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Pratarmė

30 metų nuo trumpojo XX amžiaus pabaigos¹ yra pakankama distancija norint išgvildinti ir įvertinti istorija tapusius pokyčius. „Dainuojanti Baltijos revoliucija“ – „revoliucija su daina ir šypsena“ (Heinz Valk 1988) – gerai žinomas kultūrinės saviraiškos pavyzdys, paskatinęs politinę ir meninę kaitą. Žurnalo tematinis centras – muzikos pokyčiai iki 1990 metų ir po jų įvairuojančiuose kultūriniuose, socialiniuose ir politiniuose kontekstuose. Neapsiribojant Baltijos šalių regionu, muzikos transformatyviai galiai analizuoti pasitelkiami Europos ir kitų kontinentų kūrybos atvejai bei muzikos sąjūdžiai: Gruzijos (Nana Sharikadze analizuoja gruzinų muzikinę rezistenciją), Čekijos (Eva Vičarová nagrinėja sakralinės muzikos sąjūdžius Čekijos žemėse), Latvijos (Janis Kudinšas svarsto apie kultūrinės atminties virsmus latvių roko muzikoje), Estijos (Heli Reimann aptaria estų džiazos scenos konfrontacijas su sovietine kultūros sistema), Vokietijos (Charris Efthimiou analizuoja 1968 m. revoliucijos atgarsius Hanso Wernerio Henze'ės kūryboje), Kubos (Ivanas Cesaras Moralesas Floresas pristato 1990-ųjų transformacijas Kubos muzikinėje kultūroje) ir Lietuvos (Jūratė Katinaitė ir Danutė Petrauskaitė gilinasi į sovietmečio muzikinio elito permainas politinių lūžių metais, Ingrida Alonderė svarsto apie chorinės muzikos praktikų atsinaujinimą skaitmeninės revoliucijos kontekstuose).

Žurnalą atveria Gregoro Pompe'ės straipsnis, tiesiogiai apeliuojantis į aktualius muzikos istoriografijos pokyčius. Pasak autoriaus, po trumpojo XX amžiaus pliuralistinė kultūros būklė skatina eklektiškas prieigas, iš naujo apmąstant didžiųjų ir mažųjų muzikinių kultūrų istorinius pasakojimus. Įsitvirtinusius Darmštato klasikų kūrybos analizės įpročius ragina keisti Levonas Akopianas, serialios muzikos retorikos principus praplėsdamas naratyvumo samprata. Lietuvių muzikos klasiko Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlonio muzikos ir dailės korespondencijos atvejus nagrinėja Kirilas Smolkinas. Jis susitelkia į skirtingus menus vienijančią harmonijos kategoriją. Šiuolaikinės muzikos atlikimo specifiką nagrinėja Oleksandras Perepelytsia, išryškindamas atlikėjo emocijos ir gesto sąveikos aspektus. Performatyvių įgūdžių perdavimo iš kartos į kartą analizei skirtas ir Kristinos Lunos Dolininos straipsnis apie klasikinio indų šokio *Kathak* praktiką.

Žurnale tradiciškai supažindinama su jaunųjų lietuvių muzikologų darbais. Spausdinamas Karolinos Šaltmirytės kartu su bakalauro darbo vadove Rima Povilioniene parengtas straipsnis apie mikrotoninės muzikos idėjų sklaidą lietuvių muzikoje.

Atverdamas antrąjį savo gyvavimo dvidešimtmetį, žurnalas „Lietuvos muzikologija“ demonstruoja kultūrinį ir tarpdalykinį atvirumą, jau tapusį leidinio programine nuostata.

Redaktorių taryba

¹ Trumpuoju XX amžiumi vadinamas laikotarpis nuo 1914 m. iki 1989 m., eįs po ilgojo XIX amžiaus, kuris truko nuo 1789 m. iki 1914 m.

Foreword

Thirty years after the short twentieth century offers sufficient distance to explore and evaluate the changes that have become history. The Singing Baltic Revolution—“a revolution with a song and smile” (Heinz Valk 1988)—is a well-known example of cultural self-expression that has led to political and artistic change. The thematic focus of the journal is the changes in music before and after 1990 in diverse cultural, social, and political contexts. In the Baltic region and beyond, the transformative power of music is analyzed using cases of music composition and musical movements in Europe and other continents: Georgia (Nana Sharikadze analyzes Georgian musical resistance), the Czech Republic (Eva Vičarová examines movements of sacred music in the Czech lands), Latvia (Janis Kudinš considers transformations of cultural remembrance in Latvian rock music), Estonia (Heli Reimann discusses the confrontations of the Estonian jazz scene with the Soviet cultural system), Germany (Charris Efthimiou explores the echoes of the 1968 revolution in Hans Werner Henze’s work), Cuba (Ivan Cesar Morales presents transformations in Cuban musical culture in the 1990s) and Lithuania (Jūratė Katinaitė and Danutė Petrauskaitė investigate the changes in the Soviet time musical elite during the years of political turning points, while Ingrida Alondere reflects on how choral music practices have been updated in the contexts of the digital revolution).

The journal opens with an article by Gregor Pompe on current changes in music historiography: according to Pompe, after the short twentieth century, the pluralistic state of culture encourages eclectic approaches to the reconsideration of the historical narratives of major and minor musical cultures. Levon Hakobian calls for change in the established habits of analysis of the Darmstadt School composers, extending the principles of serial music rhetoric using the concept of the narrativity. The cases of music and art correlation in the work of the great Lithuanian painter and musician Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis are examined by Kiril Smolkin, who focuses on the category of harmony uniting different arts. Oleksandr Perepelytsia studies the specifics of contemporary music performance, highlighting aspects of the interaction between a performer’s emotions and gestures. Kristina Luna Dolinina’s article on the practice of the classical Indian *Kathak* dance is also devoted to the analysis of the transfer of performative skills from generation to generation. The journal traditionally introduces works by young Lithuanian musicologists: in this edition, it presents an article prepared by Karolina Šaltmirytė in cooperation with her bachelor’s thesis advisor Rima Povilionienė on the dissemination of microtonal music ideas in Lithuanian music.

At the beginning of the third decade of its existence, the *Lietuvos Muzikologija* journal demonstrates cultural and interdisciplinary openness that has already become its programmatic provision.

Editorial Board

Gregor POMPE

Eclectic-pluralist Methodology and the Local, “Small” History of Twentieth-century Music

Eklektinė-pliuralistinė metodologija

ir lokali „mažoji“ XX a. muzikos istorija

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Abstract

The methodology of historicizing the small, local history of twentieth-century music requires specific solutions adapted both to the research subject and the existing tradition of historiography. Basic premises stem from a close examination of the key terms that make up the title *The History of Music on the Slovenian Ground IV*. Reflections presented here were reached during the process of writing a new history of Slovenian twentieth-century music, which is conceived as a “history of works” with constant jumps into taking stock of contemporaneous contextual characteristics. The smallness of national history is what prevents methodological “purity.”

Keywords: Slovenian music, twentieth-century music, musicology, music history, *Werkgeschichte*.

Anotacija

XX a. lokalios muzikos istorizavimo metodologijai reikalingi konkretūs sprendimai, pritaikyti tiek tiriamajam objektui, tiek esamoms istoriografijos tradicijoms. Pagrindinės prielaidos kilo po atidaus žvilgsnio į terminus, sudarančius pavadinimą „Muzikos istorija Slovėnijos žemėje IV“. Straipsnyje pateikiamos refleksijos kilo rašant naują XX a. slovėnų muzikos istoriją, suvokiamą kaip „kūrinių istorija“, kartu darant nuolatinius ekskursus į to meto kontekstus ir vertinant jų būdinguosius bruožus. Siekti metodologinio „grynumo“ trukdė mažas nacionalinės istorijos mastas.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Slovėnijos muzika, XX a. muzika, muzikologija, muzikos istorija, muzikos kūrinio istorija (*Werkgeschichte*).

Introduction

Present observations are the result of the necessary self-reflection which has accompanied the creation of the new *History of Music on the Slovenian Ground*, namely its fourth volume, which is dedicated to twentieth-century music. These reflections began even before the writing started, and they accompanied the process of gathering materials and writing out the history, while a portion of them can also be understood as a reflection on the work done. They could be of particular interest to those who are at the beginning of the twenty-first century themselves, tackling the writing of partial, national, or locally delimited music histories, as numerous problems beyond the basic considerations on the role of historicization in contemporary musicology reveal themselves only once the basic research subject has been determined, given the latter does not consist only of works of art with surplus aesthetic value or subversively innovative compositional solutions.

The History of Music on the Slovenian Ground IV: Music on the Slovenian Ground Between 1918 and 2018 is at the moment, beside the first part, *The History of Music on the Slovenian Ground I: The History of Music on the*

Slovenian Ground till the End of the 16th Century, the second monograph that has been completed, and we cannot ignore that these two works are distinctly different in their methodology. What indubitably matters most when deciding on the use of a particular methodology considering the specific characteristics of the investigated subject? We can hardly ignore the fact that twentieth-century music is, in its basic aesthetic, sociological-contextual, and perhaps even ontological parameters, at least in Slovenia, quite different from the music of the nineteenth century, while remoteness is even more evident in relation to the music before the eighteenth century. The methodology was chosen to match the research subject; the basic methodological lens determined the manner in which materials were collected, arranged, interpreted, and recorded. The connection to the Slovenian tradition of music historiography, especially that linked to twentieth-century music, which is richer than that concerned with former periods, at least as regards synthetic overviews or their attempts, seemed especially important to consider. Thus, a new writing of the history of twentieth-century music can be understood as a dialogue with other attempts of this kind, one that has established a critical,

affirmative, and complementary relationship, that is, a kind of upgrade of the level of knowledge on Slovenian music of the last century.

The present state of the research

Some attention has already been dedicated to Slovenian music of the twentieth century in the form of monographs with shifting research perspectives, emphases, and findings.¹ The first seeds of a historical study on Slovenian music can already be found in Cvetko's pioneering monograph *The History of Musical Art on the Slovenian Ground*, on the basis of which the work *Slovenian Music in European Space* was created three decades later, which already included some reflections on Slovenian music after the first and second world wars, by Dragotin Cvetko (1911–1993). Cvetko's analysis is value neutral and focuses on the succession of generations of composers, without being particularly interested in the characteristic stylistic or compositional traits of a particular generation or even a particular composer. Ten years later, the monograph *New Music in Slovenia* appeared, by Niall O'Loughlin, an English musicologist who took an intense interest in contemporary Slovenian music after completing his PhD thesis. O'Loughlin chose completely different methodological procedures than Cvetko—at the center of his reflections are analyses of individual works, based mostly on discussing motifs and themes (traditional works) or descriptions of the flow of sonic events (sonic compositions), yet the author seldom synthesizes his research conclusions into higher-level insights into the underlying connections, and avoids the structuralist construction of a stylistic or compositional-technical grid into which he could integrate individual groups of composers, schools, or personalities. The third monographic publication, focused only on twentieth-century music, was written by Darja Koter. Methodologically, her monograph *Slovenian Music 1918–1991* represents a continuation of Cvetko's tradition, as it is an attempt to outline a broader historical fresco: her research includes the development of musical institutions, an examination of general historical conditions, and biographies of seminal performing artists and composers but seems to be somewhat less interested in analytical, stylistic, and compositional-technical questions, namely musical compositions. Her extensive and exhaustive work can thus serve as an important source for placing composers' work into the context of the broader twentieth-century musical culture, while it is less useful for identifying essential characteristics of individual composers' opuses. Despite being short and sketch-like, Leon Stefanija's *A Brief History of Slovenian Music after 1918*, published online, adopts wholly

different, distinctly more contemporary methodological bases of research, as he tries to capture, in a holistic manner, "the interweavings of the histories of institutions, ideas, musical creativity, performances and, as far as studies allow, also reception" (Stefanija 2019).

His research has turned away from sheer historical descriptiveness, biography, and a history of compositions or genres, and perceives music/musics in terms of its/their intense relationship with broader cultural and social implications.

A comprehensive historical overview of twentieth-century Slovenian music can be also found in some works that are methodologically conceived more loosely and do not bring in a fully fledged research apparatus but nonetheless do open up a deeper insight into the process of creating compositions.² These historical overviews have been significantly complemented by the monograph *Slovenian Musical Works* by Andrej Rijavec, which focuses on representations of the selected works of twentieth-century Slovenian composers, presenting their comments on the first performances of their works and already analytically outlining the compositions' essential traits. Some information, although with little historical weight, can be gleaned from the overview *A Hundred Slovenian Composers* by Franc Križnar and the promotional booklet of the Slovenian Composers' Association *Composers' Traces after the Year 1900*, which offers short visiting cards from composers and their thoughts on their poetics; an outline of the stylistic sequence is delineated in the afterword of the translation of Roger Sutherland's *New Musical Perspectives*; and Andrej Rijavec's promotional brochure *Twentieth Century Slovene Composers* offers some information about leading composers and their works.

There are few holistic studies; those that prevail are partial, focusing only on shorter, isolated periods, a particular musical style, or a composer's opus, the development of a genre, or the operations of a particular music institution.³ Well covered is the institutional work of the Slovenian Philharmonic, its "predecessors," "side branches," and "substitutes" (the Ljubljana Philharmonic, the Orchestral Society; Klemenčič 1988, Kuret 2001, 2008, Šramel 2010, Neuberger 1940) and Glasbena matica (Cigoj Krstulović 2003), which dictated the fundamental "ideological" tone of Slovenian musical culture at least up to the mid-1930s, but what is missing is more detailed research on the operations of the Ljubljana Opera and radio (especially its orchestra) and institutions outside of Ljubljana. A partial overview is also given through monographs about the life and work of particular composers; a significant part in this regard was played above all by special themed issues of

the *Musical-Pedagogical Annual*, dedicated to particular composers. A relatively in-depth insight was presented into only 25 twentieth-century composers, only four of whom left a strong mark on the music of the second half of the twentieth century, which definitely reflects the problem of a lack of historical distance.

As evident from the above short cross-section, the overviews of Slovenian music in the twentieth century—either holistic or partial—are very methodologically diverse, but they all primarily center on biographical data and work carried out by musical institutions and intertwine moments of creation and performance while not being particularly interested in analyses of individual pieces. If we use the somewhat pejorative terms employed by Vlado Kotnik in reference to musicological efforts concerning the history of Slovenian opera, we can talk about the predominance of “musical-historical descriptionism and stock-taking” (Kotnik 2005: 223), which should nonetheless not be interpreted as a kind of whim on the part of Slovenian musicology or even methodological backwardness, but simply a reflection of the need for basic research—a large portion of materials still needed to be gathered, put in order, and labelled with the help of the most rudimentary historical tools. In other words, Slovenian musicology has been carrying out mostly primary, “archaeological” work of excavating historical sources and documents and organizing them while neglecting their interpretation and examination from various scientific perspectives.

Methodological concept tied to the core issues

An analysis of the current state of knowledge on Slovenian twentieth-century music, especially in the light of the methodological foundations that have been used so far, determined the choice of the methodological model of this new history. In addition, our approach was guided by considering the core issues suggested by the title—we refer to the seemingly simple terms “history,” “music,” “Slovenian/on the Slovenian ground,” and “twentieth century.”

Looking into the syntagma “twentieth century” brings up the question of historical borders and dividing lines—the possibility of relying on visible historical changes, general historical turning points, which also affected the shifts in musical culture, on the one hand, and of blindly trusting the wholly arbitrary delineation of time frames as far as the content is considered and defining the boundaries of the twentieth century with the years 1900 and 1999, on the other. My choice is linked to both historical shifts as well as arbitrary demarcation. The year

that marks the beginning is thus tied to the concept of “the long nineteenth century” as identified in the work of Eric Hobsbawm, namely his famous historical “trilogy” (Hobsbawm 1962, 1975, 1987), and which equates the ending of the period with the beginning of World War I. Personally, I have chosen as the starting point the end of World War I (1918), which bears special significance for Slovenians: this year did not only mark the end of World War I, but it was also the year when the Slovenian national territory separated from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the state and cultural coat which had long determined the outlines of domestic culture and life, and joined the new South Slavic federation, first for a month in the form of the State of Slovenians, Croats, and Serbs, and then, from 1 December 1918, in the form of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians, which at least partly satisfied the desire for Slovenian national state independence and liberation from the German cultural yoke—a desire which had been growing from the middle of the nineteenth century. Such new foundations provided a fertile ground for a new beginning: for letting go of the old practices and ideologies and for establishing new orders, relationships, and practices. My demarcation of the end of the period was more arbitrary, however—the last works that I have included were created in 2018, which on the one hand fits the year I finished my research, while on the other the book thus covers exactly a century of music in Slovenia. The choice of the starting point is thus solid and historical, while the ending point is “open,” arbitrary.

The question of geographical, local, or national delimitation raises more problems. Today it seems:

[In the light of] cultural studies and their systematic deconstruction of supposed coherent concepts like nation, race, gender etc., that a certain tendency can be noted within general and music historiography to overcome national and nationalist mappings. (Boisits 2013: 187)

On the other hand:

[...] in today’s global poststructuralist and postcolonial discussion, the question of the national has overnight acquired greater significance, translated into the regional, the supra- and transnational, especially the extra-European, non-Western, i.e. other and different, foreign, special, as a side branch of the so called microhistory, as small, marginal and luminal. (Sedak 2000: 137)

All these dilemmas were already indicated at the end of the 1950s in Cvetko’s pioneering history, namely with the phrase “on the Slovenian ground,” which means that the national designation “Slovenian music” was replaced with

a more neutral one, the geographical "on the Slovenian ground," which, however, still opens up many dilemmas. The first dilemma naturally concerns the question of which areas can be understood as Slovenia in the long historical period covered by Cvetko. From the time Slavs occupied the present region of the northern Balkans in the sixth century to the end of World War I—could this region be understood as Slovenia, which with some exceptions, formed as a fully independent state only at the end of the twentieth century? But what seems even more symptomatic than these questions, in relation to Cvetko's interpretation of this expression, is that the latter serves him mostly as nothing more than a neutral, hazy wall behind which, in fact, hides the history of "Slovenian music." This issue shows most clearly in his treatment of musical immigration and emigration. According to the concept of "music on the Slovenian ground," Cvetko includes in his discussion all those composers who were active within the Slovenian territory, though they were not necessarily of Slovenian nationality—some of the names that certainly stand out are Wolfgang Striccius (before 1570–after 1611); Gabriello Puliti (1575/1580–1642/1643); Isaac Posch (?1591–?1623); Franz Benedikt Dussek (1765–after 1817), the brother of the more famous Jan Ladislav Dussek; and Leopold Ferdinand Schwerdt (1773–1854). In the nineteenth century, numerous Czech musicians can be included, such as Anton Foerster (1837–1926), the uncle of the more famous Josef Bohuslav Foerster. At the same time, Cvetko does not exclude composers of Slovenian origin who spent most of their lives living abroad and who left a mark on the local musical culture. The most typical examples include Jurij Slatkonja (Georg Slatkonja, 1456–1522), the founder and head of the court chapel in Vienna, where Heinrich Isaac and the young Ludwig Senfl (see: Snoj 2001), among others, worked as his apprentices; Jakob Handl Gallus (1550–1591), probably the most renowned "Slovenian" composer in the broader international environment, who, however, spent most of his life on the Czech territory and achieved his greatest success in Prague; Janez Krstnik Dolar (1620–1673), who was, among other things, the head of the Jesuit seminar in Vienna and the music director in the local church Am Hof; and Jurij Mihevc (1805–1882), a pianist and composer who wrote several operettas in Vienna and then moved to France, where he worked as a pianist and a composer of parlor piano music. Cvetko thus does not actually stick to a set methodology and set boundaries—his pool of "music on the Slovenian ground" tends to include both "foreigners" who worked on the Slovenian ground and left a special mark on the local musical life as well as those who worked abroad and had practically no contact with the Slovenian

territory and culture. Such broad inclusivity echoes Cvetko's fundamental desire to demonstrate and prove that it is possible to find all stylistic periods in Slovenian music and draw a single stylistic line of development and that it makes sense to draw parallels between the latter and the history of world music at any given moment in history.

Personally, I understood the geographical delimitation in the sense of the sphere of influence or visibility, and thus I tried to transcend "the categories and implications of national historiography, as, for instance, including or excluding composers according to their ethnicity, or claiming a distinct national character of music" (Boisits 2013: 190).

This is why I also discussed the music by those Slovenian composers who spent a great part of their creative life abroad (e.g. Vinko Globokar, Božidar Kos, and Janko Jezovšek, minority Slovenians in Austria, Italy, and Hungary as well as postwar political emigrants) but nonetheless significantly influenced the Slovenian music scene or were connected to it somehow. For example, the work of composer Vinko Globokar (1934), who lived most of his life abroad and divided his time between Paris, Berlin, and Florence, was markedly influential. His music was presented on several occasions at Festival Slowind and in many ways affected the youngest generation of Slovenian composers, who have in recent years received a lot of attention in the international environment (Vito Žuraj, Nina Šenk, Matej Bonin, and Petra Strahovnik, for example). The same holds for those "foreigners" who made a long-term commitment to Slovenian music and have actively cocreated it, filling its gaps and changing it (New Zealander composer Nevill Hall, American conductor and composer Steven Loy, and Mexican composer and sonic artist Mauricio Valdés San Emeterio). In the future, in the contemporary globalized world, we can expect more of such two-way "crossings," which will be assessed in the light of various national allegiances. Nationality as a cultural paradigm is losing its validity.

Even larger questions are revealed by the truly too broad term "music," as it is almost impossible to overlook the existence of a multitude of musics as regards the differences in function, material, and structure. Should history deal with only one of these, or is its duty to commit itself to the broadest kind of inclusivity? In this respect, models from abroad cannot be of much help either, as the Oxford and Cambridge histories considerably differ on this point—Richard Taruskin (2010) includes only what could be understood as "artistic" or "classical" music, while the Cambridge history (2004) attempts to cover a whole gamut of genres, in a series of different partial articles. What often comes up when deciding on such a narrowing

or expansion in connection to twentieth-century music is the question of the *autonomy* of music in the twentieth century. Leon Stefanija thus emphasizes as one of the crucial shifts in the Slovenian music of the twentieth century the “transition from the musical habits of the reading society movement to becoming conscious of music as a beautiful and not only useful cultural practice which is based on professional grounds” (Stefanija 2019), thus the autonomization of music. Of course, musical autonomy is in truth characterized by two things (Massow 1993): on the one hand, this is a concept from music aesthetics which signifies the self-sufficiency of a musical work of art, that is, its distinction from ideas or program external to music, while this is also, on the other hand, a musical-sociological category according to which music seems independent from the norms and social functions of compositions. It makes sense to claim that both views are applicable to the twentieth century—music in the twentieth century lives, or at least dares to imagine it does, an independent existence beyond esoteric program and hermeneutic explorations. What moves to the center is the quality of sound which has replaced music semantics, associated with the well-established topoi, while music has also withdrawn from its bonds of social functions, convinced that it is an autonomous aesthetic subject that can live its own life independent from other environmental conditions. Such an autonomist position indubitably reaches its peak with Modernism after World War II, which Susan McClary associates with the ultimate level of elitism, since it was Modernist music, more than any other, that:

[...] sought to secure prestige precisely by claiming to renounce all possible social functions and values. (McClary 1989: 60)

It seems that the autonomy of music in the twentieth century can still be seen as part of a changeable fluctuation—just as at the start of the century we could still recognize remnants of functional ties, characteristic of past periods, so in recent decades the idea of complete autonomy is being ever more quickly extinguished at the hands of the all-pervasive predominance of the neoliberalist capitalist, namely marketing logic, which increasingly permeates all aspects of social and cultural life. It was precisely this kind of arc that I tried to establish in the new history, which mostly deals only with the autonomously conceived music, but which widens this perspective in relation to church music (in the first half of the century, the latter tried to shake off its functional fetters to start to live as an independent aesthetic object) and electronic dance music, which is occasionally difficult to distinguish from the autonomist, artistic endeavors of composers of electroacoustic music, where this time

around, the link is not rootedness in the ritual function, but the adjustment to technological progress.

