1910.
- Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė Sofija, Iš atsiminimų apie M.K. Čiurlionį, in: *M.K. Čiurlionis. Apie muziką ir dailę. Laiškai, užrašai ir straipsniai*, V. Čiurlionytė-Karužienė (sud.), Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla, 1960, p. 319–328.
- Čiurlionis M.K. *Apie muziką ir dailę. Laiškai, užrašai ir straipsniai*. Paruošė V. Čiurlionytė-Karužienė. Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla, 1960.
- Daunoravičienė-Žuklytė Gražina, *Lietuvių muzikos modernistinės tapatybės žvalgymas*, Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 2016.
- Daužgiritis (Teodoras Brazys) [I], Mūsų muzikos modernistų „lietuviškumo“ arklukas, in: *Rytas*, 1928 kovo 21 d., Nr. 67 (1247).
- Daužgiritis (Teodoras Brazys) [II], Dar dėl straipsnio „Mūsų muzikos modernistų „lietuviškumo“ arklukas, in: *Rytas*, 1928 balandžio 19 d., Nr. 89 (1269).
- Droba Krzysztof, Młoda muzyka litewska, in: *W kręgu muzyki litewskiej*, Krzysztof Droba (ed.), Kraków: Akademia muzyczna w Krakowie, 1997 (reprint from *Ruch Muzyczny*, 1984, No. 19), p. 101–108.
- Druskis, Trečioji lietuvių dailės paroda Vilniuje, in: *Draugija*, 1909, Nr. 30, p. 186–188.
- “English Players” Valstybės teatre, in: *Rytas*, 1932 gegužės 2 d. Nr. 81 (2357).
- Faszination Orgel 1, in: *Details unserer CD's* [interaktyvus], <[http://www.kirchenmusik-memmingen.de/sites/CD\\_mehr\\_D.htm](http://www.kirchenmusik-memmingen.de/sites/CD_mehr_D.htm)> [accessed 2016 05 10].
- Galaunė Paulius, “Nepriklausomųjų menininkų” paroda, in: *Piūvis*, 1931, Nr. 3, p. 151.
- Goštautas Stasys, A Critical Survey, in: *Čiurlionis: Painter and Composer*, Stasys Goštautas (ed.), Vilnius: Vaga, 1994, p. 493–530.