The very question of autonomy also relates to the decision that the new history should cover only the broadly conceived genre of artistic music, which stresses its autonomy, while the treatment of other musics has been left out; the question of historicizing popular music seems to stand out as the most problematic in connection to this. A present-day musicologist is clearly aware of the fact that, as far as this question goes, they cannot resort to solely aesthetic considerations and linking these to value judgments, which finally turn out to be highly marked by ideology, which is why other “excuses” or methodological turns seem to be more practical. Despite the explicitly broad, democratic view of the existence of very different musics that are equal and thus also historically relevant, Taruskin still includes in his extensive overview of the history of Western music only that portion of musical culture which is, somewhat clumsily but persistently, in everyday communication referred to as “classical” music. The reason behind this is supposed to center on written music. This argument definitely holds when considering older historical periods, in which the whole of musical life is practically impossible to reconstruct in all of its traits and in which the notable historical role was played by the musical practice with the tradition of musical notation; the methodological approach of the first part of the *History of Music on the Slovenian Ground* reflects this line of reasoning. However, an argument of this kind was in the twentieth century increasingly losing substance given the fact that there was a mass of music which has not been written down but is still accessible to a historian in the form of recordings (beside a sound recording, a video also often exists), which means that this music can be analyzed from positions that are wholly immanent to music. The reason for focusing on the history of works belonging to artistic, quasi-autonomous music has to be sought elsewhere and reveals itself most clearly on the methodological level. Research on popular music should probably proceed in the manner that is diametrically opposed to the type of methodology that marks the new history—as far as popular music is concerned, it would make sense to first check the social situations, states, and sociological relations and conditions into which we could place musical works and processes in the next step. Such distinctions in methodology should not be understood in the sense of value hierarchization; the important insight reached through writing this new history should be precisely the awareness of the necessity of continuing or upgrading it with a volume, which would, from a changed methodological angle, look into popular Slovenian music of the twentieth century.

Regarding the term "history," I tried to be guided primarily by the principle of new history as a continuation and upgrade of the work that has been done to date, which means that my research focus shifted from collection and editing (nonetheless, music after the year 1945 also demanded such basic research) to interpretation of musical works. The new history can thus best be understood as a history of musical works, as advocated most clearly by Carl Dahlhaus (1928–1989) in his famous work *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte* from what now seems the already long-ago year of 1983. Of course, this is not limited to a desire to blindly follow a methodological concept which by itself already belongs to history, which has been several times justifiably problematized and using some premises also rejected (Geiger & Janz 2016), but rather derives from a belief that it makes sense, within a particular national history, to avoid "skipping" methodological models. One of the key motives for writing history that is highlighted by Dahlhaus is establishing a relationship towards the past, already written, known, and entrenched histories and, consequently, also towards the canon of musical works (Dahlhaus 1983: 105), which history can illuminate by problematizing and challenging it, as it attempts to uncover the reasons behind its emergence or even as it attempts to establish a new canon. However, when discussing the history of Slovenian music, especially the Slovenian music of the twentieth century, we could hardly talk about an entrenched canon. Instead, the canon exists only in very rudimentary outlines. The general Slovenian public probably is not capable of listing a few seminal Slovenian musical works of the twentieth century, and musicians also tend to have problems when faced with such a task, since twentieth-century works seldom appear in concert programs. In sheer outlines, these works are present only to musicologists, and they are able to recognize them based on existing historical research. The majority of historical treatises are focused on biographies, taking notes on sources, and unveiling the broader musical culture, and only in fragments do they reveal a canon of musical works.

Final decision: history of the musical works and their context

For all these reasons, it seemed to make sense to write the history of Slovenian twentieth-century musical works and thus fill the gap in methodology and content. Nonetheless, when assuming such a methodological approach, we must tread carefully due to the method's disadvantages. Dahlhaus's reflections indubitably present a document of

their times and echo tensions with the Marxist theory of historiography, which centered research on questions of social conditions and influences, that is, distinctly sociological themes that replaced a more immanent analytical and aesthetic investigation of musical works. There was a discernible opposition against the kind of musicology that was promoted by Georg Knepler (1906–2003) in the neighboring East Berlin. Dahlhaus's central dilemma concerned the relationship between history and art (Dahlhaus 1983: 19), the historical and the aesthetic, and thus the seemingly non-immanent (i.e. external to music) and the immanent (the musical work itself); the dilemma can be generalized into the question of whether the musicologist writes the *history* of music or the history of *music*. Richard Taruskin (2010), one of the most determined to proclaim the non-sense of such a binary opposition, believes that a music historian should be interested in both/everything—both the elements constituting conditions of musical culture/life as well as musical works and their reception, or in Jean-Jacques Nattiez's language, the whole "musical fact" (Nattiez 1990). Taruskin thus in his own way embraces a methodological pluralism similar to the one promoted and even more coherently implemented by *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, which is not a work by a single author with a distinctive, "monological" methodological tool, but the result of collaboration between very diverse researchers, who shed light on their problem areas from distinctly varied, sometimes even polarized methodological positions. The key guiding principle of both works, that is, both the Cambridge history and Taruskin's overview, is tackling the swollen historical stiffenings, the deconstruction of the existing, the questioning and identifying the ideological foundations of the older attempts at history, and consequently the construction of a new history from the chips of different, pluralistically juxtaposed methodological and value perspectives, which makes us wonder whether the act of revealing the "old" ideology does not imply a simultaneous pledge to the "new" one. But due to the absence of the canon as well as the lack of a firmly established tradition of music historiography, in the context of Slovenian music, a blind adherence to such a "new" type of historicization would seem to lead to the methodological "skipping," applying methodology to a subject which has not even been read in its entirety. It is for these reasons, too, that deconstructive undertones seem less suitable in connection to the history of Slovenian music.

Due to the awareness of the reciprocal relationship between the musical context and musical works and the wholly evident premise that music can barely be extracted from its social and cultural embeddedness, it seemed reasonable to

expand the basic methodological line, namely focusing on musical works (their analysis and interpretation), in a way that seemed most suitable to each specific case: we brought musical works in touch with different discourses, and these perspectives were eclectically shifting, each time in the direction that would allow methodological “illumination” to most meaningfully reveal the immanent characteristics of a work and its context.⁴ When exploring music created during and after World War II, we cannot ignore the broader social and political implications determining the conditions of creativity. Occasionally, compositions were examined from the point of view of style, while at other times the development of a particular compositional technique seemed more important. The case of church music raises the question of functional autonomy or embeddedness, and electroacoustic music draws attention to dependence on technological changes. In this way we are moving closer to what Taruskin, with a reference to sociologist Howard S. Becker, calls the “art world” or what Laurenz Lütteken calls the “life world,” drawing upon Husserl’s philosophy (Lütteken 2000: 36)—in a life which is seemingly taking place *outside* of art, we try to discover the levers, impulses, influences, and triggers for processes going on *inside* of art, something which can be naturally found at the center of historical reflections.

The new history is thus set up as a succession of musical works, but it is written quite differently than the histories of works of Western European music. If both Dahlhaus in his overview *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts* and similarly Hermann Danuser in *Die Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts* focus on those works of art that were outstanding, breakthrough, or distinctly innovative in aesthetic or compositional terms, there are only few works of this kind in the history of Slovenian twentieth-century music, and this is how the questions of value sneak in. The history of musical works on the Slovenian ground does not occur as a closed series of great works or at least pioneering works which break with established traditions. This succession of works does not revolve so much around trying to transfer European insights (most composers of this period were educated in Vienna or Prague) into the domestic context; the latter was greatly limited both on the level of infrastructure and discursivity. Whenever “new” ideas collide with traditional ones, inert solutions are subjected to shifts and adjustments, most often in the form of simplifications. In this respect, dealing with the adoption of the twelve-tone technique seems symptomatic.⁵ In the 1930s, Slovenian composers thus seemed to have equated dodecaphony with a wide-open chromatic stock of tones and the final dissolution of the traditional harmony, linked to functional relations. Such

an interpretation seems to be contextually marked: strongly chromaticized music without a tonal center intervened into the Slovenian musical space of the mid-1930s in a way that recalls the manner in which Schönberg’s consistently carried out dodecaphony entered mid-1920s Vienna, which was permeated with Expressionism and early Modernism. In this way, dodecaphony is no longer a clear term signifying a compositional technique, but to a large degree a typological tag.⁶

There are more of such local reinterpretations of foreign influences which are without a larger, international historical weight. Similar dilemmas come up when facing aesthetically valuable works that show considerable stylistic belatedness, which is true of three exceptional Neoclassicist musical scores created at the beginning of the 1950s. *The Second Suite for Strings* (1950) by Marijan Lipovšek, *Sinfonietta* (1951) by Primož Ramovš, *Sinfonietta* (1951) by Uroš Krek and *Serenade* (1951) by Dane Škerl were created at the time of the greatest postwar modernist breakthroughs—Boulez’s work *Structure Ia* (1951) and Cage’s composition *Music of Changes* (1951). It was precisely due to such aesthetic, historical, or compositional-technical asymmetries that we found it necessary to establish at all times a dialogue between musical works and the context; the value and level of innovativeness were determined according to contextual conditions. This is reflected in the titles of the seven chapters,⁷ which are embedded in historical succession, with the exception of the third chapter; these titles can be to some extent read in the sense of stylistic alternations. However, we should place less attention on stylistic signification itself and more on its (circumstantial) relativization.⁸

The new history of music on the Slovenian ground is thus essentially an eclectic history: on the one hand, it brings together all materials that seem important for establishing a continuous historical discourse, but it is also pluralist in its method on the other, as the basic decision for the history of works is also continuously expanded through addressing different aspects of the accompanying context. Such a combination may appear to be paradoxical but can barely be avoided when discussing a local or national history, given its relative smallness—smallness makes methodological purity impossible, one that was, in the history of twentieth-century music, mostly associated with emphasizing “progress,” that is, with distinctly modernist ideological undertones. Cultures that are hanging on the fringes of “historical” nations also seem to be characterized by clinging to traditional means of expression. This is why the solution suggested by Joakim Tillman, namely that today’s pluralist culture calls for an eclectic approach as the most suitable one, although one “fraught with difficulties and contradictions” (Tillman

2000: 18), turns out to be helpful. In connection to music on the Slovenian ground in the twentieth century, this paradox expresses itself in joining broad methodological pluralism with national/geographical boundaries that clearly show traces of conservatism. The crucial effort was thus dedicated to the constant aligning of both the awareness of the "smallness" of Slovenian history and its embeddedness in the "big" history of European music.

Endnotes

- 1 For a more detailed analysis of the state of research on twentieth-century Slovenian music, see Stefanija 2010.
- 2 This is, above all, true of Klemenčič's overview *Musica Noster Amor: The Art Music of Slovenia from Beginning till Today*, conceived as a commentary on the anthology of Slovenian compositions. Klemenčič employs a well-developed stylistic terminology, which he connects to characterizing musical works in terms of Geistesgeschichte and their expressivity. His findings are barely based on analytical investigations or compositional-technical marks. This is not the case with an overview by composer and academician Lojze Lebič, who made his study *Voices of Times* available to the public in several successive issues of the magazine *Naši zbori*. Lebič conceived his original historical outline as the drawing of parallels between stylistic efforts and Slovenia's historical embeddedness; however, his research lens and methodology are not unified but tend to fit the given period or a composer's opus. Such an approach enables the author to highlight particular stylistic endeavors, but makes it more difficult for him to draw comparisons between achievements that are specific to particular time periods.
- 3 Andrej Rijavec delineated the basic development lines of the genre of string quartet (1973), and the work he started was later continued by Ivan Klemenčič (1988). Slovenian piano music was discussed by Marijan Lipovšek, the symphonic poem by Vesna Venišnik, and the development of musical theater was described by Jože Sivec and Špela Lah. Some texts focus on a particular style or compositional technique, such as Klemenčič's examination of Slovenian musical expressionism (1985, 1988) and of the artistic endeavors that could perhaps be placed into the context of historical avant garde (1998), the new objectivity was discussed by Leon Stefanija (2009), aleatoric techniques by Urška Rihtaršič, and spectral music by Larisa Vrhunc. Reflections on the activities of particular groups of composers or isolated historical periods have the same significance as cross-sections of particular styles. Matjaž Barbo prepared an overview of the work of the composers' group *Pro musica viva*, trying to place it in the historical context of Slovenian music after World War II, while Leon Stefanija took a special interest in Slovenian music of the last two decades of the twentieth century as well as questions concerning relationships between the old and the new; traditional and modernist; and the historical, transhistorical, and historicist, whereby he created a possibility for a distinctive and unique categorization of the compositional creations of the most recent period (2001).

- 4 For example, the interpretation of the opera *Black Masks* (1927) by Marij Kogoj (1892–1956) seems to call for the biographical method (in the symbolist drama by Leonid Andreyev, we come across numerous parallels with the composer's life, and we can barely overlook the question of identity).
- 5 Twelve-tone series were present already in the 1930s in the work of Slavko Osterc (1895–1941) but never as part of the system or characterizing all of the composer's choices. True "dodecaphony" could be, however, anticipated from the title of the composition by Pavle Šivic (1908–1995), *Twelve-Tone Studies in the Form of a Minor Piano Suite* (1937). Obviously, beside the terms "suite" and "twelve-tone" that appear in the title, we must accurately read the term "studies," too—dodecaphonic systematics is not realized coherently in any of the movements. In this regard, the very first movement, "Marsh," already comes as a surprise, considering that no twelve-tone logic can be identified in it; the second movement, "Romantic Fantasy," is based on the twelve-tone melody, which at first functions as passacaglia, but then this non-baroque logic is dropped, too; and, just like in "Marsh," there is no recognizable twelve-tone sequence in the finishing "Scherzo." *Twelve-Tone Studies* are characterized by a consistent use of chromatics more than dodecaphonic systematics.
- 6 However, this understanding of dodecaphony is but the first chapter of the Slovenian use of twelve interdependent tones—after World War II, there were several more attempts at using the twelve-tone logic, which, however, settled for the linear stringing of the twelve-tone sequences (without transpositions, inversions, retrogrades) and which were far removed from the fully-fledged Schönberg type.
- 7 "Prolonging Early Modernism," "New Music," "Catholic Church Music from the Beginning of the 20th Century to the Second Vatican Council," "In the Grip of Politics—War and Postwar Flames," "The Breakthrough of Modernism," "From Modernism to Postmodernism," "Contemporary Pluralism."
- 8 When considering the question of the Slovenian music of early Modernism, we must thus be aware of its prolongation from the period before World War I. "New Music" is characterized by all kinds of, also pluralist, hunger for the new; the title "In the Grip of Politics" draws attention to the intimate intertwinement of social conditions and art, "The Breakthrough of Modernism" points to the dominance and non-exclusiveness of a particular style, "From Modernism to Postmodernism" reminds us of the nature of processual changes and mutual connections, whereas the most recent creativity can only be contemplated from a position of accepting diversity that is decidedly unmarked as regards making value statements.

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Santrauka

Straipsnyje pateikiami apmąstymai, kilę rengiant ir rašant naują slovenų XX a. muzikos istoriją kaip naujos visuotinės Slovėnijos muzikos istorijos dalį. Jei lygintume su kitais laikotarpiais prieš XX a., būta pastangų parašyti ir glaustą XX a. slovenų muzikos raidos istoriją, tačiau dažniausiai dėmesys koncentruotas į svarbiausių muzikos įstaigų evoliuciją arba pateikti vien analitiniai metmenys. Tad atrodo logiška naujojoje istorijoje taikyti labiau holistinį požiūrį. Tinkamos metodologijos paieškose pasirodė prasinga panagrinėti „sąvokas“, slypinčias naujosios knygos pavadinime: „istorija“, „muzika“, „slovenų“ ir „XX amžius“. „XX amžiaus“ laikotarpis apibrėžtas ir istoriškai, ir santykini: jo pradžia pasirinkti „stabilūs“ 1914-ieji (Pirmojo pasaulinio karo pabaiga; Slovėnijos teritorija tampa serbų, kroatų ir slovenų karalystės dalimi), o 2018-ieji pasirinkti vien tik kaip šimtmetės muzikos istorijos baigiamieji metai. Terminu „muzika“ vadinau „tik“ akademinės muzikos žanrą plačiąja prasme. Sprendimo sutelkti dėmesį į akademinę, kvaziaautonominę muziką priklausantių kūrinių istoriją priežasties reikėtų ieškoti metodologiniame lygmenyje. Populiarosios muzikos tyrimai turėtų būti vykdomi visiškai priešingais metodais nei naujosios istorijos studijos: būtų prasinga pirmiausia tirti socialinius kontekstus, būsenas, sociologinius santykius ir sąlygas ir tik tuomet į šį kontekstą kelti muzikinius kūrinius ir procesus, bet ne atvirkščiai.

Spręsdamas, kaip turėtų būti suprantamas terminas „istorija“, bandžiau vadovautis principu, pripažįstančiu naująją istoriją ankstesnės kūrybos tęsiniu ir modernizavimu; kitaip tariant, mano tyrimai buvo skirti muzikos kūrinų interpretacijai.

Taigi galutinai pasirinkta metodologija labai artima garsiajai Dahlhauso muzikos kūrinų istorijos koncepcijai. Tačiau dėl žinomo šios prieigos ribotumo ir pirmiausia dėl lokaliaus muzikos, susiformavusios Vidurio Europos periferijoje, specifikos, kai pagrindinės muzikos srovės buvo ne vystomos, o dažniausiai imituojamos, dėmesį muzikos

kūriniais papildė nuolatiniai ekskursai į juos supantį kontekstą. Skamba paradoksaliai, tačiau naujoji Slovėnijos žemės muzikos istorija yra iš esmės eklektiška: viena vertus, joje surinkta visa medžiaga, atrodanti svarbi tęstiniam istoriniam diskursui įtvirtinti ir pliuralistinė savo metodologija, antra vertus, pagrindinės išvados dėl kūrinų istorijos nuolat plėtojamos skirtingų juos supančio konteksto aspektų analize. Ši prieiga atrodo tinkamiausia geografiškai „mažesnių“ kultūrų / tautų istorijoms.

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Heli REIMANN

Soviet Administrative Practices in Culture: The Example of the Tallinn '67 Jazz Festival

Sovietinė kultūros administravimo praktika: 1967-ųjų Talino džiazo festivalis

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Abstract

According to the common understanding, Soviet era governance was a system of state “command control” over production and distribution, where the administrative mechanism of the entire economy was based on a system of state ownership of the means of production and state control of investment, industrial manufacturing, and centralized administrative planning. However, the government regulative body existed in parallel with bottom-up initiatives by cultural participants who, for the sake of realizing their goals, had to negotiate with the state structures. Using the Tallinn '67 jazz festival as a case study, this article investigates the practices of Soviet cultural administration. By examining the details of the procedures for organizing the festival, closely reading archival documents, and complementing them with excerpts from interviews with the participants, it discusses the procedural acts of cultural planning, shows how jazz festivals and culture were molded into the Soviet cultural model, and introduces the people who implemented their musical goals within this framework.

Keywords: Soviet jazz culture, administrative practices, Tallinn '67 jazz festival.

Anotacija

Paprastai manoma, kad sovietinis valdymas reiškė valstybinį „komandinį“ gamybos ir skirstymo reguliavimą, ekonomikos administracinį mechanizmą grindžiant gamybos priemonių valstybinės nuosavybės principu, valstybine investicijų kontrole, pramonine gamyba ir centralizuotu administraciniu planavimu. Tačiau valstybinio reguliavimo institucijos egzistavo lygiagrečiai su kultūros dalyvių „iš apačios“ kylančiomis iniciatyvomis: siekdami savo tikslų, šie turėdavo derėtis su valstybės struktūromis. Straipsnyje Talino 1967 m. džiazo festivalio pavyzdžiu tiriama sovietinė kultūros administravimo praktika. Analizuodama festivalio organizavimo procedūrų detales, atidžiai skaitydama archyvinis dokumentus ir papildydama informaciją ištraukomis iš interviu su festivalio dalyviais, autorė aptaria kultūros planavimo procedūrinius veiksmus, parodo džiazo festivalių ir kultūros formavimą pagal sovietinės kultūros modelius ir pristato žmones, įgyvendinusius savuosius muzikinius tikslus tokiomis aplinkybėmis.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: sovietinė džiazo kultūra, administracinė praktika, Talino 1967 m. džiazo festivalis.

Latvian jazz activist and musician Leonid Nidbalsky, who attended the Tallinn '67 jazz festival with Latvian Dixieland, talked in an interview about the obligatory procedural actions that had to be taken during the organization of a public event in the Soviet era. “In the Soviet era, you could not just do something. Everything had to be *pod kryšei* (under the roof),” commented Nidbalsky. He added that the keyword for finding *kryšba* was *soglasovanye*—negotiating with the authorities to obtain permission. This process was complicated due to the absence of predetermined regulations. As he explained, “In the Soviet era, by law you could do almost everything but in reality, you could do almost nothing. We lived during a time where we always had to wash ourselves out, keep out of something or be careful. Every moment somebody could denounce you, write something to somebody about you.”

According to the common understanding, Soviet era governance was a system of state “command control” over

production and distribution (Cushman 1995: 37), where the administrative mechanism of the entire economy was based on a system of state ownership of the means of production and state control of investment, industrial manufacturing and centralized administrative planning. The cultural field was no exception—“top-down” decision-making and planning was part of how culture was administrated. However, as Nidbalsky’s interview excerpt has shown, a government regulative body existed in parallel with bottom-up initiatives by cultural participants who, for the sake of realizing their goals, had to negotiate with the state structures. Using the Tallinn '67 jazz festival as a case study, this article investigates the practices of Soviet cultural administration. By examining the details of the procedures for organizing the festival, closely reading archival documents, and complementing them with excerpts from interviews with the participants, this article discusses the procedural requirements for cultural planning, shows how jazz festivals

and culture were molded into the Soviet cultural model, and introduces the people who implemented their musical goals within this framework.

As an intensive historical examination of a particular aspect of a larger event, the administration of a jazz festival, this study relies on microhistory—a historiographical approach focusing on a relatively small, well-defined object, most often a single event or a village community, a group of families, even an individual person, and claiming that a small unit such as an individual, event, or small community can reflect the larger whole (Magnusson and Szijarto 2013; Ginzburg 1989; Levi 2012). In addition, the assumption of a microhistory that a social actor has considerable freedom of action supports the focus on individuals and their active role in organizing the festival. Finally, microhistorians refer to the “slow” ideology, allowing them to be creative, sensitive, imaginative, and “examine their subjects minutely and to discuss them in an enlightened manner” (Magnússon & Szijártó 2013: 151-2), which I follow by zooming in to fragments of documents in a detailed manner.

Amateur status of Soviet jazz culture and the Tallinn '67 jazz festival

An important marker in the Soviet cultural model was the distinction between amateur and professional. The difference between the two forms was not based on an artistic standard but rather on the mode adopted for organizing cultural activities and whether those involved with culture made their living with those cultural activities or not. Accordingly, jazz in the 1960s was part of the amateur realm. Musicians interested in jazz had almost no chance to make their living with this type of music—they could express their passion during the first set when playing at restaurants or enjoy it during their leisure time.¹ That there was no officially recognized status for a jazz musician in the Soviet Union is explained by Russian jazz writer Cyril Moshkow:

There was simply no position called jazz musician in the government-controlled documents that regulated the job market. You could be a variety musician and as such you could work for a variety orchestra. So people who worked for big bands and orchestras like Oleg Lundstöm's or any other, they were professional musicians but not jazz musicians [...] even if they did play jazz, they were not recognized as jazz musicians.²

The main public forums where Soviet jazz groups “surfaced” in the 1960s were jazz festivals. The pioneering role in initiating the festivals in the Soviet Union was played by Estonian jazz enthusiasts. Uno Naissoo—composer, educator, and jazz fan—organized what he called a *loominguline kohtumine* (creative meeting) between two jazz groups in 1949, which was later recognized as the first event initiating

the numerical order of Estonian jazz festivals. The event became the size of a real festival by the sixth gathering in 1958, when twelve local ensembles took to the stage at the club of the Tallinn Plywood and Furniture Factory. The Tallinn '67 jazz festival, the 14th and final festival in the series of the festivals in Soviet-era Estonia, was significant in many ways. The festival, with 26 groups and around 120 musicians, was the biggest jazz event to take place in the Soviet Union until that time, and it marked a peak moment in the Soviet jazz movement in the 1960s. In addition, Tallinn '67 was the first international festival of such magnitude in the Soviet Union and presented foreign groups from Finland, Sweden, Poland, and the United States. The event became known as a sensation because of the scandalous visit by the Charles Lloyd group, which came to the Soviet Union outside official channels.

In the 1960s, Soviet jazz tended to function under the roof of the Soviet youth organization, the Komsomol, since jazz was considered music for young people. For instance, Nidbalsky's jazz club in Latvia or Molodyozhnoye, the well-known jazz café in Moscow, were both supported by the Komsomol. In Estonia, Naissoo arranged jazz festivals outside the framework of the Komsomol. The institutional affiliations of earlier festivals can no longer be identified, but we know that they took place in different venues, such as the Sakala Culture House, the main hall at the Pedagogical University in Tallinn, or the social club for the Tallinn Plywood and Furniture Factory. From 1966 the “roof” for Tallinn's festivals became the institution officially known as the Cultural Department of the Executive Committee of the Tallinn Council of People's Deputies (CPD)—the local executive municipal structure responsible for cultural affairs in Tallinn, and the person in charge of its organizational procedures was the head of the department, Heinrich Schultz.

To discuss the administrative practices of the CPD, I will delve into the details of the document officially announcing the preparation of the Tallinn 1967 jazz festival—decision No. 17 from 20 January 1967 issued by the CPD³ as part of the routine procedural acts of Soviet bureaucracy (Figure 1.). Following the opening section with its short summary of the previously successful and popular Tallinn 1966 festival, the body of the record has three units ordering the formation of an organizing committee—the *orgkomitee*⁴—setting the tasks the committee should perform during the preparation process, and confirming the schedule of the festival. Using the three-page record as a framework, I first unpack the meaning of the Soviet-style rhetoric of the document and discuss the mode of Soviet jazz festivals. This is then followed by an examination of the financial operations and an introduction to those taking part in organizing the festival. Finally, the case of Heinrich Schultz, the main organizer of the event on for the city government, is presented as an

The Executive Committee of the Tallinn Council of People's Deputies (CPD) of the ESSR

Decision No. 17

20 January 1967 in Tallinn

On the preparation of the jazz festival Tallinn 1967.

The Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD notes that Tallinn jazz festivals have become a tradition and gained popularity year by year as Tallinn 1966 has indicated. The event included 27 musical collectives from Leningrad, Moscow—altogether from 7 countries.

Considering the growing interest in the Tallinn jazz festival, its extent and importance in the cultural life of Tallinn and the entire State, the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD decides:

1. to confirm the organizing committee of the Tallinn 1967 jazz festival according to the attachment.
2. The organizing committee of the jazz festival Tallinn 1967 should
 - a) prepare the instructions for the festival by 1 February at the latest, indicating that in the preliminary round only the compositions of Soviet composers will be played. Two thirds of the repertoire of the final round must consist of the music of Soviet composers.
 - b) prepare the budget for the festival on the basis of the principle of self-financing and present it for approval to the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD by 25 February 1967 at the latest.
 - c) confirm the membership of the jury of the final round by 25 February at the latest and present it for confirmation to the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD by 20 April at the latest after coordinating it with the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR. In compiling the jury of the final round, the guest collectives should be taken into consideration and specialists from other cities in the Soviet Union should be included in the jury.
 - d) regularly inform the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR and the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD about the progress of the preparation of the festival.
3. To confirm the schedule of Tallinn 1967 jazz festival as follows:
 - a) Second preliminary round for Tallinn collectives from 4–5 March 1967
 - b) Final round 11–14 May 1967 with the participation for the collectives from Tallinn and the best collectives of the Soviet Union at Kalev Sports Hall.

(J. Undusk) The Chief of Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD

(L. Tint) The secretary of Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD

Figure 1. Formal decision to allow the organization of the Tallinn '67 jazz festival

example of the Soviet era practice of “scapegoating” where a mid-level Party *apparachik*⁵ was staged as being guilty for the international affair surrounding the visit of Charles Lloyd to the Tallinn festival.

The festival as a competition

The first impression the document might leave on its reader is that it does not concern a musical celebration but a self-financed competition of Soviet jazz compositions with a jury and two rounds. The first order on the record prescribes, for instance, the compulsory ratio of Soviet and foreign pieces the participating groups must have in their repertoire, saying that the preliminary round should comprise exclusively of Soviet repertoire while during the final round, musicians are allowed to play foreign pieces

to the extent of one third of the entire performance. The third subsection of the record obliges the *orgkomitee* to form the festival jury, and the last section announces that the preliminary round of the festival will take place from 4–5 March and the final round or the actual festival itself will happen from 11–14 May in Tallinn.

The festival as a competition model was taken over from general Soviet practice at a time when a music festival had the meaning of a competition. Some further insight into the cohesion of the festival and competition in Soviet jazz life is given by Cyril Moshkow, who claimed that those who organized the events were missing an awareness of the essence of the festival. As he said, “nobody knew in the Soviet Union what a jazz festival was. For many people, the way to organize a festival meant that if it is a musical event, it must be a competition.”⁶ Russian saxophonist Aleksei Kozlov (1998: 144-145) mentioned that the competition format

for jazz festivals first appeared at the first Moscow jazz festival in 1962, where the Komsomol Committee arranging the event established it for the purpose of rescuing the idea of the festival in the eyes of high Communist officialdom. It was at odds with international jazz traditions and the spirit of jazz, but they were not aware of this:

How can one compare groups with each other if they belong to different traditions, especially if there is an avant-garde breaking all the traditions? We already felt uncomfortable at this time with the insertion of a jazz contest, although we did not know that at jazz festivals abroad there are only performances, that a festival is a celebration and not a contest. But it never came to our mind to protest. All the conditions were imposed from above.

Both the format of the festival as a competition and the verbal rhetoric used in the document have their roots in specific discursive and performative acts through which Soviet power created and recreated itself in a systematic manner for the purpose of holding sway over society. The phrase “Soviet repertoire” was part of the typical ideology-driven discursive method for maintaining control of the “ideological purity” of the musical repertoire in both classical and popular idioms and for domesticating otherwise ideologically ill-suited phenomena. Therefore, the verbal pattern “Soviet repertoire” was just another clichéd rhetorical term applied for the promotion of “correct” Soviet music. In fact, those who decided over the “correctness” of the content of one or another artistic work were quite often incompetent *apparachiki* who “did not notice any difference between dance and jazz” as was claimed in the openly wry statement by dance teacher Ants Tael,⁷ who arranged the dance version of the Tallinn '67 festival some weeks before the jazz festival. Nevertheless, the appropriation of the phrase “Soviet repertoire” in the context of the current document hints most possibly at Soviet composers’ authorship.

The meaning of “competition” in this context is exemplified by another slogan-like discursive and performative act—the socialist competition—inciting the working class to perform hard work in competition with each other. The expected benefit of socialist competition for the state was twofold: on the one hand, it was conducive to the growth of labor productivity and improvement in product quality, and on the other, it maintained and built the loyalty of citizens through a versatile system of rewards and the public cult of the “heroes of socialist labor.”⁸ No area of life remained untouched by this mass system of competition. You could read stories about cow-milkers and tractor drivers winning socialist competitions on the front pages of newspapers or military comrades with their jackets covered in medals of honor appearing on TV. The field of music was no exception. The competitions for amateur choirs and orchestras

or *estrada* artists and classical composers were part of the everyday Soviet musical culture.⁹ Therefore, a jazz festival as a competition was just part of the overall Soviet “socialist competition” project applied to the genre of jazz. More particularly, they followed the common Soviet practice of competitions for amateurs, which were officially considered a form of state supervision over amateur activities, where the best collectives were determined by a jury and highlighted with the titles of laureates.

The record emphasizes the formation of the jury, the board of arbiters responsible for ranking the performances. The jury for Tallinn '67 included members from all over the Soviet Union representing different fields, such as broadcasters, composers, and *orgkomitee* members. Those who were selected as award winners were prized as laureates. Estonian jazz historian Valter Ojakäär (2008: 354) discussing the prestige of the laureate title mentioned that “At this time every proper festival had to produce laureates—to issue certificates awarding the best participants. We received some glory for ourselves where somewhere it was announced that the laureate of the Tallinn jazz festival is performing.” Indeed, to hold one of the honorary laureate titles and to be publicly recognized with this title was considered highly prestigious. Awarding prizes in general was another cult-like practice in the Soviet Union, where titles such as Order’s Cavalier and “winners of socialist competitions” and “laureates of festivals” were part of the everyday public Soviet linguistic reality. Although the jury did award winners in Tallinn, the competitive aspect was not that important, as Boriss Frumkin, the pianist attending the festival with the KM Quartet said: “In Tallinn the competitive aspect was not important, and it gave the festival a Western flavor: In general, Estonia was as a foreign country for us. It was Soviet anyway, but not Soviet-like—that was what we felt then.”¹⁰

Financing

The document recording the initiation of the festival includes a note that the festival should be self-financed, meaning that the municipal government allocated no funds to finance the festival. Drawing up a detailed trajectory of the financial operations of the festival is an unrealizable task because of the missing evidence, but what we know based on available data is that the Noorsoo Kultuuripalee (The Youth Cultural Palace, YCP) and the Vabatahtlik Tuletõrje Ühing (Voluntary Fire Union, VFU) were the two institutions responsible for financial affairs.

Two YCP budget records have been preserved titled “The allocation of special equipment and other expenses”¹¹ and “Budget of wages of non-staff members,”¹² indicating respectively that the budget for expenses included 13,615

roubles and 1,010 roubles was disbursed for salaries. The items listed in the budget cover different areas necessary for organizing the festival, such as the reception for the performers and the schedule of the concerts (Figures 1., 2.). The allocated funds range from 13 roubles for the certificates of honor to more than six thousand for travelling expenses. The listed items cover areas such as accommodation, rent for Kalev Sports Hall, catering, and travel expenses. If we look at some illustrative comparisons, the scale of the budget becomes a little clearer. For instance, the budget for the festival was approximately 14,000 roubles—almost 9 percent of the total annual budget of 160,000¹³ roubles for the YCP. Another meaningful comparison is with the budget of the dance festival, which received the much smaller amount of 5,000 roubles from the YCP. As further comparison, the highest monthly salary in the Soviet Union in the 1960s, as listed in the financial documents of the YCP, was 120 roubles and was received by the artistic director, while the lowest, of 40 roubles, was granted to the cleaners.¹⁴ The salary for an orchestra member for special projects was 1 rouble per project, and the arranger, for instance, received 40 kopecks per bar. At the same time, the cost of a Moscow-Tallinn flight was 26 roubles and a train ticket 8 roubles; a newspaper cost 2 kopecks and bread 12 kopecks; a person had to pay around 100 roubles to buy a radio, 200 for a bicycle, and 2,500 for a Moskvitch automobile.¹⁵ Therefore, the budget for the festival was equal to the cost of almost six Moskvitch cars or 750,000 newspapers.

Travelling expenses	6258.-
Accommodation	2738.-
Kalev Sports Hall rental	2017.-
Bus	907.-
Programs, badges, tickets, advertising	376.-
Catering	1292.-

Figure 2. Expense budget

Installation and deinstallation of tribune and stage	160.-
Certificates of honor	13.-
Decorations	205.-
MC	15.-
Translating, typing	55.-
Presale of tickets. Programs and badges	440.-
Salaries for masterclasses (4 teachers a 30.-)	120.-

Figure 3. Budget of wages paid

The dates that the two financial documents of the YCP were issued (1 July) indicate that the budget was composed after the festival. This can be explained by the self-financing model, where expenses were covered by income received from ticket sales and the budget was composed as a sequel to the event. The cost of the tickets was 2.50 roubles, as the preserved original copies owned by Juris Akis, the Latvian organizer, show. The precise income from ticket sales is, however, impossible to determine since no documentary evidence has survived.

The other institution involved in the financial procedure was the VFU, although its function as an intermediary for cash payments was illegal. The arrangements with the VFU were indeed illegal, since my research in the archive turned up no documents indicating the VFU was involved in the financial affairs of the YCP. Some nuances in the financial procedures are exemplified by Arnold Grudin, a member of the *orgkomitee*, who had a colorful story to tell about engaging the VFU as the intermediary for cash payments. This is how Grudin replied to my question about financial matters:

This is a funny question. The tickets were very cheap. I don't even remember how much they cost. The financing [...] the money we managed to collect from ticket sales [...] we could not do any deals with it [...] we had to find some organizations that could make the cash payouts. This was the Volunteer Fire Union, who agreed to provide this service. They were experienced because they had done the same already during the previous festival in 1966. All the payments and cash flow took place through the Volunteer Fire Union. It was located near the central square [...] there at the back of the building there were metal stairs [...] the fire brigades used them. All the musicians knew those metal stairs very well; they climbed this ladder to the third floor. There sat a bookkeeper whose name was Sagar and who took care of financial affairs. So, the musicians did not receive any money for their performances. Only travel costs were covered. Also, we paid for the hotel using the money we got from ticket sales. But I remember that some musicians paid for their travel themselves. There was a singer Valentina Ponomaryova who came from Khabarovsk [...] but the ticket costs were not that high then.¹⁶

This somewhat unusual combination of the VFU and a jazz festival, where the former becomes a semi-legal broker to legalize the financial procedures of the latter is, however, a typical example of the maneuvering tactics widely practiced in Soviet society. How these kinds of tactics were part of everyday life for Soviet citizens can be seen in the humorous story related by former dance teacher Ants Tael and how he managed to obtain prizes of crystal dishware for the winners of his festival using the method he refers to as *sblikerdamine*.¹⁷

The city government had special financial resources for awarding hard-working laborers. Crystal dishware¹⁸ was commonly purchased as prizes. We did not have such valuable prizes for our festival [...] we had to use “mousetraps and flypapers.” But we managed to reallocate the money [...] Money was always there, but you needed to be clever enough to find it. And then “mousetraps and flypapers” were given to laborers and we gave crystal to our dancers. This *shlikerdamine* [...] it was awful [...] it was a natural part of life in the Soviet era. I thought that this is how life should be like this [...] I didn't know how it should be in reality. You always had to be clever enough to find the right button to press in order to find ways to obtain your goals.¹⁹

As the budgeting details demonstrated, no funds were allocated either for salaries for the organizers or for the musicians, indicating that the festival had no commercial profit-earning aims. However, as the great sums of money spent on travel, accommodation, and catering in the budget asserted, these expenses for the participants were subsidized by the organizers. Such a non-profit jazz festival format had its roots in the amateur status jazz had obtained on the amateur/professional scale.

The organizers

The record establishing the legal basis for the event also had an attachment confirming the 12 people forming the membership of the *orgkomitee* (see Figure 4).

Glancing over the list of members of the *orgkomitee* provides a glimpse inside the functioning of the Soviet cultural administration. Each member had different levels

of participation. Some are part of the Soviet administrative requirement that high Party officials be included, and their participation was only formal. These included the chief of the committee—the substitute of the chief of the CPD, Rein Ristlaan, who was not actively involved in the practical organizing procedures but who had final power of veto as the head of the committee. The other person representing the “facade of Party membership” was Allan Kullaste, second secretary of the Komsomol of the City Committee. Those who knew them recall that both “comrades” were tough-minded, committed, and principled Communists serving the interests of the Party and the Soviet state. Radio music broadcaster Arne Vahuri remembers Kullaste from the period when he became chief of Estonian Radio:

He gave me the impression [...] how to say it in a mild way [...] of not being a cultured person. He was a Russian philologist [...] and his knowledge was limited to that. Later, during the time of Estonian (re)independence, I met him on Tartu Road selling lottery tickets from a car. There was no Communist Party anymore and he had returned his “red card.”²⁰

Ristlaan's role was crucial in the incident involving the Charles Lloyd quartet.²¹ Lloyd, whose appearance was initially scheduled for the second day, was not, however, allowed on stage. The final permission for Lloyd to be able to perform was ultimately given the night before the last day of the festival. In Ojakäär's (2008: 364-365) memory the decision-making took place as follows:

I remember the night before the last festival day. The entire *orgkomitee* convened for a meeting after the concert to discuss the program details for the last day. The chief, Ristlaan, was

The Attachment to the decision of Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD from 20 January 1967.

The membership of the organizing committee of Tallinn 1967 jazz festival

Chief: R. Ristlaan—substitute for the chief of the Executive Committee of Tallinn CPD

Substitute for the chief: H. Schults—chief of the cultural department of the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD

U. Naissoo—head of jazz music commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR

Secretary: R. Tammik—member of the jazz music commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR

Members: E. Uibo—head of the sports and cultural committee of the Trade Unions of the ESSR

E. Loitme—inspector of the Cultural Government of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR

A. Kullaste—second secretary of ELKNÜ of the City Committee

V. Ojakäär—member of the Composers' Union of the ESSR

A. Vahuri—head of the board of Tallinn's jazz clubs

A. Grudin—member of the jazz music commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR

A. Kremer—chief of the Youth Cultural Palace of Tallinn

A. Mesikäpp—the artist of Political Education of ECP

Figure 4. Committee of organizers

nervous because the thunderbolts were erupting. Tensions were meant to hit him in the first place. All the attendees agreed that to exclude Lloyd from the program was unreasonable. The foreign media had already described the discrimination of blacks in the Soviet Union [...] Ristlaan went to call someone and got official-nonofficial permission: Lloyd could perform, but only for 20 minutes, and no demonstration could happen.

Following the festival, Ristlaan, as a faithful Party soldier, continued to climb the career ladder and reached his highest position in 1980 when appointed Ideology Secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. The ideological cleansing—censoring, stalking, persecution, and firings initiated by him—caused great damage to the Estonian cultural elite.²² His contemporaries recall him being a person who enjoyed firing somebody or banning something and who recognized screaming and insulting as the only modes of talking with his subordinates. He was characterized as extremely cautious and servile to higher Party executives as well as the kind of person who always managed to “wash his hands” of anything threatening his career. Most likely it was Ristlaan’s arrant cautiousness and careerism that became fatal to the course of the jazz festival. Vaado Sarapuu,²³ a voluntary member of the *orgkomitee*, related the episode when Ristlaan became aware of the arrival of high-level guests the day before the opening of the festival. “Suddenly, I saw Ristlaan’s face paling and his eyes filling with immense fear.” Sarapuu recalls, “this happened after he realized that the delegation from the American embassy, the group of six diplomats from MGIMO²⁴ and Kossygin’s²⁵ group had arrived.” According to Sarapuu, Ristlaan’s fear of making mistakes in front of these higher Party chiefs and his faithfulness to the Party led to several occasions where he exercised his power as head of the *orgkomitee* with his legal right to make unilateral decisions. For instance, Ristlaan supposedly considered the special catering for the Council of Ministers inappropriate, which the singer and active member of the jazz club Herbert Krutob had managed to deliver due to his position in the ministry. This special opportunity arranged for the participants of the festival at the official festival center at the YCP was, nevertheless, prohibited the day before its opening.²⁶ Sarapuu also mentions the problems with arranging the jam session first planned to happen in the YCP. The jam session, however, took place in another club away from the city center.²⁷

A similar view of Ristlaan’s decisive role in impeding the course of the event is expressed by Valter Ojakäär, who saw the fear and musical incompetence of the officialdom, especially of Ristlaan, as the reason for the interruption to the entire jazz festival tradition in Estonia.

Lloyd’s participation served a “death sentence” for the entire festival tradition in Estonia. The troubles caused by Lloyd’s visit were ridiculous and senseless, in fact. Officials were afraid of the smallest “cough,” they were afraid of what would happen when Americans come. The officials had no idea about the difference between jazz and rock. They thought jazz was music where the crowd gets wild and starts to break the chairs. But you cannot imagine more respectable audiences than the people at our jazz concerts. It was just the ignorance of the officials [...] they saw the devil where no devils existed. One person in particular among those impeding the festival was the head of the organizing committee Rein Ristlaan.²⁸

Further inspection of the official list of the *orgkomitee* shows that it includes a number of other non-active members besides the listed high Party officials. Some of them were engaged because of their professional position. The artist Arne Mesikäpp, for instance, designed the emblem for the festival, and the head of the sporting and cultural committee of the Trade Unions of the Estonian SSR, Enn Uibo, most probably was on the list because of the festival site—Kalev Sports Hall was owned by the institution of which he was director. Endel Loitme was included as a specialist from the Ministry of Culture. Arne Vahuri, as a music editor and broadcaster for Estonian Radio, was mentioned on the roster because of his position since Estonian Radio planned to record the entire festival. But as Vahuri claimed, he was not a member of the committee and only participated in one of their meetings.²⁹ Anatoly Kraemer, head of the YCP, was, however, definitely an active organizer. Unfortunately, the only evidence we have of his contribution is the budgeting documents he signed.

Among the creative members of the *orgkomitee* was pianist and composer Raivo Tammik—he was on the official list of organizers as secretary and member of the Jazz Music Commission of the Ministry of Culture of the Estonian SSR. There is not much information on how Tammik was involved as an organizer, but those who recalled him mentioned his excellent organizing skills combined with perfect communication manners. These qualities and his great English skills enabled him to serve as a guide for foreign guests and to appear as compere on stage. Schultz appreciated Tammik because he was a very helpful and a kind man running around from morning till night always asking “what else can I do?”³⁰ Vaado Sarapuu notes that Tammik was one of the main decision-makers and promoters besides him and technical manager Ojamaa.³¹ Taking advantage of his wide circle of acquaintances, he managed to find a new site for the festival’s jam session in the Sossi Club immediately after Ristlaan put a stop to it happening at the Youth Palace. His argument to the administration for booking the Sossi Club was the need for a rehearsal space before the next festival concert. Furthermore, Tammik had



Figure 5. Raivo Tammik Trio performing—Raivo Tammik piano, Tiit Paulus guitar, Jüri Pliznik bass (Tallinn Museum of Music and Theatre)

two performances at the festival: the first on the second day of the festival with singer Els Himma and the second with his trio.³²

Uno Naissoo and Valter Ojakäär were listed on the roster of organizers respectively as the head of the jazz music commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR and member of the Composers Union of the ESSR. The great role of those two in Estonian jazz culture is illustrated by the fact that no jazz-related events took place in Estonia without the participation of these two men, whose “relationship to jazz” can be expressed half-jokingly, since while Naissoo, with his extensive activities as organizer, educator, composer, and musician literally established Estonian jazz, Ojakäär was the one who historicized what Naissoo did by capturing it in his numerous publications and media appearances.

Ojakäär and Naissoo both contributed each in their own way to the opening ceremony of the festival. The entire festival was opened with the *Festival fanfare*³³ composed by Naissoo. As the preserved handwritten music sheet shows, the short piece consists of 12 bars arranged in four-part harmony. The harmonic sequence of this piece is unique since the modulation to the parallel of the dominant scale in the end and omitting the third in the last chord musically creates the effect of unexpectedness or openness. The Norwegian jazz critic Randy Hultin, however, expressed surprise at such an opening. The march-like fanfare sounded to her like the opening of a sports event rather than a music festival.³⁴

Ojakäär’s contribution to the opening ceremony was a formal speech including distinctive phrases of the Soviet era such as “Soviet jazz,” “peace,” and “friendship,” and the more topical 50th anniversary of the October Revolution to which all of the events in 1967 were dedicated.