- Gruodis Juozas, Valstybės muzikos mokyklos darbų apžvalga 1920–1930, in: *Valstybės muzikos mokykla 1920–1930*, Valstybės muzikos mokyklos leidinys, 1930, p. 9–43.
- Gruodis Juozas, *Straipsniai, laiškai, užrašai. Amžininkų atsiminimai*, Algirdas Ambrazas (ed.), Vilnius: Vaga, 1965.
- Gruodytė Vita, On the Exoticism of Lithuanian Music, in: *Gaida. 12-th Contemporary Music Festival*, Vilnius, 2002, p. 43 (also see: Gruodytė Vita, L'exotisme de la musique lituanienne: d'hier à aujourd'hui, in: *Constructing Modernity and Reconstructing Nationality. Lithuanian Music in the 20th Century*, Rūta Stanevičiūtė, Audronė Žiūraitytė (eds.), Vilnius: Kultūros barai, 2004, p. 21).
- Gustaitis Antanas, Dr. A. Juška apie V.T. repertuarą ir kitus opius dalykus, in: *Meno dienos*, 1934, Nr. 5, p. 8.
- Hesse Hermann, *Das Glasperlenspiel*, Frankfurt: Verlag Suhrkamp, 1971.
- J.K. (Jonas Kriaučiūnas), Antroji lietuvių dailės paroda, in: *Šviesa*, 1908, Nr. 5–6, p. 46.
- J.Žm. (Jonas Žmuizdinas), Naujoji prancūzų literatūra bei modernizmo dvasia, in: *Jaunoji Lietuva*, 1930, Nr. 4, p. 209–214.
- Jakštas Adomas, Žegota. Iš sermėgiaus krūtinės. Eilės, in: *Draugija*, 1907, Nr. 2, p. 185.
- Jakštas A., Ekspresionizmas dailėje ir poezijoje, in: *Draugija*, 1921, Nr. 3–4, p. 93.
- Jakštas A., Dekadentizmas ir jo atstovai mūsų poezijoje, in: *Židinys*, 1926, Nr. 10, p. 148.
- Jakštas A., Meno esmės klausimas (Atsakymas V. Mykolaičiui), in: *Židinys*, 1927, t. 5, Nr. 1, p. 39.
- Jakubėnas Vladas, Bandrowskos-Turskos koncertas, in: *Vladas Jakubėnas. Straipsniai ir recenzijos, t. 1*. Loreta Venclauskienė (sud.), Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos akademija, 1994, p. 151–152.
- Jankevičiūtė Giedrė, Lietuvos respublikos stipendininkai užsienio šalių dailės mokyklose 1918–1940 m., in: *Lietuvos kultūros tyrinėjimai. Straipsnių rinkinys, t. 2*, Vilnius: Margi raštai, 1996, p. 284–322, 329–333.
- Jankevičiūtė Giedrė, *Dailė ir valstybė. Dailės gyvenimas Lietuvos Respublikoje 1918–1940*, Kaunas: Nacionalinis M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejus, 2003.
- Karosas Juozas. *Garsų keliais. Dainavimo metodikos, muzikos istorijos, muzikos formų ir instrumentų bruožai*. Kaunas, 1937.
- K-lis J. (Kalvelis Jonas), Keturi vėjai, in: *Jaunimas*, 1922, Nr. 6, „Lietuvos ūkininko“ Nr. 14 priedas, p. 3–4.
- Kazlauskaitė Jadvyga, *Vilniaus periodiniai leidiniai 1760–1918*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1988.
- Kiseliauskaitė Jolita, Operos „Vaidilutė“ likimo pėdsakais, in: *Vytautas Bacevičius. I tomas. Gyvenimo partitūra*, Ona Narbutienė (sud.), Vilnius: Petro ofsetas, 2005, p. 388–405.
- Kubilius Vytautas, Jurgio Baltrušaičio kelias, in: *Jurgis Baltrušaitis. Poezija*, Vytautas Kubilius (sud.), Vilnius: Vaga, 1967, p. 6–53.
- Kubilius Vytautas, *XX amžiaus literatūra*, Vilnius: Alma litera, 1996.
- Landsbergis Vytautas, *M. K. Čiurlionis. Time and Content*, Vilnius: Lituania, 1992.
- M., Paryžiaus parodoje už Lietuvos eksponatus paskirtos 58 premijos, in: *Lietuvos aidas*, 1938 birželio 10 d., Nr. 257 (4066).
- M. K. Čiurlionis. *Apie muziką ir dailę. Laiškai, užrašai ir straipsniai*, V. Čiurlionytė-Karužienė (sud.), Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla, 1960.
- Martišiūtė Aušra, Literatūros modernėjimo procesai XX a. I pusėje, in: *Menotyra*, 2004, t. 37, Nr. 4, p. 18–25.
- Mykolaitis V., Grožio ir meno kuriamosios dailės reikšmės, in: *Logos*, kn. 1, 1921, p. 49–63.
- Mykolaitis V., Meno aptarimas, in: *Židinys*, 1926, t. 4, Nr. 12, p. 279.
- Mykolaitytė Aurelija, Summary of the dissertation *Manifestations of Jugend Style in Lithuanian and Latvian Prose* [interaktyvus] [http://www.lvb.lt/primu\\_library/libweb/action/Display.do?vid=LDB&docId=TLITL](http://www.lvb.lt/primu_library/libweb/action/Display.do?vid=LDB&docId=TLITL) [accessed 2015-08-17].
- Mulevičiūtė Jolita, *Modernizmo link. Dailės gyvenimas Lietuvos Respublikoje 1918–1940*, Kaunas: Nacionalinis M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejus, 2001.
- Narbutienė Ona, Gyvenimo keliais, in: *Vytautas Bacevičius. I tomas. Gyvenimo partitūra*, Ona Narbutienė (sud.), Vilnius: Petro ofsetas, 2005, p. 98.
- Palionytė Dana, *Julius Gaidelis – namų ilgesio dainius*, Vilnius, 2008.
- Palionytė Danutė, Julius Gaidelis (1909–1983), in: *Lietuvos muzikos istorija. II knyga. Nepriklausomybės metai. 1918–1940*, Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, Kultūros, filosofijos ir meno institutas, 2009, p. 640–645.
- Pečkauskaitė Marija, Mintys apie dailę, in: *Viltis*, 1910 birželio 13 (26) d., Nr. 67 (402).
- Petrauskaitė Danutė, Gyvenimas ir muzikinė veikla, in: *Jeronimas Kačinskas, Danutė Petrauskaitė* (sud.), Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1997, p. 11–164.
- (Petrėnas Juozas), J. Petrėno pranešimas skaitytas radio poezijos koncerte š.m. gruodžio 9 d., in: *Keturi vėjai*, 1926, Nr. 2, p. 8.
- Pirmosios lietuvių dailės parodos atidengimas, s.n., in: *Vilniaus žinios*, 1906 gruodžio 26 d. (1907 sausio 10 d.), Nr. 289 (607).
- S. n., Valstybės teatras, in: *Rytas*, 1929 gegužės 31 d., Nr. 119 (1568).
- S. n., Šiandieninė italų muzika, in: *Rytas*, 1932 kovo 24 d., Nr. 57 (2333).
- Siedlecka Jadwiga, *Mikolaj Konstany Čiurlionis. Preludium Warszawskie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo AgArt, 1996.
- Sruoga Balys, Naujos idėjos teatro moksle, in: *Židinys*, 1926, Nr. 12, p. 293.
- Staneika V., Nauja Stabmeldystė (Mūsų Dailės uždaviniai ir pavojai), in: *Vilniaus žinios*, 1908 birželio 20 d. (liepos 3 d.), Nr. 134 (972).
- Stanevičiūtė Rūta, Vytautas Bacevičius: Several Returns of the Émigré's Music to His Fatherland and New Contexts of Its Reception, in: *Vytautas Bacevičius in Context*, Rūta Stanevičiūtė, Veronika Janatjeva (eds.), Vilnius: Lithuanian Composers Union, 2009, p. 9–20.
- Stepukonienė Inga, Prancūziškosios Kauno inteligentijos orientacijos sovietmečiu: žurnalas „Katakombos“ [French Orientation of the Kaunas Intelligentsia in Soviet Times: The Magazine *Katakombos*], in: *Česlovo Milošo skaitymai 6*, Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2015, p. 35–42.
- Strolia Juozas, Modernizmas ir mes, in: *Muzikos barai*, 1932, Nr. 2, p. 22–24.
- Strolia Juozas, Dėl meno krypčių vertinimo, in: *Muzikos barai*, 1933, Nr. 3, p. 41–43.
- Sutkus Antanas, Keli vaidybos ugdymo momentai, in: *Gairės*, 1923, Nr. 1, p. 31–41.
- Urbanas Vytautas, Žiniasklaida, in: *Lietuva. Enciklopedija, I*, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2004, p. 1082–1093.
- Stasy Vainiūnas. Kūrybinės veiklos apžvalga. Dienoraščio puslapiai ir laiškai. Amžininkų atsiminimai*, Ona Narbutienė (sud.), Vilnius: Vaga, 1991.