Dear guests and participants of the festival Tallinn '67! This is the fourteenth time jazz lovers have gathered in Tallinn. The modest creative meetings of local groups have turned into events attracting not only the attention of Soviets, but also foreign jazz lovers. It is a great recognition of Soviet jazz music to have the opportunity to perform before such large audiences and to demonstrate its achievements in this popular genre. It is a great challenge for Soviet jazz to maintain its high standards and also a duty to continue the creative processes of developing the music. This festival, dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, is a major event involving participants from more than seventeen nations. May they enjoy the best memories of the hospitality of Tallinn and our wish to live in peace and friendship. Fulfilling a mission entrusted to me, allow me to declare the Tallinn '67 jazz festival open. I wish our honored listeners the best of musical experiences. Welcome!³⁵

Ojakäär was also involved in drafting the festival program.³⁶ In the introduction on the first page, we can again see the compulsory nods to “Soviet jazz,” but in addition, it emphasizes an important aspect of the festival, that it functions as a jazz forum connecting jazz musicians and fans

all over the Soviet Union. Ojakäär (2008: 363) mentions being actively involved with Swedish and Finnish musicians during the festival. Lloyd was unfortunately unapproachable because of the number of journalists and people from Moscow and Leningrad circling around him. As he said in a somewhat lackluster manner, “we did not have the drive with Naissoo to break this siege.”

Arnold Grudin³⁷ was listed on the roster as a member of the Jazz Music Commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR.³⁸ Due to his jazz interests, extensive contacts, language knowledge and energy, Grudin was a welcome addition in Estonian jazz circles, where he assisted in arranging festivals in Tallinn from 1965 to 1967. Grudin himself explained the reasons why he happened to be on the *orgkomitee*:

I was there because of my Leningrad contacts; I also had connections with jazz publications in Poland and Germany. I spoke and wrote German, Polish, Czech, and a little bit of English. Language knowledge was something you did not have in Estonia. It gave me the possibility to communicate with foreigners. A lot of our work was divided according to our knowledge of languages. Everybody had their own piece of the cake [...] mine was with German and Polish people. For instance, I invited the editor of the German journal *Melodie und Rhythmus* Heinz Peter Hoffmann. From Poland we had a representative from the European Jazz Federation, and Jan Byrczek, the main editor of the Polish jazz journal *Jazz Forum*.³⁹

Grudin's memories also included details about his duties in deciding the selection of groups in the preliminary rounds in Riga, Kuibushev, and Tula, and his responsibilities in communicating with around 150 journalists at the festival.

The festival was not organized only by those listed on the roster included on the basis of top-down initiatives; numerous volunteers joined the team based on bottom-up initiatives. As Ojakäär claimed in his radio broadcast, “Schultz managed to engage about a hundred jazz enthusiasts—volunteers who met guests, conveyed them to the hotel, took care of their dinners, and so forth. It was a miracle how great the enthusiasm was for jazz; it was fabulous at this time.”⁴⁰ Among the enthusiasts was, for instance, Reet Linna,⁴¹ invited by her friends—musicians with whom she used to perform. She provided help everywhere. As she said, “I sold tickets and helped the audience find their seats. I bustled behind the scenes and kept my eye on the bands so that they appeared on stage on time.”⁴²

One of the volunteers widely engaged in Tallinn '67 was Vaado Sarapuu.⁴³ His activities included, for instance, accommodating the many participants, for which he found a clever solution. According to Sarapuu, “Suddenly masses of people started to arrive ‘at doors and windows.’ Where could we accommodate them? We didn't have many hotels in Tallinn. And then we were lucky enough to make a deal

with the railway station to use carriages as accommodation. We heated them up. Many Soviet stars stayed there.”⁴⁴ Indeed, in the late 1960s in the relatively underdeveloped tourism conditions, Tallinn had only four hotels available to accommodate tourists.⁴⁵

In addition to the local Estonian *orgkomitee* and volunteers, jazz enthusiasts from all over the Soviet Union were actively involved, of which the most important were Vadim Yurchekov and Aleksei Batashev. To introduce Aleksei Batashev, Arnold Grudin, stated that, “Batashev was everywhere; where jazz could be heard there was always Batashev.”⁴⁶ Indeed, since the mid-1950s, Batashev had literally been everywhere jazz was being played in the Soviet Union. Among his wide range of activities was promoting jazz in all the media channels in a diverse range of oral and written formats in the Soviet Union and Russia and introducing the music abroad.⁴⁷ His role in Soviet jazz can be compared, for instance, to Ira Gitler and Leonard Feather in the American context. At Tallinn '67, Batashev was involved in inviting Willis Conover and Charles Lloyd to Tallinn. Vadim Yurchekov,⁴⁸ a Leningrader who, because of his English skills was active in negotiating with foreign participants, was also an important figure.

Heinrich Schultz

According to Valter Ojakäär, the courage and willingness of Heinrich Schultz to take risks played a crucial role in the success of the festival:

While Naissoo was responsible for the creative side and the content of the festival, Schultz became the main organizer in the 1960s who took care of the documentation and correspondence. What we and Uno [Naissoo] wondered about Schultz was his courage. He was audacious considering the stagnation of the times—he signed documents which no other person dared to sign. Behind his back, our “jazz boat” passed through the breakers [...] this had not been possible in other cities. And where musicians started to call Tallinn the jazz capital, this was thanks to Uno Naissoo and Schultz who created the image of Tallinn's jazz festivals.⁴⁹

As a representative of the Party and someone involved in the regulative formalities of the organizing process, Schultz served as a connecting link between the state regulations and the artistic goals of the festival. For the sake of the success of the festival, he abstained from the over punctilious implementation of preordained formalities and demonstrated a brave sense of initiative, which he was not afraid to do because of his spotless personal record. His courage, however, became his undoing—it led him to being fired, although according to the Soviet system, the Communist Party never “fired” any of its members, but

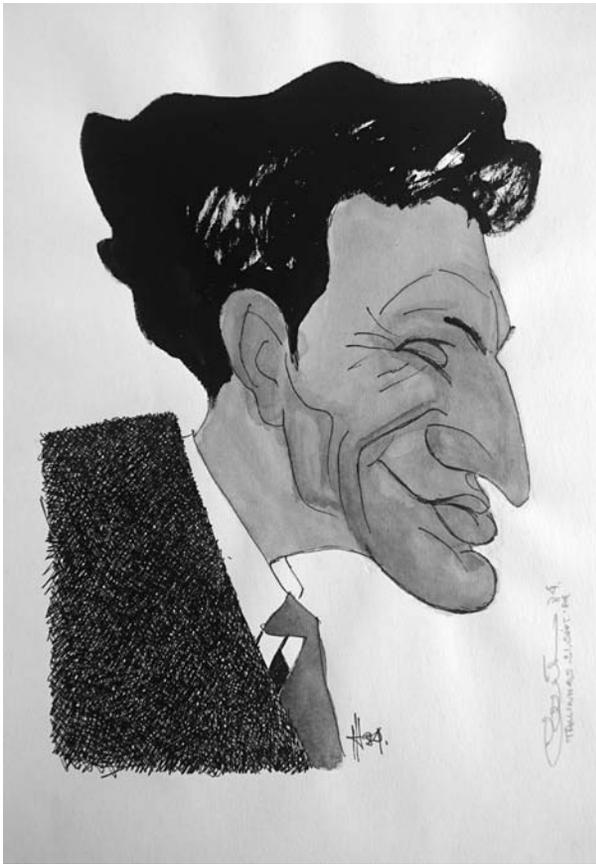


Figure 6. Caricature of Heinrich Schultz by Hugo Hiibus (Personal collection of Uno Schultz)

their “soldiers” were “transferred to another position.” He was scapegoated because he signed the official endorsement inviting the Charles Lloyd group to the Soviet Union.⁵⁰ The group finally arrived in the USSR outside the official channels of Soviet-American cultural exchange accompanied by extensive media noise, which deviated from accepted Soviet norms. The first letter Schultz sent to the Americans simply confirmed the availability of board, accommodation, and a concert and clearly declared that the festival had no international status and, as such, official invitations to foreigners were not possible. This endorsement was, however, interpreted by both Avakian, the manager bringing Lloyd to Tallinn, and Soviet officials, respectively in their own interests. For Avakian, the letter was as an official invitation authorizing his visit, while for Soviet officials it became their pretext for firing Schultz for exceeding the limits of his authority. His guilt increased when he sent the cablegram⁵¹ welcoming the group as tourists, which became the final trigger for the Americans to make the visit, following a phone call prohibiting the planned departure of the Americans just a few days before. Finally, Schultz signed the permission document for the Americans to go on stage in Tallinn on the last day of the festival after an initial prohibition against them performing on the second

day.⁵² Therefore, those three endorsements gave the Party the excuse to incriminate Schultz in a triple “crime.”

After the festival, Heinrich Schultz was invited to the Central Committee and blamed for going beyond the mandate of his position. This is how Schultz himself recalls the dialogue with high Party officials regarding the infringement of his position:

The hall of the Central Bureau was full of people. When I entered the room, Comrade Käbin asked me, “You, Schultz, are you the foreign minister?” “No, I am not the foreign minister.” “Why did you think you had the right to invite a musical collective from America?” After that, they did not say anything, but after two or three days, I was asked to come back. And the first thing Comrade Undusk said was, “You know, Schultz, we cannot hire you as a cultural worker any more after such a provocation.” And that was the end of it. I was appointed after a while as the director of the Tallinn Laundry Factory.⁵³

Schultz’s case is an excellent example of the widespread Soviet practice that involved seeking out culprits and carrying out a sentence as a way for the higher levels of officialdom to express their discontent in instances considered intolerable for the ideologically orientated leadership. The formal trajectory of Schultz’s punishment is witnessed by two official documents issued respectively on 27 May and 20 July, illustrating the Soviet convention of “redirecting” party members from one position to another. The first ordinance describes the appointment of cultural functionary, Comrade Luule Mikk, to the position of acting head of the cultural department of the CPD of Tallinn City in relation to the illness of Comrade Heinrich Schultz starting 27 May 1967 with compensation for the difference in salary.⁵⁴ The other decree appoints Comrade Luule Mikk as head of the cultural department of the CPD of Tallinn City and displaces comrade Heinrich Schultz from his position as head of the cultural department of the CPD and transfers him to another position.⁵⁵ The next document indicates that Schultz was hired as a deputy by the Committee for the Use of Labor Resources.⁵⁶ That those official documents were fabricated and how the incident at the festival ruined Heinrich Schultz’s entire life is explained by his son, Uno Schultz:

Those documents were fabricated of course. In reality, my father was just brutally fired. His dismissal from office happened after the jazz festival, when there was a financial audit sent to the cultural department, and from this they found a pretext for firing him. The audit did not find anything [...] but he was fired anyway. Three days after being laid off, my father’s personal record at Hospital No. 4⁵⁷ disappeared. All department chairs and national artists were allowed to go there. It was for the elite [...] The firing was a huge disappointment for my father. Musicians who always said hello to him did not do so anymore [...] Because of this accident he was disappointed in life...⁵⁸

Conclusions

The discussions demonstrated how a jazz festival as a cultural event was molded into the system of the Soviet cultural administration. In the case of Tallinn '67, the *krycha*—the institution responsible for organizing the event, was the Cultural Department of Tallinn City government led by Heinrich Schultz. The initiation of the festival at the official level incorporated a high level of formal planning, documentation, decision-making, and assembly of executive personnel. We saw on the official record examples of ideology-driven Soviet discursive and performative strategies, such as the application of specific verbal expressions emphasizing the Sovietness of the repertoire or promoting a socialist competition and the system of awards. Like jazz in general in the Soviet Union, the festivals followed the amateur cultural model. As Grudin acknowledged:

In general, jazz festivals in the Soviet Union were amateur in character. The festivals were considered amateur events and not professional. It was like amateur societies or unions where people decided to come together and demonstrate their skills to each other.⁵⁹

The important factor officially defining the nature of the event was it being part of the Soviet *kulturnomassovaya rabota*—literally, mass cultural work, the aim of which was to take care of cultural education for Soviet citizens. The term cultural education or cultural enlightenment, as is sometimes preferred, was an area of Soviet ideological work involving the need to equalize access to culture, the expectations of which were to change human behavior, resting on the belief that the Party must control the culture provided and created (White 1990: 1). In the official discourse, cultural enlightenment referred to a wide variety of state-organized cultural leisure activities for the masses. The activities usually took place in collective settings and included the celebration of public holidays, enlightenment-education events, and amateur artistic activities including music, theater, dance, and similar fields (Tsipursky 2016). According to the official definitions, Tallinn '67 was therefore an amateur event as part of the cultural enlightenment program provided by the state. It engaged those who enlightened themselves through amateur musical activities and those who became enlightened by the reception of art—on the one hand, the amateur jazz groups holding competitions and demonstrating their skill in front of audiences and, on the other, the audience that came to listen to the music at the festival.

The fact that the event was officially part of amateur artistic activities dictated the type of regulative and executive procedures applied to the festival. According to that model, the organizers were responsible for the reception

of the performers and compensating them for their living and travelling expenses. In addition, neither the organizers who did the job as part of their employment or as volunteers nor the creative personnel received any financial reward. The concerts at the festival were held in a revue-like format, where each group had the chance to present three or four pieces within a 20-minute period. This was driven by the festival as a competition, within which the maximum number of participants had to be included over the four festival days and where the jury decided over the level of the performances and the best ones selected were awarded with titles as laureates.

According to the model of a self-financing festival, no direct state financing was received. The event employed ticket sales to generate income to cover the expenses associated with receiving the participants. Since the festival generated its own income in this way from the event itself, the budget was prepared retrospectively. In addition, financial transactions were conducted illegally through the VFU.

Despite the fact that the festival was subjected to Soviet state regulative acts with a top-down framework, the decisive role in the implementation of the festival was delivered by human agency—the people who gathered around the official executive unit, the *orgkomitee*, and those who were active as volunteers. Interestingly, the personnel of the *orgkomitee* represented a cross-section of the mentalities of Soviet individuals. The *orgkomitee* members Allan Kullaste and Rein Ristlaan were, for instance, Soviet-minded high-level Communists, “reds” as they were called in colloquial language. Ristlaan, with his power of veto, impeded the organizing procedures, but the instigator directing this power and the executives enforcing the bans were not so much an expression of a lack of tolerance towards jazz, as the popular narratives of opposition between jazz and power tend to claim, but rather of the fear of disorder. Heinrich Schultz and Anatoly Kraemer, in turn, were part of the cluster of Soviet mid- and high-level *apparachiki* whose actions were of crucial significance in the entire cultural field during the Soviet era. The commitment, courage, and maneuvering skills of those individuals enabled them to operate as intermediaries between often divergent goals and modes of functioning between the state and cultural entities. Naissoo and Ojakäär were creative individuals whose mentality was not exactly located on a Soviet-minded/not Soviet-minded axis; rather, the right term to describe their mentality was jazz-minded. The volunteers formed a group of a wide variety of individuals—students, musicians, and jazz fans. Voluntary work, in fact, was not just interest based but another feature that cultural enlightenment was supposed to include. Unpaid activism was expected to be part of both creative and administrative activities (White 1990: 26). Finally, I will quote the volunteer organizer

Vaado Sarapuu, who said he was living “in socialism like in capitalism and in capitalism like in socialism.” This expression refutes the myth of the unobtainability of a freedom of action and wealth in Soviet society and unlimited freedom and prosperity under capitalism.

As post-festival reviews indicate, the festival itself was a great success. Norwegian jazz journalist Randy Hultin, for instance, declared that she had never experienced such warm and real enthusiasm for a jazz festival as she had in Tallinn.⁶⁰ Polish jazz writer Józef Balcerak compared Tallinn '67 with other jazz festivals and suggested that the event itself was not so different from the spectacles in Warsaw and other “festival capitals”: the stage was decorated with flags of the countries represented, metal badges were provided to participants, there were printed programs and newsletters, and TV cameras were set up and a press office installed.⁶¹

This example of the Tallinn '67 jazz festival asserts that although top-down regulations were a firm part of Soviet cultural administration, the individuals acting within this framework played a crucial role in shaping the cultural activities. The model tends to show the division between three types of organizers—high Party officialdom responsible for the ideological correctness and security of the event, mid-level *apparachiki* acting as mediators between state and culture, and finally, the insiders whose enthusiasm was directed by a desire for self-actualization through cultural participation. An especially important role in conducting the administrative procedures in the Soviet era was played by the local mediators and lower-level executives whose interests and courage, rather than frequently contradictory higher Party-line attitudes, was decisive in shaping the success of a festival in the context of an ideologically sensitive phenomenon such as jazz.

Endnotes

- 1 Among the stateowned jazz collectives in the 1960s were Oleg Lundstrem's orchestra (1956), Leningrad Dixieland (1964).
- 2 Author's interview with Cyril Moshkow 21.11.2017.
- 3 The file Decisions and Ordinances of Executive Committee of Deputies of the Working People of Tallinn City of the Estonian SSR regarding questions on the Cultural department for 1967. R-1 427. Tallinn City Archive.
- 4 The term *orgkomitee*, the Estonian abbreviation of organizing committee, will be used from this point onwards.
- 5 Professional functionary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
- 6 Author's interview with Cyril Moshkow 21.11.2017.
- 7 Author's interview with Ants Tael. 14.03.2018.
- 8 “The hero of socialist labor” was a specific title of honor awarded to most outstanding laborers—the winners of socialist contests
- 9 For the role of awarding of Stalin's Music Prize in Soviet musical culture, see Frolova-Walker Marina, *Stalin's Music*

Prize: Soviet Culture and Politics. London: Yale University Press, 2016.

- 10 Author's interview with Boris Frumkin, 01.04.2017.
- 11 Budget for employees and administrative-economic expenses of the J. Kreuksi Cultural Palace 1967. Tallinn City archive, R10-450, p.25.
- 12 Ibid p. 21
- 13 Ibid. p. 30
- 14 Ibid. pp. 5, 19, 34.
- 15 The data originates from Suitsu, Maire 2017. *Eks elati ju ennegi. Sotsialismiaja söögimälestusi*. Tallinn: Hea Lugu. The Moskvitch car can be compared to something like a middle-class car in the contemporary sense.
- 16 Author's interview with Arnold Grudin. 08.04.2017.
- 17 An Estonian word that means using deceit to obtain something or shirking from something.
- 18 In the Soviet era, crystal dishware was a symbol of social status, where possessing it denoted a certain level of wealth.
- 19 Author's interview with Ants Tael. 14.03.2018.
- 20 Author's interview with Arne Vahuri. 05.03.2017.
- 21 Although this act was mentioned by several interviewees, Ristlaan's partial punishment, however, has no formal proof behind it, since no records of this act were found among the archival documents. But he may have received an oral rebuke, which was another officially accepted form of partial punishment.
- 22 Those recollections are based on Rein Ruutsoo: Rein Ristlaan ja tema aeg <http://www.delfi.ee/archive/rein-ruutsoo-rein-ristlaan-ja-tema-aeg?id=17898516>. The same type of memories has also Vello Pohla. Author's interview with Vello Pohla. 12.12.2018.
- 23 Author's Skype interview with Vaado Sarapuu 03.03.2018.
- 24 An abbreviation of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (*МГИМО—Московский государственный институт международных отношений*)
- 25 Kossygin (1964-1980) was a Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, whose reforms and more open stance on solving the Prague Spring (1968) made Kossygin one of the most liberal members of top leadership. He was known for being interested in jazz. The latter fact is, however, disproved by Vladimir Feiertag, who says that it was not possible for such a high-level politician to have a non-Soviet hobby. Feiertag also disagrees with the story that the son of another political leader, Kromyko, asked his father to invite Lloyd to Tallinn. He supposedly knew that his father could help Lloyd with a visa. Source: Kto v SSSR krysheval dzhaz? <https://specialradio.ru/10/dzhazovye-zamerki-chast-2-kto-v-sssr-krysheval-dzhaz-o-sergee-kuryoxine-sovremennye-geroi-dzhaza/>
- 26 To have catering from the Council of Ministers was a special opportunity in the conditions of the Soviet shortage of food. The privilege for better catering was available for the Party elite. In the current context, it meant the availability of a better selection of food and delicacies.
- 27 Author's Skype interview with Vaado Sarapuu 03.03.2018.
- 28 Muusikaline tund, Meenutusi 1966. ja 1967. a džässifestivalidel. 11.09-1990. ERR archive. <http://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/muusikaline-tund-muusikaline-tund-meenutusi-1966-ja-1967-a-dzassifestivalidel>
- 29 Author's interview with Arne Vahuri, 05.03.2017.
- 30 Radio program Muusikaline tund: Meenutusi 1966. ja 1967. a džässifestivalidel, 11.09.1990. ERR archive: <https://arhiiv>.

err.ee/vaata/muusikaline-tund-muusikaline-tund-meenutusi-1966-ja-1967-a-dzassifestivalidel.

³¹ Author's Skype interview with Vaado sarapuu 26.02.2018.

³² Pamjatka utchastnika festivalja. Estonian National Library. Collection of Yurchenkov.

³³ Preserved in Estonian Museum of Theatre and Music ETMM 9949 M 203:2/483

³⁴ Hultin, Randy. Soviet har sin egen Coltraine of Peterson. *Dagbladet*, 23.05.1967.

³⁵ Leningrad Television documentary *Tri intervyyu vzyatoye v Talline*. Copy in author's personal ownership.

³⁶ The program's print number was 3,000, which was extensive.

³⁷ Originally from Ukraine, Grudin settled in Estonia after graduating from the Machine-Building Technical School in Leningrad and, according to his post-graduation contract, worked in Tallinn's Estoplast factory for four years (1964–1967). According to Soviet-era rules, every person finishing some professional educational establishment was ensured a job and had to sign an official contract about direction to work in a profession-related position. The compulsory period of work based on the post-graduation contract was three years.

³⁸ This rather formal organization along with Naissoo, Ojakäär, Schultz, and a number of bureaucrats was invited in connection with festival organizing; therefore, its purpose was primarily the legalisation of jazz before the government authorities.

³⁹ Author's Skype interview with Arnold Grudin. 3.11.2018.

⁴⁰ Radio program Muusikaline tund: Meenutusi 1966. ja 1967. a džässifestivalidel, 11.09.1990. ERR archive: <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/muusikaline-tund-muusikaline-tund-meenutusi-1966-ja-1967-a-dzassifestivalidel>

⁴¹ Reet Linna is a former pop music singer and currently a famous Estonian TV broadcaster.

⁴² Author's interview with Reet Linna. 2.11.2016

⁴³ Now living in Canada. The scope of his activities was comprehensive: during his career, he was engaged in playing saxophone and clarinet professionally, directing films, and later in Canada establishing the popular internet site Estonian Word Review in 2012. Nevertheless, Sarapuu's skills seemed to be fully revealed through organizing activities.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ On tourism in the Soviet Union, see: Koenker, Diane P. 2013. *Club Red: Vacation Travel and the Soviet Dream*. Cornell University Press

⁴⁶ "Batashev byval vsjudu, tam gde zvuchal dzhaz tam vsjudu byl Batashev."

⁴⁷ See the introduction to Batashev on the jazz.ru webpage: <http://www.jazz.ru/eng/pages/batashev/>

^a Unfortunately, Batashev was the only person on the list of my prospective interviewees who declined to be interviewed.

⁴⁸ His contributions to Soviet jazz history include being involved in the opening of the first Soviet jazz club in Leningrad A-58 in 1958, and initiating Leningrad Dixieland in 1960. His English skills enabled Yurchenkov to be a correspondent for *Jazz Forum* and *Billboard*.

⁴⁹ Radio program Muusikaline tund: Meenutusi 1966. ja 1967. a džässifestivalidel, 11.09.1990. ERR archive: <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/muusikaline-tund-muusikaline-tund-meenutusi-1966-ja-1967-a-dzassifestivalidel>

⁵⁰ New York Public Library. George and Anahid Avakian Collection. 81.51. Schultz's invitation. 31.03.1967.

⁵¹ Ibid. 81.51. Cablegram of Schultz to Avakian, Received 10:40 am, 30.04.1967.

⁵² Uncatalogued Document is preserved in Museum of Music and Theatre.

⁵³ Eesti Kroonika, temaatiline nr. 21, 1990. Džässi ja bluusi päevad Tallinnas. Personal ownership of Uno Schultz.

⁵⁴ Decisions and Ordinances of the Executive Committee of the Deputies of the Working People (DWP) of Tallinn City of the Estonian SSR regarding the Cultural department in 1967. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv R-1 427 p 39.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p 43.

⁵⁶ Heinrich Schultz personal files. Estonian National Archive. R-2298, 2-k. 154.

⁵⁷ The Fourth Hospital was a healthcare center for cultural and Party elite in Soviet Estonia.

⁵⁸ Author's interview with Uno Schultz. 17.04.2018.

⁵⁹ Author's Skype interview with Arnold Grudin. 08.04.2017.

⁶⁰ *Dagbladet*: Sovjetisk jazz-festival I gang, 12.05.1967

⁶¹ Balcerak, Józef. Tallin jazz festival po raz czternastp — dla nas po raz pierwszy. *Jazz*, 1967(7).

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Santrauka

Straipsnyje Talino 1967 m. džiazio festivalio pavyzdžiui tiriama sovietinė kultūros administravimo praktika. Festivalio organizavimas oficialiuoju lygmeniu reiškė aukšto lygio formalų planavimą, procesų dokumentavimą, sprendimų priėmimą ir vykdomojo personalo sutelkimą. Apskritai džiazio festivaliai Sovietų Sąjungoje buvo organizuojami pagal mėgėjiškos kultūros modelį. Organizatoriai buvo atsakingi už atlikėjų priėmimą, jų apgyvendinimo ir kelionės išlaidų kompensavimą. Nei organizatoriai, kuriems

ši veikla buvo jų oficialiųjų pareigų dalis, nei savanoriai, nei kūrybiniai darbuotojai negaudavo jokio finansinio atlygio. Festivalis kaip konkurso modelis buvo perimtas iš bendrosios sovietinės praktikos: muzikos festivaliai buvo organizuojami kaip konkursai su žiuri ir nugalėtojų – laureatų – apdovanojimais. Pagal šį modelį tiesioginis valstybės finansavimas nebuvo skiriamas, tačiau į renginius būdavo parduodami bilietai, o gautos pajamos padengdavo dalyvių priėmimo išlaidas.

Šis Talino 1967 m. džiazo festivalio pavyzdys parodė, kad nors „iš viršaus nuleidžiami“ nurodymai buvo stabili sovietinės kultūros administravimo dalis, žmonės, veikę šiame kontekste, vaidino lemiamą vaidmenį kultūrinės

veiklos formavimo procese. Modelis atskleidžia tris organizatorių tipus: aukšti partiniai pareigūnai, atsakingi už renginio ideologinį grynumą ir saugumą; aparato darbuotojai, veikę kaip vidurinė grandis – tarpininkai tarp valstybės ir kultūros; ir galiausiai „savieji“, kurių entuziazmą kurstė troškimas realizuoti per dalyvavimą kultūroje. Ypač svarbų vaidmenį, reguliuojant administracines procedūras, sovietmečiu vaidino vietiniai tarpininkai ir žemesniosios grandies vadovai, kurių interesai ir drąsa, o ne dažnai priešingo pobūdžio aukštesnieji partiniai požiūriai, lemdavo festivalių sėkmę tokio ideologiškai jautraus reiškinio kaip džiazas kontekste.

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Jūratė KATINAITĖ

Operos solistas epochų sandūroje

The Opera Singer at the Crossroad of Epochs

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Anotacija

Operos menas istoriškai buvo puoselėjamas aukštuomenės ir valdovų. Nepaisant savo aristokratiškos prigimties, opera nebuvo atmesta ar uždrausta sovietmečiu kaip „buržuazinė atgyvena“. Priešingai, operos žanras išlaikė išskirtinę vietą sovietinėje menų hierarchijoje. Atitinkamai operos solistas buvo prestižinė profesija. Tie, kurie pasiekdavo karjeros aukštumų, įgydavo privilegijų, apdovanojimų ir teisę reprezentuoti sovietinį meną užsienyje. Ši galimybė buvo sunkiau pasiekama kitų sričių menininkams. 1990 m. Lietuvai paskelbus nepriklausomybę nuo Sovietų Sąjungos situacija dramatiškai pasikeitė. Kaip ir visos kultūros bei meno institucijos, Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras prarado finansinį stabilumą. Operos solistai iš ankstesnės prestižinės socialinės pozicijos atsidūrė tarp pažeidžiamiausių visuomenės sluoksnių. Kita vertus, teatre, kaip ir kitose institucijose, kilo apšalyimo nuo sovietinės nomenklatūros idėja. Straipsnyje, be šios problemos, taip pat nagrinėjami operos solisto statuso pokyčiai, pasitelkiant prancūzų sociologo Pierre'o Bourdieu *kultūrinio kapitalo* ir *simbolinio kapitalo* kategorijas iš jo kultūros lauko teorijos, pagal kurią meninė veikla analizuojama socialiniuose kūrybos, sklaidos ir vartojimo kontekstuose.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: operos solisto statusas, sovietmečio pabaiga, iliustracija, operos teatro valdysena, demokratėjimo procesas, artistinės karjeros pokyčiai nepriklausomybės pradžioje.

Abstract

Throughout the course of history, opera was always an art of the privileged, supported and cherished by the authorities and nobility. Despite its genuine bourgeois nature, in the Soviet era, opera did not decline. On the contrary, opera maintained its exclusive position in the Soviet hierarchy of arts. Consequently, opera singer was a privileged profession. Those who reached career heights gained benefits, won awards, and had the right to represent Soviet art abroad. The latter was rather difficult to achieve for other kinds of artists. In 1990, when Lithuania declared independence from the USSR, the situation changed dramatically. Like all state art and cultural institutions, the Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre (LNOBT), the most prestigious place of employment for singers, fell into financial instability. Opera singers, who formerly enjoyed a prestigious social position, found themselves among the most vulnerable members of society. Otherwise, at the LNOBT as in other areas of society, the idea of lustration emerged as a way to eliminate former figures of Soviet authority from the opera theater's ranks. In this paper, the change in the status of opera singers will be examined by employing the categories of *culture capital* and *symbolic capital* offered by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in his theory of a cultural field that situates artistic activities within the social conditions of their production, circulation, and consumption.

Keywords: status of opera singers, the end of the Soviet era, lustration, management of opera theater, process of democratization, changes in artistic careers at the early stages of independence.

Įvadas

Prabėgus trims dešimtmečiams po nepriklausomybės atkūrimo turime galimybę kiek iš didesnės laiko perspektyvos pažvelgti į 1990-ųjų virsmą. Gana greitas ir taikus perėjimas iš totalitarinės į demokratinę sistemą atrodė sėkmingas. Nepaisant emocinio pakilimo, 1990 metų kovo 11-oji buvo įprastas sekmadienis, dauguma žmonių stebėjo pirmąsį demokratiniuose rinkimuose išrinktų Lietuvos TSR Aukščiausiosios Tarybos deputatų darbą iš televizijos ekranų. Dauguma žiūrovų negalėjo net įsivaizduoti, kad tos pačios dienos vakarą bus paskelbta nepriklausomybė. Dar labiau negalėjo įsivaizduoti, kas laukia netolimoje ateityje. Netrukus prasidėjo Sovietų Sąjungos paskelbta Lietuvai ekonominė blokada, Sausio

13-osios įvykiai, Medininkų žudynės, ekonomikos krizė, politinis susipriešinimas ir kt.

Kaip Lietuvos valdžios institucijos perėjo šį etapą, kaip vyko desovietizacijos, iliustracijos procesai, istorikų jau nemažai tyrinėta. Minėtini Arvydo Anušausko, Juozapo Romualdo Bagušausko, Arūno Streikaus, Aurimo Švedo ir kiti darbai. Kultūros institucijų demokratėjimo procesai mažiau žvalgyti. Priešingai nei gamyklos ar kolūkiai, kultūros institucijų tinklas beveik nepakitęs perėjo į naują epochą. Viena vertus, tai apsaugojo daugumą sektoriuje dirbančių žmonių ir garantavo jiems minimalų pragyvenimą, kita vertus, daug kur ilgai išsilaikė sovietmečio valdymo metodai, hierarchijos, net personalijų kultai, ritualai, stigo idėjų dinamikos, atvirumo ir, žinoma, reformų. Kaip pastebi filosofė Nerija Putinaitė, ankstyvuojau nepriklausomybės

etapu „didelis dėmesys buvo skiriamas valdžios institucijų ir funkcijų reorganizacijai, o į kultūros sektorių žiūrėta pro pirštus. Iš esmės išliko visa plačiai suprantamos kultūros organizacinė struktūra: ansambliai, Dainų švenčių ir masinės saviveiklos organizacinis centras Vilniuje ir jo padaliniai rajonuose, etatai už organizavimą atsakingiems žmonėms ir panašiai“ (Katinaitė 2019).

Iš esmės kultūros sektorius lig šiol nėra reorganizuotas, kai kuriose biudžetinėse institucijose liko neefektyvios sovietinio tipo struktūros. Iš to kyla priešprieša su nevyriausybinėmis organizacijomis, kurios, turėdamos negausius išteklius, efektyviai plėtoja veiklą ir kuria dažnu atveju patrauklesnius kultūros produktus.

Vienas pirmųjų bandymų įvertinti politinių sistemų virsmo situaciją kultūros srityje buvo 2010 m. muzikologės Rūtos Stanevičiūtės surengtas tarpdalykinis seminaras „1990-ieji: paralelinės tikrovės / subjektyvūs pasakojimai“¹. Seminaro dalyviai – politinio perversmo laiko meno lauko praktikai ir kritikai – bene pirmąsyk bandė ne tik perteikti autentišką patirtį, bet ir įvertinti 1990-ųjų procesus – institucinius lūžius, naujų meno teritorijų žymėjimą, atsivėrusias galimybes įveiksminti tiesą ir tikrovę.

Tarp reikšmingiausių lūžio laikotarpio studijų – dailėtyrininkės Skaidros Trilupaitytės monografija „Lietuvos dailės gyvenimas ir institucijų kaita. Sovietmečio pabaiga–nepriklausomybės pradžia“ (Trilupaitytė 2017), ne tik konceptualiai rekonstruojanti dailės lauko procesus, bet ir analizuojanti bendresnę Lietuvos kultūros gyvenimo transformaciją. Lig šiol tai ryškiausias aptariamojo laikotarpio kultūros institucijų virsmo tyrimas tiek duomenų surinkimo / atrankos, tiek metodologinės analizės požiūriu, savotiškai nubrėžiantis gaires kitų meno sričių institucinei laikotarpio analizei ir tarpdalykiniams tyrimams.

Šiame darbe tiriami Lietuvos nacionalinio operos ir baleto teatro (LNOBT), sovietmečiu vadinto Valstybinio akademinio operos ir baleto teatru (VAOBT), lūžio procesai ir padariniai. Tyrimas plėtojamas dviem kryptimis:

1. Aptariamoju laikotarpiu ypač svarbi visuomenėje buvo apsisvalymo idėja, kuri neaplenkė ir VAOBT. Didžioji dalis personalo (ir kūrybinio, ir techninio, ir administracinio) siekė atmesti sovietmečiu įsigalėjusį komandinį valdymo stilių, kurį siejo su teatro vadovo Virgilijaus Noreikos personalija. Dėl to kilusi įtampa neapsiribojo teatro lauku, į procesą teko įsitraukti valdžios struktūroms – Lietuvos komunistų partijos Centro komiteto (LKP CK) ir Kultūros ministerijos atstovams. Paskelbus nepriklausomybę, LKP CK faktorius tapo nebeveiksnius, teatro virsmo drama plėtojosi tarp dviejų institucijų – paties teatro ir atkurtos Lietuvos Respublikos kultūros ir švietimo ministerijos (LRKŠM).

2. Sovietmečiu operos solistai, dainavę didžiausioje Lietuvos scenoje, turėjo geresnes socialines ir finansines sąlygas nei daugelio kitų sričių meno atstovai. Tam tikra prasme jie buvo privilegijuota menininkų kategorija. Juos populiarino radijas, televizija, tuometinė Valstybinė filharmonija (VF, dabar – Nacionalinė filharmonija), organizuodavusi koncertus. Operos solistai, neturėję „nuodėmių“ sistemai, galėjo patekti į sovietinės koncertinės agentūros „Goskoncert“ organizuojamas gastroles užsienyje. Kaip pasikeitė solistų socialinis, kultūrinis statusas atkūrus nepriklausomybę? Kaip jie prisitaikė naujomis sąlygomis?

Sovietmečio ir pokyčių laiko tyrimams Lietuvoje dažnai taikomi Pierre'o Bourdieu kultūros lauko teorijos konceptai, kuriais remiamasi ir šiame darbe. Svarbiausios Bourdieu metodologinės sąvokos – *laukas* (socialinių, kultūrinių ir kitokių ryšių tinklas, kuriame veikia tam tikra logika), *agentai*, arba *dalyviai*² (individai, grupės arba institucijos veikiančios ir besivaržančios lauke), kurie turi savo *habitus* – įvaldytą ir suvoktą (įsivertintą) elgsenos, laikysenos, įpročių ir įgūdžių sistemą. *Agentų* veiklai (*žaidimui*) didelę reikšmę turi jų *kultūrinis kapitalas* – įteisintos žinios, įgūdžiai, išsilavinimas, tam tikrų kultūrinių kodų perpratimas. Kapitalas, priklausomai nuo lauko ypatumų, gali būti trejopo pobūdžio – *ekonominis*, *socialinis* ir *simbolinis* (prestižas, autoritetas). Kiekvienas laukas turi savo *doxa* (laikyseną, vertybes) ir *illusio* (tikėjimą žaidimo prasingumu).³ Šiame tyrime taip pat remiamasi Bourdieu metodologija, ypač analizuojant operos solistų karjeros problematiką lūžio laikotarpiu.

Didžiausia problema vertinant aptariamą laikotarpį yra tai, kad nepakanka šaltinių. Sklaidant vėlyvojo sovietmečio ir ypač nepriklausomybės pradžios institucijų archyvus krinta į akis jų fragmentiškumas, kai kurie tarpinstituciniai susirašinėjimai išsaugoti išsamūs, kai kurie tik iš dalies, apie trūkstamas jų dalis galima nujausti iš likusių dalių. Daug informatyvių dokumentų (skundų, prašymų, kreipimusių ir pan.) nebėra, nes jų saugojimo laikas pasibaigęs.⁴ Informacinėms elipsėms užpildyti naudojamosi publikuota ir prieinama nepublikuota egodokumentika – atsiminimais, laiškais, dienoraščiais, interviu.

Kitas šaltinių segmentas savo pobūdžiu artimas sakytinės istorijos žanrui. Tai – pokalbiai su tiriamo laikotarpio liudininkais. Sakytinės istorijos metodologijos taikymo sovietmečio ir posovietmečio tyrimams problematiką tyrinėjo Švedas, Ainė Ramonaitė ir kiti istorikai. Vilniaus universiteto grupinio tyrimo „Sakytinė istorija kaip sovietmečio tyrimo metodas autorės“⁵ išskiria 3 problemas, susijusias su sakytinės istorijos metodologijos problematika:

1. *Reprezentatyvumas*. Iš konkretaus žmogaus pasakojimo daromos išvados apie didesnę žmonių grupę, todėl atranka turi būti tiksli.
2. *Pagrįstumas*. Svarbu, kad liudijimas būtų apie praeitį, o ne apie dabartį ar kokią praeities versiją, kuria liudytojas yra suinteresuotas.
3. *Patikimumas*. Svarbu, kad liudytojas sakytų / rašytų, ką pats atsimena, o ne kaip mano, jog iš jo yra tikimasi, kad atsimintų.

Sakytinės istorijos metodo taikymas lieka problemiškas, kaip kad problemiška yra ir rašytinė memuaristika dėl žmogiškosios atminties netvarumo. Pasak Švedo, „bėgant laikui tam tikro įvykio liudininko („šaltinio“) atmintis kinta tuo pat metu iš naujo sukurdamą ir įvykių supratimo bei vertinimo perspektyvas, kurios automatiškai koreguoja pasakojimą apie tai, „kaip buvo iš tikrųjų“ (Švedas 2010: 153). Tačiau trūkstant objektyvių šaltinių sakytinė istorija įgauna svarbią reikšmę kaip vienintelis galimas būdas priartėti prie to, „kaip buvo iš tikrųjų“. Sykiu ji suteikia žinių, kaip liudininkas vertino prisimenamą situaciją, faktus, savo vaidmenį ir kaip į tai žvelgia pasakojimo momentu. Todėl analizuojant sakytinės istorijos šaltinius tyrėjui tenka laikytis hermeneutinio požiūrio ir vertinti faktus kuo platesniame kontekste, suteikiančiame skirtingų žiūros galimybių. Tokio principo stengiamasi laikytis ir šiame tyrime.

VAOBT *status quo* vėlyvuju sovietmečiu

Pirmiausia verta apibūdinti situaciją, kuri buvo susiklosčiusi VAOBT 1990-ųjų kovo 11-osios išvakarėse. Teatru vadovavo iškilus operos solistas Virgilijus Noreika (1935–2018). 1975 m. teatrą perkėlus iš senojo pastato J. Basanavičiaus gatvėje į naująjį A. Vienuolio gatvėje, LSSR kultūros ministras Lionginas Šepetys apsisprendė pakeisti ir teatro vadovą kompozitorių Vytautą Laurušą, kuriam oficialiai buvo numatytos kitos pareigos – LSSR kompozitorių sąjungos pirmininko (kurias jis, beje, jau ir taip ėjo nuo 1971 m.). Dalis teatro kūrybinio personalo buvo nepatenkinti Laurušo vadovavimu. Šepetys apsisprendė naujuoju VAOBT vadovu skirti Noreiką, kuris tuo metu buvo po balso stygų operacijos ir, kaip pats teigė, negalėjo būti tikras dėl savo profesinės ateities⁶. Galbūt tai irgi buvo svarus argumentas, kad jauno jau Sovietų Sąjungos mastu išgarsėjusio dainininko patirtis ne nueitų perniek, o praverstų einant naujas pareigas.

Pasak Šepečio, skiriant Noreiką buvo reorganizuota teatro valdysena – sujungtos direktoriaus ir meno vadovo pareigos:

1975 m. liepos 17 d. V. Noreiką skiriame Operos ir baleto teatro direktoriumi ir meno vadovu. Tai – visavaldžiu. Tai išbandymas kiekvienam žmogui: ir skiriančiajam, ir skiriamajam. Menininkui – dvigubai. Jis nuolat profesinės konkurencijos lauke, kur administracinė pagunda stumtelėti šonan didelė, netgi prigimtinė. Skiriant Virgilijų vadovu, panašių abejonių turėjau ir aš, girdėjau ir iš teatro. Pasitikėjau juo. Pasitikėjimą žmogumi sunku pagrįsti konkrečiais argumentais. Mums su žmona labai patiko V. Noreikos soliniai koncertai. Matyt, iš to patikimo – atlaidus pasitikėjimas. Be to, ir pasirinkimas ribotas – norėjau tikro profesionalo. Tai, kad Operos ir baleto teatre vis daugiau direktoriaus vingių, vargų, tuo pačiu, ir „priešų“, priėmiau kaip visiems meno kolektyvams būdingą reiškinį. (Šepetys 2014: 169)

Dvigubos vadovo pareigos ir lyderystės principai kartkartėmis kėlė diskusijas ir dalies kūrybinio personalo nepasitenkinimą. Nors Noreika turėjo nemažą rėmėjų būrį, lojalius padalinių vadovus (vengdavusius prieštarauti vadovui, net jei turėdavo kitokią nuomonę konkrečiu klausimu)⁷, didelė kūrybinių darbuotojų dalis buvo nepatenkinta vaidmenų skyrimo tvarka, vienašališkais sprendimais ir pan. Nepatenkintieji ne kartą kreipėsi į ministeriją su skundais ir reikalavimais.

Didžiausias konfliktas įvyko tarp Noreikos ir operos solisto Vaclovo Daunoro iškart paskyrus naująjį vadovą. Priešpriešai užsitęsęs Noreika reikalavo jau teatre dirbančių Daunoro buvusių studentų pasirinkti kurią nors pusę. Šepečio publikuotuose užrašuose apie šią krizę teatre užsimenama:

Vargu ar kas nors galėjo pasakyti, dėl ko puikus bosas V. Daunoras išėjo iš teatro, kai jo direktoriumi ir meno vadovu paskyriau puikų tenorą V. Noreiką.⁸ Gal todėl, kad abudu puikūs, o vienas iš jų viršininkas, kitas lyg ir pavaldinys. Į direktoriaus opozicijos gretas tai įsiliedavo, tai iš jų pasitraukdavo kiti puikūs dainininkai, šokėjai – N. Ambrazaitytė, R. Siparis, L. Aškelevičiūtė <...> Akademikas J. Požela juokaudavo: „Mano žentas, teatro baleto solistas vieną vakarą pasėdi bufete su teatro direktoriumi – ir jau jo šalininkas, kitą vakarą su kuo nors iš nepatenkintųjų – ir jau verčia direktorių...“. Juokai juokais, bet man visa tai juodai gadindavo nervus: „Neleisk, Lionginai, skriausti Daunoro“ – vis ragindavo įtakingos, politinės personas K. Kairys, F. Bieliauskas. Kitos, dar žymesnės su P. Griškevičiumi priešakyje, piestu stėjo už Noreiką. (Šepetys 2014: 176)

Kaip matyti, teatro gyvenimas vėlyvuju sovietmečiu buvo itin dinamiškas ir aistringas. Nors vadovas turėjo Kultūros ministerijos ir LKP CK vadovų⁹ palaikymą, retsykiais kildavo priešprieša su vienu ar kitu talentingu, simbolinį ir / ar kultūrinį kapitalą įgijusiu pavaldiniu ir tekdavo aiškintis partinės nomenklatūros kabinetuose. Pasak Bourdieu, net

ir griežtoje biurokratinėje sistemoje oficialus autoritetas niekada neįgyja absoliutaus monopolio, tad visada išlieka konfliktas tarp simbolių valdžių.

Apsivalymo idėja ir sovietinės valdysenos atmetimo procesai

Prasidėjus Sąjūdžiui, sustiprėjus viešumo poreikiui, stalinizmo nusikaltimų atskleidimų bangai, sovietinės nomenklatūros kritikai, visuomenėje kilo apsivalymo, liustracijos poreikis, neaplenkęs ir VAOBT. Pirmiausia menininkų bendruomenių kritika buvo nukreipta į partinę nomenklatūrą, ribojusią kūrybinę laisvę, primetusią ideologinius varžymus. Tačiau VAOBT ilgus metus Partinės organizacijos sekretoriaus pareigas ėjęs operos solistas Jonas Stasiūnas 1984 m. išėjo į pensiją, be to, su jo vardu nebuvo siejamos konfliktinės situacijos, reakcingi sprendimai. Jo įpėdinis „partorgo“ poste operos solistas Edmundas Kuodis taip pat nebuvo linkęs į konfrontacijas, veikiau pats buvo patekęs į direktoriaus-meno vadovo nemalonę. Tad apsivalymo, sovietinės valdysenos kritikos strėlės smigo į Noreikos asmenį.