- Veljataga Pilė, XX a. pradžios lietuvių estetinė mintis: dailės tautiškumo sampratos, in: *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis* 45, Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2007, p. 28.
- Vilniaus kronika, in: *Viltis*, 1914 kovo 27 d. (balandžio 9 d.), Nr. 65 (1013).
- Vydmantas G., Naujoji literatūra, in: *Jaunimas*, 1924, Nr. 15, p. 6.
- VI. M. (Vladas Mongirdas), Įspūdžiai iš Antrosios Lietuvių Dailės parodos, in: *Vilniaus žinios*, 1908 balandžio 6 d., Nr. 78 (916).
- Žadeika Viktoras, Teatras, in: *Lietuva*, 1926 spalio 6 d., Nr. 225 (2314).
- Žadeika Viktoras, Vytauto Bacevičiaus koncertas II 22, in: *Lietuva*, 1927 vasario 28 d., Nr. 47 (2430).
- Žadeika Viktoras [I], Istoriniai bruožai ir tautiškieji pradmens mūsų muzikoje, in: *Meno kultūra*, 1928 spalio 19 d., Nr. 1, p. 21.
- Žadeika Viktoras [II], Istoriniai bruožai ir tautiškieji pradmens mūsų muzikoje, in: *Meno kultūra*, 1928 spalio 26 d., Nr. 2, p. 16.
- Žilevičius Juozas, Mūsų muzikos padėtis Lietuvoje, in: *Lietuva*, 1924 kovo 7 d., Nr. 55 (1466).