Šokio kritikas Audronis Imbrasas, VAOBT dirbęs baleto artistu 1980–1989 m., prisimena, kad buvęs vienas iš „Noreikos nuvertimo“ iniciatorių Sąjūdžio pradžioje.¹⁰ Baleto trupėje taip pat buvo nepasitenkinimo dėl išskirtinio vadovo žmonos balerinos Loretos Bartusevičiūtės statuso. Tarp nepabūgusių pasirašyti protesto laiškus Kultūros ministerijai ir LKP CK sekretariatui buvo dainininkė Nijolė Ambrazaitytė, šokėjas Petras Skirmantas, choreografas Elegijus Bukaitis, tuo metu teatre jau nebedirbantis, tik specialiai spektakliams kviečiamas Daunoras ir kiti.

Kompozitorius Giedrius Kuprevičius, ėjęs kultūros viceministro pareigas nuo 1988 m. rugpjūčio iki 1990 m. balandžio, mena¹¹, kad 1989 m. Šepetys, tuo metu dirbęs LKP CK sekretoriumi, buvo apsisprendęs patenkinti menininkų prašymą ir atleisti Noreiką. Tokiu žingsniu jis galbūt norėjęs pademonstruoti savo lojalumą Sąjūdžio procesams ir pokyčių reikalautojams. Tačiau vėliau jis, pasak Kuprevičiaus, pakeitė nuomonę ir nežengė tokio žingsnio. Tuokart Noreika išsaugojo savo postą.

Tačiau pokyčiai artėjo. Menininkų nepasitenkinimas VAOBT valdysena, dvigubomis Noreikos pareigomis jau buvo išgirstas. 1989 m. balandžio 26 d. teatras gaus kultūros ministro laišką su išdėstytu nauju valdymo projektu, pagal kurį teatro direktoriaus ir meno vadovo pareigos atskiriamos. Apie šį laišką sužinome iš gegužės 10 d. Noreikos atsakymo¹² ministrui Dainiui Trinkūniui. Dokumente dėstoma, kad naujasis ministerijos projektas apsvarstytas išplėstiniame teatro Meno kolegijos posėdyje,

kuriam pirmininkavo pats Noreika, dalyvavo „vyr. dirigentas J. Aleksa, vyr. režisierius R. Siparis, vyr. baletmeisteris V. Brazdylis, vyr. dailininkas H. Ciparis, vyr. chormeisteris Č. Radžiūnas, partinio biuro sekretorius M. Kumpys, profsąjungos komiteto pirmininkas E. Domarkas, komjaunimo sekretorius A. Imbrasas, direktorius-tvarkytojas A. Kregždė, direktoriaus pavaduotojas L. Aškis, operos solistas S. Diršė, choro artistė I. Petronienė, orkestro artistas V. Lubauskas, baleto trupės vadovas R. Minderis ir kolegijos sekretorius J. Urvelis“¹³. Iš posėdžio protokolo, kuris pridodamas prie atsakymo ministrui, aišku, kad dauguma dalyvių ryžtingai pasisako, kad pareigybė turėtų išlikti, kokia buvusi, t. y. direktorius ir meno vadovas turi būti tas pats asmuo. Aškis pamini, kad tokia pareigybė teatre egzistuoja 25 metus.¹⁴ Tik du posėdžio dalyviai pasisako kitaip. Henrikas Ciparis pareiškia, kad demokratiškiau būtų, jei teatrui vadovautų atskiri asmenys – direktorius ir meno vadovas, o Rimantas Siparis pasisako radikaliau. Jis pasiūlo surengti referendumą „platesniame rate“, pritardamas ministerijos siūlymui, kad būtų naikinamos vyriausiųjų specialistų pareigybės, o jas apimtų meno vadovo pareigos, „administracinės pareigybės būtų tik administratoriaus rankose“¹⁵.

Neilgai trukus po šio kolegijos posėdžio Siparis atleidžiamas iš teatro. Daugiau nei po metų, 1990 m. rugsėjį, Noreika interviu užsiminė, kad vyr. režisierių atleido, idant sustiprintų spektaklių meninį lygį:

Teatras kritikuojamas už režisūrą. Šioje srityje nustato kryptį, rūpinasi kadrais vyriausiasis režisierius. Tai jo kompetencija. Tarp kitko, teatro meno vadovas neturėjo teisės kištis į kitų vyriausiųjų vadovų darbą – jie buvo Kultūros ministerijos žinioje. Mano pasiūlymu vis tik buvo pakeistas vyriausiasis režisierius. Priėmiau jauną specialistą N. Petroką. (Litvinaitė 1990: 8)

Iš daugelio Meno kolegijos protokolų peršasi išvada, kad Noreika išties mažai reguliavo vyr. dirigento, režisieriaus ar dailininko darbus, tačiau skirstant operos solistų vaidmenis dalyvavo ypač aktyviai, tiesa, bent jau protokoluose pažymima, kad į dirigentų Jono Aleksos, Rimo Geniušo ir kitų nuomonės irgi būdavo atsižvelgiama. Iš tikrųjų jie jas reikšdavo rezervuotai, stengdamiesi neprieštarauti vadovo požiūriui. Sipario darbus Noreika vertino, pats jį į šias pareigas paskyrė, jam estetiškai tiko tradicinės stilistikos Sipario pastatymai, tad tai tik sustiprina hipotezę, kad Sipario atleidimas buvo veikiau reakcija į jo išsakytą nuomonę dėl direktoriaus-meno vadovo pareigybės atskyrimo. Tikėtina, kad konfrontacijos būta ir daugiau, kai Sąjūdžio metais daugiau teatro bendruomenės narių palaikydavo Noreikos kritiką ir „žygius pas Trinkūną ir Šepetį“ skųsti vadovo. 1990 m. sausio 29 d. jau iš teatro atleistas Siparis rašo laišką ministrui, prašydamas išimti iš teatro repertuaro

jo pastatytus 6 spektaklius, nes jų kokybė nukritusi, o jis pats nedirbdamas teatre nebegali jos garantuoti:

Kadangi spektaklių programose minima mano pavardė, su tokiu spektaklių lygiu koks yra dabar sutikti negaliu ir reikalauju, kad minėti veikalai nebebūtų rodomi žiūrovui. <...> Priešingu atveju, būsiu priverstas kreiptis į juridines instancijas ir spaudą.¹⁶

Viceministras Kuprevičius stengėsi tarpininkauti tarp teatro ir Sipario, surengti susitikimą, tačiau Siparis kategoriškai atsisakė. Tuomet Kuprevičius perdavė šį klausimą teatro vadovybei, rašte pranešdamas, kad nepavyko su Sipariu susitarti dėl susitikimo, ir reikalaudamas išspręsti klausimą ir informuoti apie rezultatus.¹⁷ Noreika vėl sušaukė Meno kolegijos narius, ir posėdyje buvo nuspręsta, kad Siparis neturi teisės uždrausti rodyti spektaklių. Tų pačių metų gruodžio 10 d. eidamas 64 metus Siparis mirė nuo širdies smūgio. Vyriausiuoju režisieriumi teatre jis dirbo 12 metų. Karjerą pradėjęs pokariu Siparis tapo vienu ryškiausių savo kartos dainininkų. Jo malonaus tembro bosas nebuvo galingas, tačiau aktoriniai gabumai ir sceninė įtaiga buvę, pasak daugelio prisimenančiųjų, išskirtiniai (jo tėvas buvo garsus dramos aktorius Juozas Siparis). Kaip dainininkas jis baigė karjerą 50-ies, tada pasinaudojo savo kultūriniu kapitalu ir įvaldė naujos profesijos – operos režisūros – įgūdžius. Jo pastatymai buvo tradiciniai, kaip įprasta tuo laiku.

1990 m. pradžioje situacija teatre vis labiau kaito. Laisvės idėjos audrino žmones. Vasario 2 d. kultūros ministro įsakymu Valstybinis Darbo raudonosios vėliavos ordino akademinis operos ir baleto teatras pervadintas Lietuvos opera pagal vakarietišką tradiciją. Tačiau baleto trupės atstovai užprotestavo tokį pavadinimą ir kreipėsi į spaudą. Po trijų savaičių vasario 23 d. įsakymu ministras panaikina ankstesnį sprendimą ir įteisina naują pavadinimą – Lietuvos operos ir baleto teatras.¹⁸

Šių įvykių fone toliau tęsėsi konfrontacija teatre. Kaip prisimena Kuprevičius, dalis teatralų beveik reguliariai kreipdavosi į ministeriją su skundais dėl Noreikos vadovavimo. Būta ir „sąskaitų suvedinėjimo“, tačiau žmonės išties tikėjo (Bourdieu *illusio*), kad laikai pasikeitė, kad ir jie yra meno lauko dalyviai, ne tik įrankiai valdžios rankose, kad ir jie gali taip pat lemti sprendimus (arba, kalbant Bourdieu terminais, būti operos *lauko dalyviais* ir dalyvauti *žaidimuose*), kad teatro valdysena yra ne tik partinės nomenklatūros primetama politika, bet ir demokratiškai reguliuojami procesai.

Po Kovo 11-osios nepriklausomybės atkūrimo pirmuoju Lietuvos kultūros ir švietimo ministru buvo paskirtas Darius Kuolys, kuris, praėjus trims dešimtmečiams, vertina ano laiko situaciją:

Maniau, kad imantis kultūros politikos svarbiausia keisti kultūros ir valstybės santykius. To meto nomenklatūriniai santykiai, kai ministras vienasmeniu sprendimu galėjo nuspręsti, ką finansuoti, ką uždaryti, mums atrodė nepriimtini. Dėl to radikalčiai tuos santykius keitėm. <...> Manau, kad Sąjūdžio lyderiai 1992 m. padarė labai rimtą klaidą neišdirbę visos Seimo kadencijos. 1990-aisiais Lietuvos visuomenė suteikė pasitikėjimą Sąjūdžio parlamentarams ketveriems metams, ir tai, kad Sąjūdis, kitaip nei latvių ar estų Liaudies frontai, neišbuvo viso jam skirta laiko ir neįvykdė iki galo reikalingų reformų, buvo nuodėmė. Buvo susipriešinta Sąjūdžio žmonių rate, o po pirmalaikių Seimo rinkimų pasikeitus politinėms jėgoms daug kas sustojo. Manau, kad jei ketverius metus būtų nuosekliai eita reformų keliu, būtų labiau atsinaujinusi pati visuomenė ir Lietuva užimtų panašias pozicijas kaip Estija. Deja, nuoseklesnio atsinaujinimo neįvyko. (Kuolys 2020)¹⁹

VAOBT atsidūrė tarp pirmųjų kultūros įstaigų, kurios po Kovo 11-osios buvo bandomos reformuoti. Kuolys ir jo komanda, kaip ir ankstesni ministerijos vadovai, sulaukė teatro darbuotojų skundų ir ėmėsi veiksmų.

Pirmiausia buvo nuspręsta atskirti direktoriaus ir meno vadovo pareigybes, nes tokiu keliu jau buvo ėjusi ir Trinkūno vadovaujama Kultūros ministerija, buvo parengtas naujas pareigybių aprašymas, kurį reikėjo peržiūrėti, atsižvelgiant į pakitusią nepriklausomos demokratinės valstybės situaciją. Kitas žingsnis buvo surengti demokratinį konkursą į naujai steigiamą meno vadovo pareigybę.

Noreika buvo informuotas apie situaciją, kad jo pareigos bus reorganizuotos, taip pat apie būsimą konkursą. Tai prieštarauja Viktoro Gerulaičio teiginiams monografijoje, publikuotoje 2015 m.:

O Tėvynėje Kazimieras Uoka su penkių žmonių komanda ėmė „tikrinti“ Noreikos šešiolikos metų darbą teatre. Tikrinimo tikslas vienas: apkaltinti, nuteisti, o gal net pasodinti. <...> „Na ir ką aš galėjau pavogti? Grimo dėžutė? Tai ir tos nesu paėmęs. Nebent per karjerą porą kilogramų suvalgęs... Tualetiniam popieriui, ir tam užsidirbdavau. Taip nieko ir nerado“, – prisimena maestro. Bet suprantama, Noreika vis tiek buvo atleistas iš pareigų. Beje, niekas oficialiai jo apie tai nė nesiteikė informuoti. (Gerulaitis 2015: 15)

Noreika ne tik buvo informuotas apie naikinamą jo pareigybę ir skelbiamą konkursą į meno vadovo pareigas, bet ir pats tame konkurse dalyvavo. 1990 m. rugpjūčio 27 d. ministro pavaduotojo Aurimo Juozaičio pasirašytame įsakyme²⁰ teigiama, kad nuo tų pačių metų lapkričio 1 d. naikinami VAOBT ir Klaipėdos muzikinio teatro direktoriaus-meno vadovo ir direktoriaus tvarkytojo etatai ir įvedami meno vadovo ir direktoriaus etatai, į meno vadovo vietą abiejuose teatruose rengiamas konkursas lapkričio 6 d., o paraiškos konkursui priimamos iki spalio 15 d. Praėjus

kelioms dienoms po šio įsakymo rugsėjo 1 d. interviu dienraščiui „Tiesa“ į klausimą dėl situacijos teatre ir naikinamą jo pareigybę Noreika atsako: „Aš esu pareiškęs viešai, kad laikiu Kultūros ir švietimo ministerijos sprendimo. Dirbu normaliai, nepalieku teatro savieigai“ (Litvinaitė 1990: 1).

Konkurse dalyvauti panoro 5 kandidatai, pristatę savo programas. Tai choreografas Elegijus Bukaitis, operos solistai Irena Halina Darvydienė, Edvardas Eidukonis, kompozitorius Juozas Širvinskas ir Noreika.

Lapkričio 7 d. ministras Kuolys pasirašo įsakymą, kuriuo skiria Meno vadovo konkurso komisijos narius: „nuo Lietuvos Respublikos kultūros ir švietimo ministerijos V. Gaidamavičius, K. Gylis, E. Gedgaudas; nuo Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjungos J. Andrejevas, J. Bruveris, J. Dvarionas; nuo Lietuvos teatrų sąjungos R. Geniušas, A. Ruzgaitė, J. Vaitkus. Komisijos pirmininku skirti V. Gaidamavičius, sekretoriumi – E. Gedgaudą.“²¹ Konkurso nugalėtoju išrenkamas Širvinskas, Noreika įpareigotas jam perduoti visus teatro reikalus, o nuo gruodžio 1 d. atleidžiamas iš pareigų.

Noreika jautėsi nepelnytai ižeistas, apšmeižtas pavaldinių, „išvarytas iš teatro“, tą dažnai pabrėždavo įvairiuose interviu vėlesniais laikais. Tačiau jo dvigubos pareigos būtų buvusios vis tiek naikinamos ir naujas konkursas į meno vadovo postą skelbiamas, net jeigu ir nebūtų ministerijos pasiekę darbuotojų skundai. Noreika buvo simbolis senosios biurokratinės meno reguliavimo sistemos ir sovietinės nomenklatūros, pagrįstos jai būdinga hierarchija ir ritualais. Jis niekaip negalėjo likti poste demokratinių reformų siekiančioje nepriklausomybę atkūrusioje šalyje. Toks buvo Sąjūdžio, gavusio valdžią, apsivalymo nuo sovietinės praeities siekis. Vėliau, kaip sakė čia cituotas Kuolys, Sąjūdis pasitraukė iš valdžios, ir buvusioji nomenklatūra vėl pasinaudojo proga grįžti į postus, kurių buvo netekusi, tačiau Noreika jau buvo pakeitęs savo gyvenimo kryptį, pasinėręs į pedagoginę ir koncertinę veiklą.²²

Teatro apsivalymo procese yra dar vienas reikšmingas momentas, apie kurį lig šiol nebūta viešų diskusijų. Dirigentas Jonas Aleksa išgyveno didelę vidinę dramą, kuri niekur neaprašyta sklando sakytine forma tarp vyresniųjų muzikų. Dirigento tėvas Florijonas Aleksa²³ iš tikrųjų buvęs Aleksejevas, prieškarinio Komunistų partijos pogrindžio veikėjas, pokariu – NKVD darbuotojas. Be kitos okupacinio režimo vykdytos veiklos pokariu, operos teatrą iš Kauno perkėlus į Vilnių keletą metų jis dirbo jame Kadrių skyriaus viršininku. Gerą išsilavinimą gavę visi trys vaikai (be Jono ir Irenos, šeimoje augo sesuo biologė Rimantė Dušauskienė-Duž) subrendę slėpė tėvo istoriją. Kai 1965 m. Aleksa pradėjo dirbti teatre dirigentu, tėvo istorija buvo primiršta, juolab jaunasis dirigentas savo talentu pelnė autoritetą ir, pasak kolegų, jam „tėvo šleifas neprilipo“. Prasidėjus Sąjūdžiui,

Aleksa, matyt, pasijuto nesaugiai, vienai kolegei tarstelėjęs: „Dabar pasidės raganų medžioklė.“ Tikėtina, tai ir lėmė, kad 1990 m. jis lyg ir be aiškios priežasties nusprendė palikti Lietuvą ir priėmė Slovakijos nacionalinio operos ir baleto teatro pasiūlymą tapti jo vyriausiuoju dirigentu. Matyt, pasiūlymą Aleksa svarstė ilgiau, tačiau prašymą leisti nemokamų atostogų trejiems metams parašė iškart po to, kai buvo paskelbtas konkursas į Lietuvos operos ir baleto teatro meno vadovo vietą. 1990 m. rugsėjo 7 d. ministro įsakymu²⁴ Aleksai suteikiamos nemokamos atostogos iki 1993 m. rugpjūčio 1 d. leidžiant išvykti į Bratislavą pagal sudarytą kontraktą su Slovakijos nacionaliniu teatru. Visuomenėje ir žiniasklaidoje tuo metu virė diskusijos dėl iliustracijos ir stalinizmo nusikaltimų. Žinia, kad į teatrą gali ateiti naujas vadovas, matyt, atrodė dirigentui gąsdinanti dėl įvairių priežasčių. Grįžęs po daugiau nei trejų metų, Aleksa buvo šiltai pasitiktas, teatro bendruomenė ir publika jau buvo jo pasiilgusi. Jis buvo paskirtas vyr. dirigentu, o 1994–1997 m. dar ir LOBT vadovu.

Gedgaudas, sudarydamas Aleksai dedikuotą monografiją, apsisprendė jo tėvo temos neliesti, aptakiai aprašydamas dirigento situaciją:

Aleksa gyveno ir dirbo taip, tarytum nepaisytų akivaizdžių skriaudų. Iš tokio „tarytum“ ilgainiui atsirado kaukė. Iš noro ar netgi būtinybės daug ką pamiršti, iš nesugebėjimo „krikščioniškai atleisti“. <...> Apmaudu skaitant „pokalbius“ su žurnalistais jam grįžus iš Bratislavos – pristoja įtarumas, kad viešumai skirtas įvaizdis rungiasi su oria asmenybės savimone ir ją įveikia. (Gedgaudas 2007: 23)

1990 m. lapkričio 28 d., praėjus trimis savaitėms po konkurso, Kuolys pasirašo įsakymą²⁵, kuriuo nustatoma, kad Lietuvos operos ir baleto teatro bei muzikinių teatrų direktorius ir direktorių pavaduotojus skiria pareigoms ir atleidžia iš jų šių teatrų meno vadovai. Taip buvo įteisinta meno vadovo viršenybė teatruose.

Operos solisto socialinis portretas sovietmečio pabaigoje

Koks buvo pagrindinėje, didžiausioje šalies muzikinio teatro senoje dirbančio operos solisto socialinis statusas ir pragyvenimo lygis pokyčių išvakarėse?

Prieš Kovo 11-ąją VAOBT buvo 355 kūrybinių darbuotojų etatai. Iš jų 38,5 – operos solistų, 77 choristų, 100 orkestro artistų, 90 baleto šokėjų, 10 mimanso artistų ir 39,5 kūrybinio personalo (dirigentų, chorvedžių, režisierių, dailininkų, koncertmeisterių, repetitorių ir kt.) etatų.²⁶ Kūrybinių darbuotojų atlyginimų fondas – 77 047 rubliai, iš jų – 10 509 rubliai operos solistams. Vidutinis orkestro

artisto užmokestis buvo apie 240 rublių, choro artisto – apie 184 rublius. Operos solistų algos pagal kategoriją, stažą ir dainuotų spektaklių skaičių svyravo nuo 170 iki 350 rublių. Lietuvos SSR „visame liaudies ūkyje“ vidurkis 1989 m. pabaigoje buvo 244 rubliai.²⁷

Pagrindinių vaidmenų atlikėjai uždirbo gerokai daugiau nei vidutinis atlyginimas Lietuvos SSR. Operos solistas, jei jam pavykdavo patekti į VAOBT, pelnyti gero dainininko reputaciją ir gauti pagrindinius vaidmenis, įgydavo prestižinį statusą su daugybe privilegijų. Dainininkai gaudavo papildomų pajamų už Valstybinės filharmonijos organizuojamus koncertus, radijo ir televizijos įrašus, sovietinės kompanijos „Vilniaus plokštelių studija“ įrašus, centrinės sovietinės agentūros „Goskoncert“ rengiamas gastroles Sovietų Sąjungos respublikose ir užsienyje. Tiesa, honorarus, kuriuos uždirbdavo sovietiniai atlikėjai užsienyje, nusavin-davo „Goskoncert“ agentūra, palikdama jiems tik 10 proc. sumos. Tačiau vis tiek tai buvo galimybės, kurių dauguma sovietinių piliečių neturėjo. Papildomi priedai prie algos ir papildomos privilegijos (apsipirkimas deficitinių prekių uždaroje parduotuvėse, paskyros butams prestižiniuose sostinės rajonuose, vasarnamiams, automobiliams, buitinei technikai ir kitoms prekėms) būdavo skiriamos už pelnytus specialiuosius valstybinius kvalifikacinius laipsnius ir garbės vardus (LTSR nusipelnęs artistas, liaudies artistas, TSRS liaudies artistas, Socialistinio darbo didvyris). Kitaip tariant, žymus operos solistas buvo artimas nomenklatūrai pagal savo socialinį statusą.

Karjera po Kovo 11-osios

Situacija dramatiškai pasikeitė paskelbus Kovo 11-osios aktą, kai SSSR įvedė Lietuvai ekonomines sankcijas. Tai buvo staigi ekonomikos krizė, atnešusi skaudžias socialines pasekmes. Kaip tai atsiliepė iškilių operos solistų statusui, puikiai iliustruoja vieno žymiausių to laiko dainininkų Vaclovo Daunoro sūnaus Vaclovo Daunoro jaunesniojo, studijavusio vokalą tėvo dainavimo klasėje Lietuvos vals-tybinėje konservatorijoje, prisiminimai:

Vieną sykį atėjau pas jį į pamoką ir pasakiau, kad jau metas baigti šitą bandymą, juk ir man kančia, ir jam tik gėdos pri-darysiu. Jis sureagavo ramiai. Na, jei baigiam, tai baigiam. Niekada dėl to nesigailėjau, nors daug kas man ir dabar iš šalies sako, kad padariau klaidą, reikėjo likti, juk turėjau gabumų. Bet tais laikais ištuštėjo teatrai, operos spektaklių metu sce-noje kartais būdavo tiek pat žmonių, kiek ir parteryje. O juk man dar akyse buvo vaizdai, kai prie teatro stovėdavo pilna autobusų iš rajonų. Ar kas tuomet galėjo žinoti, kad kultūra atsigaus? Menininkai uždirbdavo grašius, abiturientai nebe-siveržė į aukštąsias mokyklas...

Kai mečiau vokalo studijas, pasimokęs pas tėvą nepil-nus tris mėnesius, su keliais draugais pradėjome „daryti biznį“ – veždavome į Rusiją parduoti metalą. Tuomet tai buvo populiarus ir pavojingas verslas. Ne visi grįžome... Parsiveždavau pilnas kišenes dolerių. O tėvas tuo metu per mėnesį uždirbdavo saują „vagnorkių“. Aš tiek kavinėje išleis-davau per vieną vakarą. Tada buvo labai gaila tėvo, jis buvo sutrikęs. Žmogus kryptingai visą gyvenimą ėjo profesiniu keliu, dainavo pagrindinius vaidmenis, tapo profesoriumi ir uždirba grašius. O aš, vaikigalis, nebaigęs jokių mokslų... Todėl kai tėvas pradėjo dairytis galimybių išvykti į Ameri-ką, aš jį supratau. Manau, todėl palyginus neskausmingai išgyvenau jo skyrybas su mama. Aš jį supratau, niekada dėl to nekaltinau. Jis buvo aukščiausio lygio profesionalas, jam reikėjo galimybių. O laikas bėgo, jo sceninis amžius irgi ėjo pabaigos link. (Katinaitė 2018: 231)

Tai buvo skausmingas laikas patiems žymiausiems solistams, kurių dauguma jau buvo įžengę į šeštą dešimtį, tradiciškai paskutinį aktyvios vokalinės karjeros dešimtmetį. Nors geležinė uždanga buvo griuvusi, formaliai atsivėrė galimybės, tačiau brandžiausius savo karjeros metus ati-davę VAOBT scenai artistai jau nebebuvo konkurencingi tarptautinėje operos rinkoje. Kita vertus, dėl gana kuklios VAOBT repertuaro apimties ir įvairovės, skirtingų kalbų vokalizacijos specialistų nebuvimo dainininkai stokojo specifinės kvalifikacijos, skirtingų epochų, autorinių stilių įvaldymo, o tai Vakaruose jau buvo tapę norma. Nekalbant apie visiškai anuomet nepažintas baroko ir XX a. muzikos atlikimo praktikas.

Kol SSSR sienos buvo uždarytos sovietiniams piliečiams, menininkai troško pro jas prasiveržti, tačiau joms atsivė-rus greitai teko susivokti, kad anapus buvusios geležinės uždangos niekas nelaukia įmetėjusių artistų, stokojančių net elementaraus susikalbėjimo užsienio kalbomis įgūdžių.

Vis dėlto kad ir sudėtingomis sąlygomis, nepriklau-somybės pradžioje teatras sugebėjo surengti keletą ryškių gastrolių Olandijoje, Vokietijoje, Italijoje, kur buvo kritikų pastebėti ir įvertinti lietuvių solistų pasirodymai.

Nacionalinis pakilimas atsispindėjo ir repertuare: pa-statyta Jurgio Karnavičiaus „Gražina“ (1990), kartu su Či-kagos lietuvių opera pristatyta Amilcare Ponchielli operos „Lietuviai“ koprodukcija (1991). Šio pastatymo spektakliai rodyti Vilniuje ir Čikagoje, apsiukeista solistais.

Lūžio kartos pasirinkimai

Nors LOBT, kaip ir visos valstybės institucijos, išgyveno finansinį sunkmetį, konservatorija buvo paruošusi visą būrį jaunų dainininkų, kurie troško debiutuoti didžiojoje scenoje. Nepriklausomybės priešaušryje ir pirmaisiais metais operos

solistų grupę papildė jaunieji debutantai Alma Zubaitė, Irena Zelenkauskaitė, Regina Šilinskaitė, Vytautas Juozapaitis, Inesa Linaburgytė. Kiek vyresni, bet vis dar jaunesniosios kartos solistai, debutavę devintuoju dešimtmečiu VAOBT, ėmė rimčiau dairytis į užsienio scenas, galimybes tiek gauti solinius vaidmenis, tiek dainuoti teatrų choruose. Gavę vokaliinius pagrindus Lietuvos valstybinėje konservatorijoje jie stengėsi patekti į žymių Vakarų dainininkų ir pedagogų meistriško kursų, dalyvauti konkursuose. Pajutę, kad Vakaruose, ypač Vokietijoje, yra nemažai teatrų ir kitokių profesinių platformų, jie stengėsi panaudoti Lietuvoje įgytas žinias, kad įsitvirtintų Vakaruose, kur dainininkai turėjo nepalyginti daugiau galimybių karjerai ir gerovei. Pirmoji išvykusiųjų banga – Lilija Kopūstaitė, Danutė Grauslytė, Sigitas Dirsė, Zenonas Žemaitis, Algis Lunskis, Genadijus Bergorulko, Almas Švilpa, Algirdas Drevinskas ir kt.

1991 m. teatrą paliko 1988 m. jame debutavęs tenoras Algirdas Janutas. Jo karjera klostėsi gana sėkmingai. Gyvendamas Vilniuje ir turėdamas angažementų Lietuvoje lygiagrečiai jis plėtojo karjerą Vakarų scenose – Latvijos, Vokietijos, Italijos, Prancūzijos, Rusijos, Švedijos teatruose, debiutavo Buenos Airių „Colon“ teatre.

Tuo metu į Vakarus išvyko tęsti studijų dar LOBT ne-debutavę konservatorijos absolventai arba dar joje besimokantys studentai. Tai – Violeta Urmanavičiūtė (Urmana), Jolanta Stanelytė, Erika Navickaitė, Daina Vingelytė, Renata Skarelytė, Gedvydas Lazauskas ir kt. Tai – lūžio karta, kuri pasinaudojo atsivėrusiomis galimybėmis.

Įžybių kartos drama

Grįžkime prie ano laiko pagrindinių solistų. Kaip jie išgyveno krizę? Kaip reagavo į pakitusias sąlygas? Ar pasinaudojo sukaupu kultūrinio ir simbolinio kapitalu?

Įdomu pastebėti, kad sėkmingiausiai susiklostė pačių populiariausių dainininkų tolesnės karjeros. Virgilijui Noreikai netekus teatro vadovo pareigų ir skaudžiai tai išgyvenant radosi naujų galimybių. Išėjęs iš teatro Noreika atsidavė pedagoginiam darbui. Iš esmės jo kaip pedagogo šlovė išaugo nepriklausomybės metais. Nors nemažai jo mokinių teatre pradėjo dainuoti anksčiau (vokalų konservatorijoje jis dėstė nuo 1976 m.), vadovaudamas teatrui, dalyvaudamas spektakliuose ir koncertuose, pedagoginei veiklai jis skyrė nepalyginti mažiau laiko, nebuvo emociškai taip susisaistęs su šia veikla. Nuo 1990-ųjų pedagoginis darbas tapo pagrindiniu Noreikos užsiėmimu, o pirmaisiais metais – dar ir svarbiausiu pragyvenimo šaltiniu, nes koncertinis gyvenimas sunkmečiu patyrė sąstingį.

1993–1994 m. su grupe muzikų Noreika su žmona buvo pakviestas į Venesuelą dirbti Lotynų Amerikos dainavimo akademijoje Karakasė. Grįžusių pasitiko laukiantys studentai. Apie jo kaip pedagogo nuopelnus sklido gandas tolyn, tad netrukus jis sulaukė pasiūlymo iš Talino vesti meistriško kursų Estijos nacionalinės operos solistams. Vėliau Noreika buvo pakviestas užimti profesoriaus vietą Estijos muzikos ir teatro akademijoje, o 2000 m. tapo šios akademijos vokalo katedros vedėju. 2003 m. jam pasiūlyta

Kultūrinio kapitalo (Pierre'o Bourdieu) panaudojimas po 1990 m.

	Lotynų Amerikos dainavimo akademija (Karakasas, 1993–1994) – profesorius
Virgilijus Noreika	Estijos nacionalinės operos ir Estijos muzikos ir teatro akademijos operos studija (1995–2003) – profesorius LNOBT Operos studija (2003–2007) – vadovas
Eduardas Kaniava	Lotynų Amerikos dainavimo akademija (Karakasas, 1993–1994) – profesorius 1993 m. išvyko į JAV, vertėsi privačiomis vokalo pamokomis
Vaclovas Daunoras	Debiutai Dalaso (Dallas Opera) ir Tolsos (Tulsa Opera) teatruose (1994–1996) Niujorko „Metropolitan Opera“ teatro solistas (1996–2005)
Sergejus Larinas	Slovakijos nacionalinės operos solistas (1989 – 1991) Nuo 1990 m. debiutai Vienos valstybinėje operoje (Wiener Staatsoper), Milano „La Scala“, Londono karališkajame „Covent Garden“, Paryžiaus „Opera de Paris“, Niujorko „Metropolitan opera“ ir kituose teatruose
Lilija Deksnytė	Bratislavos kamerinės operos ir Slovakijos nacionalinės operos solistė (nuo 1989 m.)
Sigitas Dirsė	Erfurto operos teatro solistas (1991–1997)
Algirdas Janutas	Nuo 1991 m. debiutai Latvijos, Vokietijos, Italijos, Prancūzijos, Rusijos, Švedijos, Argentinos teatruose
Jonas Aleksa	Slovakijos nacionalinės operos vyr. dirigentas (1990–1994)

1 lentelė. Operos solistų kultūrinio kapitalo panaudojimas atkūrus nepriklausomybę

vadovauti ir LNOBT įsteigta Operos studijai, kurios tikslas buvo tobulinti jau baigusius studijas vokalistus, rengti juos didžiąjai scenai. Sykiu Noreika iki pat mirties tęsė aktyvią koncertinę veiklą.

Savo kultūrinį kapitalą sėkmingai panaudojo ir Vaclovas Daunoras. Sovietmečiu užmezgęs aktyvius kūrybinius ryšius su Amerikos lietuviais, 1993 m. jis išvyko į JAV, ten porą metų vertėsi dainavimo pamokomis ir atsitiktiniais pasirodymais nedidelėse operos kompanijose, kol 1996 m. buvo priimtas į prestižinį Niujorko „Metropolitan Opera“ teatrą, jame dainavo 10 sezonų.

Visi žymieji solistai dirbo pedagoginį darbą Lietuvos konservatorijoje, o lūžio metais Eduardas Kaniava vadovavo Dainavimo katedrai (1989–1992). Paskui kartu su Noreika ir kitais muzikais Kaniava išvyko dirbti pedagoginio darbo į Venesuelą. Grįžęs toliau dėstė konservatorijoje, tuomet jau tapusioje LMTA. Savo kultūrinį kapitalą Kaniava panaudojo ir toliau. Po kelerių metų posūkiu į politiką 2005 m. jis buvo pakviestas dėstyti dainavimo į Klaipėdos universiteto Menų fakultetą. Ten buvo vertinamas kaip iškilus pedagogas ir menininkas, buvo išrinktas Klaipėdos universiteto Senato nariu, Menų fakulteto atestacinės komisijos nariu, taip pat pakviestas eiti Klaipėdos muzikinio teatro Meno tarybos pirmininko pareigas.

Vienas ryškiausių praėjusio amžiaus devintojo dešimtmečio debutantų – Sergejus Larinas išvyko gavęs Slovakijos nacionalinės operos kvietimą. Jis jau buvo pastebėtas sąjunginiu mastu. Po sėkmingų VAOBT gastrolių Maskvos Didžiąjame teatre 1986 m. jis netrukus sulaukė kvietimo dainuoti tenykštėje scenoje, buvo kviečiamas į įvairius SSSR teatrus, sykiu kalbinamas slovakų. Ten angažementų turėjęs Jonas Aleksa pasiūlė Bratislavos teatrui išklausti Lariną. Jo debiutas šioje scenoje įvyko 1988 m. Vyresniųjų kolegų patartas, Larinas galutinai pasirinko Slovakijos nacionalinę operą, kuri atrodė kaip galimybė priartėti prie Vakarų operos meno rinkos. Taip ir atsitiko. Nuo Bratislavos iki Vienos – apie 60 kilometrų. Griuvus geležinei uždangai tarp šių šalių užsimezgė aktyvesni kultūriniai ryšiai. Larinas pateko į Vienos valstybinę operą, susirgus kitam tenorui, kurį jam teko pavaduoti. Šiame pastatyme dirbo garsus dirigentas Claudio Abbado. Išgirdęs Lariną jis neslėpė savo susižavėjimo ir tarpininkavo, kad jaunas solistas būtų pakviestas į kitus Abbado diriguojamus spektaklius.²⁸ Netrukus sekė vienas po kito Larino debiutai prestižiniuose Vakarų teatruose.

Kartu su Larinu iš Lietuvos išvyko ir jo žmona Lilija Deksnytė, kuri įsitvirtino Bratislavoje iš pradžių kaip kamerinės operos teatro, vėliau kaip nacionalinės scenos solistė.

Užsienyje pavyko įsitvirtinti dar vienam devintojo dešimtmečio debutantui – bosui-baritonui Sigitui Dirsei, dainininkės ir pedagogės Elenos Dirsienės sūnui. Po studijų

konservatorijoje jis tobulinosi Maskvos valstybinės P. Čaikovskio konservatorijos aspirantūroje, VAOBT debiutavo 1980 m., o 1991 m. gavo Erfurto operos teatro kontraktą, kur dirbo septynerius metus.

Tačiau nemažai solistų paliko sceną pirmuoju nepriklausomybės dešimtmečiu. Tai – Gražina Apanavičiūtė, Dalia Gižaitė, Vitalija Šiškaitė, Birutė Almonaitytė, Danguolė Juodikaitytė, Nijolė Ambrazaitytė, Elvyra Kornejeva, Laima Šalučkaitė, Eduardas Kaniava, Jonas Jocys, Edmundas Kuodis, Vincentas Kuprys, Pranas Zaremba, Žvainys Ivanauskas ir kt.²⁹ Vieni dėl priartėjusios vokalinio amžiaus ribos, kiti negaudami pakankamo krūvio ir / ar praradę profesinę kvalifikaciją.

Devintojo dešimtmečio pabaigoje teatro lauke prasidėjo diskusijos dėl aktorių užimtumo. Tai sutapo su jaunosios kartos režisierių Gintaro Varno, Oskaro Koršunovo, Cezario Grauzinio ir kitų nepriklausoma kūrybine veikla. Į valstybinius teatrus spektaklių statyti kviečiami režisieriai norėjo gerų aktorių „iš šalies“, o tai neatitiko sunkiai išgyvenančių teatrų personalo politikos, kai nuo sovietmečio buvo išlikę nemažai etatų ir juos užimančių aktorių. Tokia problematika buvo justi ir LOBT. Vyresnieji ir nepakankamos kvalifikacijos artistai nenorėjo trauktis iš teatro į nežinią, o kvalifikuotų, geros vokalinės formos dainininkų stigo.

Kai kurie dainininkai pasinaudojo sovietmečiu įgytu populiarumu ir išnaudojo savo simbolinį kapitalą politinei veiklai. Šiuo požiūriu ryškiausias pavyzdys – Nijolė Ambrazaitytė. Buvusi tremtinė sugebėjo sovietmečiu prasiveržti pro ideologines užkardas ir, nebūdama Komunistų partijos nare, pasiekti prestižinį profesinį ir socialinį statusą, aukščiausius laipsnius sovietinėje meninės veiklos vertinimo sistemoje³⁰, įgyti solidų kultūrinį ir simbolinį kapitalą.

Memuaruose dainininkė aprašė, kaip ji susižavėjo Atgimimu, mat iki tol niekada politika nesidomėjo.

1988 metų gražų pavasarį³¹ grįžtant po cilinių koncertų iš Druskininkų autobusiukas stabtelėjo ties Vingio parku, kad praleistų minias žmonių, plūstančių į parką. Įdomu, kur jie taip skuba, todėl išlipau pasižiūrėti kas ten vyksta. Žmonės skubėjo į Lietuvos persitvarkymo sąjūdžio mitingą, su visais ėjau ir aš. Atsidūriau parko gale, atsistojau kiek atokiau ant suverstų pašalėje senų suolų, pasistebiau ir klausiausi kalbų iš tribūnos. <...> Žmonės karštai reagojo į kalbėtojų išsakytas ir iki tol viešai negirdėtas mintis, mačiau, kad ir juos žeidė savarankiškumo praradimas, todėl įsiaudrinusi minia šaukė: „Laisvę Lietuvai! <...> Šaukia taip garsiai, kad toliau stovėję atsigręždavo pasižiūrėti, kieno toks stiprus balsas. (Ambrazaitytė 2009: 325)

Veikiai Ambrazaitytė įsiliejo į tremtinių ir politinių kalinių sambūrį, 1988–1990 m. vadovavo Tremtinių chorui.

1989 m. birželio 14 d. Gedulo ir vilties dienos minėjimo mitinge Kalnų parke ji jau pati lipo į tribūną kaip Tremtinių bendrijos atstovė. Garsios dainininkės vardas padėjo telkti žmones. 1989 m. liepos 11 d. „Tiesoje“ ji rašo:

Mane kaip ir daugelį kitų žmonių įvykiai sukė į savo verpetą. Nebežinau, kur prasideda menas, kultūra, o kur vadinamoji visuomeninė veikla, nežinau, ir kas dabar reikalingiau. Tik žinau, kad rečiau tenka priėti prie fortepijono, padainuoti, o daugiau reikia galvoti, mąstyti, dažniau atsiversti knygą, kad galėčiau sau ir kitiems atsakyti į daugybę klausimų. <...> Mums, menininkams, visiems reikia nusileisti ant žemės, pajusti juodo darbo skonį, žmonių nuotaikas ir tik tada sąžiningai ir dorai imtis kūrybos. (Ambrazaitytė 1989)

Vilniaus tremtinių bendrija norėjo savo kandidato 1990 m. pavasarį rinkimuose į Lietuvos TSR Aukščiausiąją Tarybą. Dėl to buvo kreiptasi į Lietuvos Persitvarkymo Sąjūdžio Seimo Tarybos pirmininką Vytautą Landsbergį prašant leisti Nijolei Ambrazaitytei kandidatuoti Panerių apygardoje.

Beveik niekas iš Sąjūdžio žmonių čia nenorėjo balotiruotis dėl specifinio įvairiakalbio ir įvairiaaučio elektorato, o labiausiai dėl prorusiškai orientuoto ir toje pačioje apygardoje iškelto Vladislavo Švedo. Vytautas Landsbergis pritarė bendrijos sumanymui, galiausiai sutiko ir Nijolė Ambrazaitytė. Vytautas Landsbergis sakė, kad tokia didi menininkė kaip Nijolė savo nuostabiū balsu sugeba paveikti žmones daugiau negu bet koks politikas. (Sakalauskaitė 2018: 149).

Taip Ambrazaitytė iš Vilniaus tremtinių bendrijos veiklos (ji ne tik vadovavo Tremtinių chorui, bet ir buvo išrinkta bendrijos kultūros komisijos pirmininke) atėjo į didžiąją politiką, tapo 1990–1992 m. Aukščiausiosios

Tarybos-Atkuriamojo Seimo deputate ir Kovo 11-osios akto signatare. Dainininkei buvo 51-eri, jos vokalinė forma dar buvo puiki. Kadangi anuometiniai įstatymai to nereikalavo, tapusi Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo nare dainininkė neišėjo iš LNOBT iki 2000 m., retkarčiais ypatingesnėmis progomis dalyvaudavo spektakliuose, teatro gastrolėse.³² Ji vėl buvo iškelta kandidate į 1992–1996 m. Seimą, šįkart ją iškėlė Piliečių chartija, o 1996–2000 m. Seimo kadencijoje buvo išrinkta kaip Tėvynės Sąjungos (Lietuvos konservatorių) atstovė. 2000 m. rinkimuose konservatoriai patyrė pralaimėjimą ir Ambrazaitytė nebepateko į Seimą. Tuomet ji nutraukė politinę veiklą ir išėjo iš teatro (jau buvo sulaukusi pensinio amžiaus). Atsitraukusi nuo politinės ir meninės veiklos ji parašė dvi memuarų knygas. Pirmoji „Virš mūsų poliarinė pašvaistė“ (2005) – apie Sibiro tremtyje patirtas kančias, antroji „Skambantys operos klavyrai“ (2009) – apie scenoje praleistus dešimtmečius.

Nesėkmingi Ambrazaitytei 2000 m. Seimo rinkimai buvo labai sėkmingi jos kolegai Eduardui Kaniavai, jis pateko į Seimą kaip Algirdo Brazausko vadovaujamos Lietuvos demokratinės darbo partijos kandidatas. Šios partijos nariu jis tapo 1995 m., grįžęs iš Karakaso. Iki tol aktyviai politikoje nedalyvavęs Kaniava susigundė partiečių kvietimu. Tais metais buvo bandoma daugiau garsių žmonių įtraukti į politiką, tiksliau, pasinaudoti jų simboliniu kapitalu keliant politinių partijų patrauklumą. 2001 m. minėta partija susijungė su socialdemokratais ir kadenciją Kaniava baigė kaip Lietuvos socialdemokratų partijos narys. Paskui dar porą metų patarinėjo ministrui pirmininkui Algirdui Brazauskui kultūros klausimais.

Noreikos vardu taip pat buvo bandoma pasinaudoti siekiant geresnių rinkimų rezultatų. Tačiau priešingai nei Ambrazaitytė ar Kaniava, Noreika neturėjo aiškios

	<i>Simbolinio kapitalo</i> (Pierre'o Bourdieu) panaudojimas po 1990 m.
	Sąjūdžio narė (1988–1990)
Nijolė Ambrazaitytė	Parlamento narė (Lietuvos persitvarkymo sąjūdis, 1990–1992; Piliečių chartija, 1992–1996; TS-LKD, 1990–2000)
	Viena iš Tremtinių ir politinių kalinių asociacijos lyderių
Eduardas Kaniava	Parlamento narys (Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija, 2000–2004) Lietuvos Respublikos ministro pirmininko patarėjas kultūros klausimais 2004–2006
Virgilijus Noreika	Kandidatas į parlamentą (Krikščionių demokratų partija, 2000) Kandidatas į parlamentą (Liberalų demokratų partija, 2003)
Vladimiras Prudnikovas	Parlamento narys (Darbo partija, 2004) Lietuvos Respublikos kultūros ministras (2004–2006)
Vytautas Juozapaitis	Parlamento narys (TS-LKD, nuo 2016)

2 lentelė. Operos solistų simbolinio kapitalo panaudojimas atkūrus nepriklausomybę

politinės tapatybės. Buvęs SSSR komunistų partijos nariu jis nebetęsė veiklos nuo Maskvos atsiskyrusioje Brazausko vadovaujamoje Lietuvos komunistų partijoje, vėliau kelis kartus keitusioje pavadinimą. 2000 m., kai Kaniava ėjo į rinkimus su Brazausko vadovaujama partija, Noreika dalyvavo Lietuvos krikščionių demokratų sąjungos (LKDS), vadovaujamos Kazio Bobelio, sąrašė ir varžėsi vienmandatėje apygardoje gimtuosiuose Šiauliuose, tačiau į Seimą nepateko. Skandalas kilo, kai 2003 m. Noreika kandidatavo į Seimą jau kaip anuomet prezidentine vadinamos Rolando Pakso vadovaujamos Liberalų demokratų partijos atstovas. Išėjus keliems Seimo nariams dirbti į prezidentūrą, Seime atsilaisvino jų vietos. Vieną jų kaip Antakalnio vienmandatės apygardos kandidatas ketino užimti Noreika. Tuomet sujudo Bobelio krikdemai, priminę, kad tai jų partijos narys. Noreika tvirtino, kad niekada nebuvo įstojęs į šią partiją, nors Bobelis tikino, kad garsus dainininkas netgi buvo partijos valdžios struktūroje.³³ Tačiau ir su nauja politine jėga Noreika rinkimų vienmandatėje nelaimėjo. Daugiau į Seimą jis nekandidavo.

Simbolinio žymaus dainininko vardo tarp partijos narių siekė ir Viktoras Uspaskichas savo įkurtai Darbo partijai pasikvietęs Vladimirą Prudnikovą, su šia partija sėkmingai dalyvavusį 2004 m. Seimo rinkimuose. Dainininkas mandato atsiskakė dėl pasiūlyto kultūros ministro posto, kurį jis užėmė 2004–2006 m.

2016 m. su TS-LKD partijos sąrašu į Seimą pateko Vytautas Juozapaitis. 2020 m. jis išrinktas antrai kadencijai vienmandatėje Aleksoto–Vilijampolės apygardoje Kaune.