### Santrauka

Nors istorinės aplinkybės lietuvių tautinei kultūrai buvo nepalankios ar net priešiškos, naujos poromantinio Europos meno idėjos lietuvių meną pasiekė ne ką vėluodamos. Šių idėjų recepcija buvo panaši į tai, kaip buvo priimamos tuose kraštuose, kur atsirado. Pirmasis tai pajuto Čiurlionis, guodėsis, kad jo profesorius Leipcigo konservatorijoje Carlas Reinecke „raukosi dėl disonansų“, t. y. noro pridėti ką nors sava, nauja prie jo proteguojamos Carlo Marios von Weberio ir Felixo Mendelssohno muzikos kalbos, ir nesupranta jo kūrinių lietuviškos dvasios. Iki pasirodant Juozo Gruodžio kūrybai, Čiurlionis buvo vienintelis modernųjų idėjų muzikoje reiškėjas. Pirmųjų dviejų amžiaus dešimtmečių grožinės literatūros ir dailės kūryba buvo nepalyginti gausesnė ir įvairesnė, tačiau ir čia modernybės, kaip kūrėjo jausenos dabartyje ir savitumo siekio išraiškos percepciją, vertinimų skirtingumą lėmė meno tautiškumo kriterijai. Dėl Vilniaus ir nemažos Lietuvos dalies okupacijos nepriklausomos Lietuvos profesinis kultūros gyvenimas buvo priverstas telktis Kaune, čia nedidelėje erdvėje visi meno įvykiai ar reiškiniai tapdavo – dar prieš aprašomi rytdienos spaudoje – tučtuojau žinomi visiems, veikė vienas kitą. Todėl, pavyzdžiui, visuotinio dėmesio centre galėjo atsirasti Marco Chagallo darbų paroda, vėliau „Ars“, kitų dailininkų grupių kūryba, 1922 m. „Keturių vėjų“ manifestacija ir 1924 m. pradėjęs eiti modernizmo klasikų ir savų autorių tekstus skelbęs žurnalas, 1928 m. įvykęs vadinamasis „Keturių vėjų“, po metų – romantizmo teismas ir t. t. Kazimieras Viktoras Banaitis 1927 m. „Keturių vėjų“ Nr. 3 paskelbė straipsnį „Naujoji muzika“. Jame aprašytos kai kurios moderniosios muzikos savybės, minimi Béla Viktoras Bartókas, Arthuras Honegeras, Paulas Hindemithas, Arnoldas Schönbergas ir kt., visų priekyje esantis Igoris Stravinskis, tarp operų – Hindemitho

„Cardillacas“, Albano Bergo „Wozzeckas“, o pabaigoje teigiama, kad „trumpažiūrė miesčioniška opozicija nepajėgė nei valandėlei suturėti muzikos ūgio. Pagaliau pradedama įsitikinti, kad ir keisčiausių lig šiol neįprastų garsų kombinacijomis galima sukurti tikrų meno vertybių, jei tik imasi darbo tikrai talentingas kompozitorius“.

Moderniosios muzikos idėjų sklaidai ypač padėjo 1931 m. pradėtas leisti žurnalas „Muzikos barai“, su pagrindiniais moderniosios muzikos bruožais ir asmenybėmis supažindinama Juozo Strolios „Trumpoje muzikos istorijoje“ (1936), Juozo Karoso knygoje „Garsų keliais“ (1937), Juozo Banaičio ir Jono Švedo muzikos vadovėlyje gimnazijų IV–V klasėms (1938, keturi leidimai iki 1940 m.). Nepriklausomybės meto periodikoje koncertuose atliekamų kūrinių modernumas labiau konstatuojamas negu komentuojamas, ne sykių pasigesta modernesnių veikalų Valstybės operos repertuare.

Daugiau ar mažiau ryškūs nuomonių skirtumai visuomet lydėjo savų kompozitorių kūrybą. Taip atsitiko per Vytauto Bacevičiaus operos „Vaidilutė“ aptarimą. Po studijų Prahėje į Kauną atvykusiam Jeronimui Kačinskui Gruodis leido muzikos mokyklos mokinius supažindinti (be atlygio) su ketvirtatonių muzika, bet netrukus liepė pamokas nutraukti ir išsivežti ketvirtatonių fisharmoniją; motyvas – mokiniai turėtų būti mokomi visuotinai pripažintos muzikos dalykų.

Itin didelius nuomonių skirtumus išryškino nepriklausomybės 10-mečiui skirtas koncertas muzikos mokykloje, kuriame kalbėjo (rašyta, kad skaitė paskaitas) mokyklos direktorius Gruodis ir vicedirektorius Viktoras Žadeika. Kalbėdamas apie muzikos kūrybos padėtį, muzikos tautiškumą, Gruodis kritiškai atsiliepė apie tradicionalizmą. Juozo Naujaliao (tuomet vargonų ir grigališkojo choralo pedagogo; tuo metu jis buvo salėje), Česlovo Sasnausko ir Miko Petrausko kūrybai Žadeika prikišo komponavimo technikos, muzikos kalbos primityvumą, tautinio elemento menkumą, gyrė jaunesnius kompozitorius ir ypač Gruodį. Spaudoje piktintasi tokiu kultūrai nusipelnusių žmonių menkinimu, ypač moksleivių akivaizdoje.

Teodoras Brazys itin kritiškai atsiliepė apie tai, kad Gruodžio Simfoninis prologas vadinamas puikiu lietuviškojo modernizmo pavyzdžiu, nes modernioji muzikos kalba (ją apibūdino Hanso Georgo Adlerio redakcijos veikalo „Handbuch der Musikgeschichte“ terminais) sugriauna tautiškumo pagrindu laikomos liaudies dainų melodikos dermiją; be to, modernizmas, kaip esą rodo Walterio Niemann'o nuomonė, nėra visuotinai pripažintas Europos muzikos reiškinys. Atsakydamas Braziui, Jonas Bendorius jam prikišo austrų ir vokiečių autorių citavimo tendencingumą, teigė moderniąją muziką skambant visame pasaulyje, sakė, kad jame ir Gruodžio muzika būtų palankiai sutikta, ir klausė, kurgi tie panašios vertės mūsų „klasikinių tendencijų“ kompozitorių kūriniai. Brazys jam pasiūlė paskaityti, kas apie Naująjį rašoma Alfredo Einsteino „Das

neue Musiklexicon“ ir Arturo Eaglefield-Hullo „Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians“ (Einsteino žodynas yra vokiškoji Eaglefield-Hullo žodyno redakcija), ir pridūrė, kad Gruodžio muziką palankiai sutiktų tik Schönbergo, Hindemitho ir Stravinskio vadovaujamos partijos nariai – esą jų muzika irgi buvusi nepalankiai sutikta (Brazys greičiausiai galvoje turėjo 1913 m. kovo 31 d. Vienos „Musikverein“ salėje Schönbergo diriguotą skandalingą koncertą).

1930 m. valstybinės muzikos mokyklos dešimtmečiui skirtame leidinyje Gruodis apie muzikos kūrybos tendencijas ar modernumo svarbą neužsimena, nevartojamas net toks žodis. Pastebėtina, kad to meto didžiausi modernybės kritikai Adomas Jakštas-Dambrauskas ir Brazys vadovavosi ne vien tam tikrais įsitikinimais ir skoniu – jie buvo puikiai

susipažinę su visa, taip pat ir moderniojo, meno istorija. Bet istorija ėjo savo keliu...

Muzikos istoriografija savaip rikiuoja nepriklausomybės meto kompozitorius pagal jų kūrybos pobūdį ir reikšmę – tradicionalistai, nuosaikieji modernistai ar iškilieji, tradicijų tęsėjai, tikrieji modernizmo atstovai. Tačiau aptariamo laikotarpio pradžioje yra 1922 m. Gruodžio daina „Pavasario naktis Berlyne“ (futuristinės keturvėjininkų vado Kazio Binkio eilės), pirmasis po Čiurlionio iš tiesų modernus kūrinys. Gruodis sakė ir kūryboje, ir pedagogikoje vadovaujasis Čiurlionio kūrybos modernumo ir tautiškumo pavyzdžiu, sukūrė lietuvių muzikos kompozicijos mokyklą, jo mokinių ir mokinių mokinių dėka sėkmingai gyvuojančią iki šiol.