Kaip matyti, operos dainininko statusas ir įvaizdis vis dar patrauklūs politiniuose sluoksniuose ir XXI amžiuje. Pasikeitus sociokultūrinei sanklodai, dėmesys operos menui visuomenėje yra gerokai sumažėjęs, tačiau operos solisto institucija vis dar pastebima, dainininko populiarumas, charizma, raiška viešojoje erdvėje dar gali sėkmingai jam sukrauti simbolinį kapitalą.

Išvados

Lietuvos kultūros įstaigų tinklas beveik nepakitęs perėjo iš sovietinės santvarkos į demokratinės valstybės sistemą (lyginant su pramone ir žemės ūkiu), tačiau VAOBT lūžio metu patyrė vieną didžiausių transformacijų kultūros sektoriuje. Sąjūdžio metais reikštas dalies operos lauko dalyvių nepasitenkinimas teatro valdysena ir direktoriaus-meno vadovo Noreikos administravimo metodais rado atgarsį valdžios institucijose. Nors iki Kovo 11-osios nepasitenkinimas buvo bandomas slopinti vadovo naudai, atkūrus nepriklausomybę pirmojo kultūros ir švietimo ministro Kuolio komanda palaikė apsisvalymo idėją ir demokratinės

valdysenos principus. Todėl buvo atskirtos teatro administracinio valdymo ir kūrybinės lyderystės pareigybės ir surengtas demokratiniais principais grįstas konkursas į teatro meno vadovo pareigas. Kad šį žingsnį lėmė ne *ad hominen* argumentai, rodo ir faktas, kad tokiu pačiu principu buvo reorganizuota ir Klaipėdos valstybinio muzikinio teatro valdysena, ministro įsakymu įtvirtinta meno vadovo viršenybė teatruose. Meno vadovui suteikta teisė savo nuožiūra skirti teatro direktorių, pavaduotojus. Darytina išvada, kad ankstyvaisiais nepriklausomybės metais kūrybiškumas ir laisvė buvo svarbiausios vertybės kultūros ir meno lauke. Norėta atsikratyti nomenklatūrinių suvaržymų, išlaisvinti iš administravimo gniaužtų kuriantį, atsakingą vadovą. Po ilgų Komunistų partijos kultūros gyvenimo ideologinės kontrolės dešimtmečių buvo sukurta sistema, kurioje prioritetai – kūrybiškumas ir meniniai kriterijai, o ne ideologinių uždavinių įgyvendinimas, jų kontrolė ir partinis-administracinis reguliavimas.

Iškovota laisvė žadino dainininkų viltis karjeros plėtotė anapus buvusios geležinės uždangos, dėl kurios jie negalėjo įsilieti į tarptautinę operos meno rinką. Tačiau vėlyvojo sovietmečio žymiausi solistai, atkūrus nepriklausomybę, jau buvo pasiekę amžiaus ribą, kai karjeros startui Vakarų scenose laikas buvo bemaž praėjęs. Be to, atsivėrus sienoms, talentingų dainininkų plūstelėjo iš visų buvusio Rytų bloko šalių, tad konkurencija buvo didžiulė. Patekti į Vakarų operos rinką sugebėjo keli jaunosios kartos dainininkai, iš jų sėkmingiausiai susiklostė Sergejaus Larino, Violetos Urmanos ir Algirdo Januto karjeros. Iš vyresniųjų tik Vaclovui Daunorui pavyko įsitvirtinti Niujorko „Metropolitan Opera“ teatre. Kitų žymiųjų solistų kultūrinis kapitalas pasitarnavo pedagoginei karjerai ir koncertinei veiklai Lietuvoje.

Sovietmečiu aukštus karjeros reitingus įgijęs operos solistas galėjo naudotis privilegijomis, nepasiekiamomis eiliniams piliečiams. Žymieji dainininkai dėl populiarumo ir profesijos prestižo buvo artimi nomenklatūrai pagal socialinį statusą. Jie buvo populiarinami žiniasklaidos priemonėmis, tad buvo gerai žinomi net ir tai visuomenės daliai, kuri nesidomėjo operos menu. Kad tai gali pasitarnauti politinių partijų reitingams, buvo apsižiūrėta ne iškart atkūrus nepriklausomybę.

Į Lietuvos Persitvarkymo Sąjūdžio iniciatyvinę grupę būrėsi ano laiko mokslo ir meno elitai, vėliau įsitraukė aktyvistai, turėję sistemos represijų patirties – asmeninės ar artimųjų išgyventos. Tad pirmieji nepriklausomybės politikai atėjo iš laisvės mitingų ir tautinio pakilimo laikotarpio. Iš žymiųjų operos solistų vienintelė Nijolė Ambrazaitytė, buvusi tremtinė, tapo aktyvia politike. Vėliau, didėjant politiniam susipriešinimui, steigiantis vis naujoms partijoms, pradėta dairytis „garsių pavardžių“,

savo simboliniu kapitalu galinčių pritraukti daugiau rėmėjų politinėms partijoms. Todėl žymesnis populiarių sovietmečio operos solistų pasirodymas politinėje scenoje pastebimas tik antruoju nepriklausomybės dešimtmečiu, kai imta domėtis ir plačiai diskutuoti apie viešųjų ryšių strategijas.

Operos dainininkų indėlis į Lietuvos politiką nėra ryškus ir praktiškai nesukėlė rezonanso, išskyrus tą laikotarpį, kai Vladimiras Prudnikovas buvo kultūros ministru, kai žiniasklaidos susidomėjimą labiau kurstė jo asmeninis gyvenimas ir reputacija, o ne ministerijos vykdoma politika.

Kaip matyti, operos solisto institucija patyrė nemenką transformaciją. Iš sovietinio elito ji laipsniškai perėjo į gerokai sumenkusios sociokultūrinės reikšmės specifinę profesiją, kuri, pasiekus aukštų meistriško standarto, sėkmingai naudojant viešųjų ryšių strategijas, gali laiduoti turiningą profesinį gyvenimą, stabilią finansinę padėtį ir – ypatingos sėkmės ir / ar talento atveju – dinamišką tarptautinę karjerą.

Nuorodos

- ¹ Seminaras surengtas Nacionalinėje dailės galerijoje 2010 m. spalio 27 d. Jame dalyvavo dailėtyrininkai Ernestas Parulskis, Kęstutis Kuizinas, Skaidra Trilupaitytė, kompozitorius Šarūnas Nakas, muzikologės Vita Gruodytė, Rūta Stanevičiūtė, teatro kritikas Vaidas Jauniškis, filosofas Gintautas Mažeikis.
- ² Lietuvoje mokslininkai ir vertėjai vartoja dvejopą sąvokos formą: *agentas* (artimesnis originalui) arba lietuviškas atitikmuo *dalyvis*.
- ³ Svarbiausios Pierre'o Bourdieu metodologinės sąvokos aprašytos jo kanoniniame veikalė *Skirtis (La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement)*. Paris: Minuit, 1979; vertimas į anglų k.: *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press, 1984).
- ⁴ Pagal galiojantį Lietuvos Respublikos dokumentų ir archyvų įstatymą, dokumentai, kurie nepriskiriami nuolatiniam saugojimui, archyvuojami iki 10 metų, paskui sunaikinami, žr. <https://e-cimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.23066>.
- ⁵ Tyrimo autorės Inga Vinogradnaitė, Jūratė Kavaliauskaitė, Ainė Ramonaitė, Jogilė Ulinskaitė, Rytė Kukulskytė.
- ⁶ Apie to laiko savo sveikatos problemas Noreika minėjo monografijos apie jį autoriui Viktorui Gerulaičiui (Gerulaitis 2015: 21).
- ⁷ Tokia prielaida darytina iš klausius kelių kartų operos lauko dalyvių liudijimus pastaraisiais metais.
- ⁸ Čia Šepetys netikslus. V. Daunoras išėjo iš teatro savo noru 1971 m. dar direktoriaujant Laurušui. Noreikos laikais iš teatro jis neišėjo, tik buvo perkeltas į Kauną kultūros ministro sprendimu 1976 m. Šis netikslumas leidžia manyti, kad Šepetys, rengdamas užrašus publikuoti, juos koregavo, gal net pildė iš laiko perspektyvos kitaip reflektuodamas įvykius ir / arba norėdamas pagražinti savo vaidmenį ano laiko kontekste.
- ⁹ 1976 m. LKP CK sekretoriumi paskirtas Šepetys šias pareigas ėjo iki pat sovietmečio pabaigos. LSSR kultūros ministro

- pareigas 1976–1988 m. ėjo Jonas Bielinis, 1988–1990 m. – Dainius Trinkūnas, abu palankūs Noreikai.
- ¹⁰ Iš Katinaitės pokalbio su Imbrasu 2020 m. rugsėjo 3 d.
 - ¹¹ Iš Katinaitės pokalbio su Kuprevičiumi 2020 m. rugsėjo 8 d.
 - ¹² Lietuvos literatūros ir meno archyvas (LLMTA), F 97, ap. 1, b 501, l. 12–14.
 - ¹³ Ten pat.
 - ¹⁴ Tai prieštarauja Šepečio užuominai, kad pareigybė sukurta Noreikai. Aškinis šiame kontekste labiau įtikina. Veikiausiai dviguba pareigybė buvo įsteigta 1963 m., į šias pareigas paskyrus Laurušą.
 - ¹⁵ LLMTA, F 97, ap. 1, b 501, l. 13.
 - ¹⁶ LLMA, F 752, ap. 1, b. 8, l. 3.
 - ¹⁷ LLMA, F 752, ap. 1, b. 8, l. 3.
 - ¹⁸ Lietuvos operos ir baleto teatro pavadinimas buvo 8 metus (1990–1998), o nuo 1998 m. – Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras.
 - ¹⁹ Pokalbis su Dariumi Kuoliu yra Lietuvos nacionalinio muziejaus parodos „Nesuitaikė“, skirtos Kovo 11-osios trisdešimtmečiui, dalis.
 - ²⁰ LLMA, F 48, ap. 1, b. 2, l. 55.
 - ²¹ LLMA, F 48, ap. 1 b. 3, l. 45.
 - ²² Gerulaičio monografijoje skelbiamas dar vienas tikrovės neatitinkantis arba netikslus faktas. Autorius teigia, kad kai Noreika grįžo iš Venesuelos, kurioje dirbo 1993–1994 metais, jis nuėjo pas ministrą Kuolį paprašyti sklypo. „Solistas nuėjo pas kultūros ir švietimo ministrą Darių Kuolį. Humanitarą. Kuolys išklaušė kultūringai. Noreika sklypo negavo. Dar kartą taškas“, – dramatiškai dėsto autorius (Gerulaitis 2015: 14). Tačiau Kuolys ministro postą paliko 1992 m. gruodžio 2 d., po jo į šias pareigas grįžo Trinkūnas ir jas ėjo iki 1994 m. lapkričio 5 d., jį pakeitė Juozas Nekrošius. Galbūt Noreika sklypo prašė dar iki išvykdamas į Venesuelą, nes 200 sklypų menininkams buvo skirta 1991 m. gruodžio 13 d. Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybės nutarimu, žr. Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausybės nutarimas dėl butų meno, mokslo, kultūros ir švietimo darbuotojams statybos Vilniaus mieste, 1991 m. gruodžio 13 d. Nr. 553, <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.6114?jfwid=pd6eqbstx> [žiūrėta 2020 09 09].
 - ²³ Tokį jo vardą ir pavardę nurodo dirigento sesuo teatrologė Irena Aleksaitė knygoje „Be grimo“ (Vilnius: Tyto alba, 2004).
 - ²⁴ LLMA, F 48, ap. 1 b. 3, l. 190.
 - ²⁵ LLMA, F 48, ap. 1 b. 3, l. 190.
 - ²⁶ Duomenys iš 1990 m. sausio 19 d. VAOBT suvestinės, LLMA, F 752, ap. 1, b. 10, l. 2.
 - ²⁷ INVL Asset Management duomenimis, vidutinis darbo užmokestis 1980 m. LSSR buvo 166 rubliai (kultūros sektoriuje – 119, švietimo – 144). Nuo 1983 m. vidutinis darbo užmokestis augo, 1989 m. buvo 244 rubliai.
 - ²⁸ Iš S. Larino interviu Lietuvos radijui 2000 m.
 - ²⁹ Jono Bruverio surinkti duomenys (Bruveris 2006: 447).
 - ³⁰ 1970 m. Nijolei Ambrazaitytei suteiktas Lietuvos TSR nusipelnusios artistės garbės vardas, 1975 m. – Lietuvos TSR liaudies artistės garbės vardas, 1977 m. – TSRS liaudies artistės garbės vardas.
 - ³¹ Knygoje „Nijolė Ambrazaitytė. Nepaprastas balsas“ sudarytojai patikslina, kad tai buvęs 1988 m. rugsėjo 23 d. mitingas, į kurį netikėtai pateko dainininkė (Sakalaukaitė 2018: 145).
 - ³² 1994 m. Ambrazaitytė net dalyvavo Giuseppe Verdi operos „Trubadūras“ repeticijose ir premjeroje, atliko Azučenos

vaidmenį. Spektaklį pastatė dirigentas Vytautas Viržonis ir režisierius Eligijus Domarkas.

- ³³ Plačiau apie Noreikos blaškymąsi tarp dviejų partijų ir dalyvavimą rinkimuose į Seimą rašė Saulė Pauliuvienė „Lietuvos žiniose“ (2003 m. gegužės 15 d.). Noreika čia teigia, niekada nepareiškęs noro dalyvauti krikdemų veikloje, o į Liberalų demokratų partiją pareiškęs norą įstoti ir parašęs pareiškimą. Straipsnį perpublikavo www.delfi.lt, interneto prieiga: <https://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/krikdemai-savinasi-vnoreika.d?id=2330543> [žiūrėta 2020 09 09].

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Summary

Despite the fact that the network of Lithuanian culture institutions entered the early stage of independence almost without change, the Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre was significantly transformed. The theater was led by prominent singer Virgilijus Noreika, who held a double position—artistic director and director general. This double position and Noreika's methods of leadership were under strong discussion at various times at the theater. When the Singing Revolution began and lustration was one of the main topics within almost all organizations, the opera and ballet community was also involved in the process. Noreika had both supporters and critics among the staff. Some of them addressed the Ministry of Culture and the Central Committee of the Communist Party with complaints about Noreika. In fact, Noreika was a symbol of the old bureaucratic and Soviet nomenklatura systems with their hierarchy and rites.

Darius Kuolys, the first Minister of Culture and Education, and his team decided to separate the functions of artistic leadership and theater management and organize a democratic contest for the post of artistic director. There were five applicants for the post of artistic director, Noreika among them. The contest was won by composer Juozas Širvinskas.

Kuolys also signed the order that the theater director (or manager) should be appointed by the artistic director without any competition, at his own discretion. We can conclude from this that at the beginning of independence, creative force and freedom were the most important values. After the long Communist Party ideological rule of cultural life, a new system was launched, placing the priority on creativity and artistry.

In the early stages of independence, opera singers' social status and financial situation changed. Despite the severe social consequences of the economic crisis, the most famous singers developed their cultural capital. Virgilijus Noreika and Eduardas Kaniava dedicated themselves to pedagogical activities. Vaclovas Daunoras succeeded in making a debut at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, where he sang for 10 seasons.

A few members of the younger generation successfully started international careers. Sergej Larin, Violeta Urmana, Algirdas Janutas, Edgaras Montvidas, Laimonas Pautienius, and many others adapted their skills to the needs of Western opera companies.

Some singers developed their symbolic capital (prestige, authority, or influence). These qualities were used by both

left- and rightwing politicians to attract voters with popular names. Nijolė Ambrazaitytė began her political career during the National Revival and later became a member of the Lithuanian Parliament. A more significant appearance of popular Soviet-era opera soloists on the political scene was noticeable in the second decade of independence, when an interest in public relations strategies emerged. Kaniava was elected to the parliament for one term. Vladimiras

Prudnikovas even worked as Minister of Culture for two years. Noreika did not succeed in being reelected. Two different parties tried to employ his popularity and renown.

So, the first decade of restored independence in Lithuania was a period when the opera singer evolved from being a member of the socio-cultural elite to carrying out a specific profession in which high standards of professionalism and success could ensure an exciting, comfortable life.

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Nana SHARIKADZE

Georgian Unofficial Music as a Fact of Musical Resistance

Gruzijos neoficialioji muzika kaip muzikinio pasipriešinimo veiksnys

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Abstract

Cultural resistance reveals itself in different forms; it represents the act of unmortification of art and often appears as a tool against power, and restrictions and censorship in art. In the Soviet Union, with its strong censorship practices, the act of ignoring the “rules defined for all forms of art” while making art music can be perceived as an act of resistance. Unofficial art music and censorship have always been interrelated throughout the history of Soviet music. Micheil Shugliashvili is an outstanding Georgian composer of the generation of the 1960s and a brilliant member of the so-called musical resistance in a country where attacking freedom formed the main attitude for life and culture. He represents a unique example of an individual who had never been in touch with Western music. While isolated in the Eastern political bloc, he managed to reveal and incorporate new music information and find his own ways of expression, which earned him the name of the most distinguished Georgian avant-garde artist. His works were interpreted as the “Georgian analogue of Xenakis.”

Keywords: Micheil Shugliashvili, unofficial music and Georgian avant-garde.

Anotacija

Kultūroje pasipriešinimas reiškiasi įvairiomis formomis: menas dažnai tampa įrankiu kovoje su valdžia prieš ribojimus ir cenzūrą. Sovietų Sąjungoje griežtai cenzūruojamas akademinės muzikos kūrimas, ignoruojant „taisykles, nustatytas visoms meno formoms“, gali būti suvokiamas kaip pasipriešinimo veiksmas. Per visą sovietinės muzikos istoriją neoficialioji akademinė muzika visuomet buvo susijusi su cenzūra. Micheilis Šugliašvilis (Shugliashvili) yra žymus septintojo dešimtmečio kartos gruzinų kompozitorius ir talentingas vadinamojo muzikinio pasipriešinimo atstovas šalyje, kurioje kova už laisvę visuomet formavo požiūrį į gyvenimą ir kultūrą. Ši unikali individualybė neturėjo ryšių su vakarietiškais muzikos procesais: uždarytas rytų politiniame bloke, jis sugebėjo aptikti ir panaudoti naujausią muzikos informaciją bei rasti savitus išraiškos būdus, pelniusius jam žymiausio gruzinų avangardisto vardą; jo kūryba interpretuojama kaip „gruziniškasis Xenakio analogas“.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Micheilis Šugliašvilis, neoficialioji muzika, gruzinų avangardas.

Introduction

The relationship between the dominant, so-called official culture and unofficial culture lies in the deviance from the rules defined for all forms of art and contradicts what was agreed as being “normal” in the Soviet regime. The degree of deviance shaped the degree of resistance in artistic/musical work.

The present article will deliver a short overview of the meaning of resistance in culture associated with the different forms of Soviet art music: *unofficial*, *underground*, *nonconformist*, *other music*, and *underground art*. Attention will be drawn to the concept of unofficial art due to its ability to deviate from the norms of politically driven art. Furthermore, interrelations between unofficial art and censorship will be highlighted in the light of totalitarian regimes, since the act of ignoring the “rules defined for all forms of art” while making art music in the Soviet regime can be perceived as an act of resistance.

The Thaw epoch, with its liberalization, brought back a sense of accessibility to the “forbidden fruit” as well as a feeling of boundlessness. At the same time, the cultural policy introduced after WW2, which was based on confrontation and opposition between the Western and Eastern political blocs, created a dichotomy between modernism and social realism. Through the light of post-Stalinist times, the development of Georgian art music of the 1960s will be discussed. This was a time when representatives of both official and unofficial music had entered the musical scene and contributed to the fast and diverse development of art music in Soviet Georgia. These names included Sulkhan Nasidze, Sulkhan Tsintsadze, Giya Kancheli, Otar Taktakishvili, Nodar Gabunia, Bidzina Kvernadze, Natela Svanidze, and Micheil Shugliashvili. This was the time when unofficial music was born in Georgia—it was time full of experiments and new ideas that were not in line with the official concepts of the ruling party. How the Georgian music reflected all the above-mentioned issues will be discussed in the present

article. The history of Georgian unofficial music will be looked at from the perspective of its origins and development as well as through the relationships between the unofficial and official. Furthermore, the 1960s will be outlined as the turning point for the Georgian music scene, which served as a foundation for the Westernization of creative minds and therefore contributed to the firm development of the culture of resistance in art music. Shugliashvili's works written for three grand pianos will be examined as an example of unofficial art music. All three pieces were written in the 1970s and created on an original technological idea based on a progression of numbers.

Resistance in music: fact or myth?

Cultural resistance is generally a complex phenomenon, has been associated with various types of music, and has been described with different terms during the Soviet regime: unofficial, underground, nonconformist, other music, or underground art. All the above-mentioned terms serve as a synonym for describing the forms of expression the resistance in culture against totalitarian regimes took.

For the purpose of outlining the general definition of resistance in Soviet art music, I would refer to the common features in all abovementioned terms and underline them: it's an ability of culture to resist the rules defined for all forms of art by the official culture and contradict what has been agreed upon to be "normal" in an official sense. Thus, the term unofficial music comprehensively describes the act of resistance against politically driven art and best expresses the cultural reality of deviance from the standardization of culture. Therefore, the term unofficial music will be used throughout the article as a synonym for the act of willfully disobeying an order from a superior authority and not belonging to the dominant culture.

The history of resistance in music/unofficial music has been dealt with ambivalently: on one hand, art not belonging to the hegemonic culture was banned and was not known to a broader audience; on the other hand, it existed as a fact and was known to a small circle of specialists. For instance, Natela Svanidze and Micheil Shugliashvili, Georgian unofficial composers, were known to their contemporaries, but music lovers did not have any information about their works.

What is the main concept of unofficial art music?

The relationship between the dominant, so-called official culture and the unofficial one lies in deviance from the rules defined for all forms of art. The unofficial culture and art music, and the contradiction between the official

and unofficial concepts, have been thoroughly discussed by various researchers¹ and argued in the light of different issues related to deviance from the norms.

The importance of adherence to the rules or deviance from them in art music was well acknowledged by the fathers of Soviet ideology; they introduced the norms and dogmas on how music should be perceived by the "new working class" since the ideological fathers "considered literature and the arts as a weapon in the revolutionary armory...":

Lenin hesitated to dictate a single style for socialist culture, but he intervened whenever he saw something he disliked. He permitted what he considered harmless bourgeois culture to survive so long as he did not find it too expensive, too critical, or too independent. When the market in cultural goods vanished, all arts became public arts and all artists became de facto state employees (Brooks and Chernyavskiy 2007: 142)

We can assume that the act of maintaining a constant adherence towards what "they" disliked represented an act of unmortification of art music, where the degree of deviance shaped the degree of resistance in art and often appeared as a tool against the powers as well as restrictions and censorship in art. By paraphrasing Rebecca Raby's statement, deviance from accepted standards and approved rules defined resistance against politically driven art (Raby 2005: 153).

Even after Stalin's death, Kabalevsky's statement, made in 1959, was quite in line with Lenin's views. Kabalevsky argued that:

The Composer is First and Foremost a Citizen [...] young composers should more clearly and fully realize that huge responsibility that lies upon them... you are first and foremost a citizen of your society, who should help your people in their gigantic creative work directed toward the building of a new communist society, and that you should be in the front lines of that society—this realization should guide every one of us, independent of our age, our talent, or our stage of maturity (Schmelz 2005: 140)².

Is that the only reason why keeping to the rules was so important to the authorities of the totalitarian regime? Why was it so important for the Soviets to have a clear understanding about what was official or unofficial in art music?

The answer lies far beyond musical art and most likely not only in music, but rather in political concepts. Since art was considered as a weapon in the revolutionary armory that aimed to bring up the new working class, the weapon should have served political aims:

The bipolar, black-and-white world that was introduced after WW2 revealed not only the confrontation and opposition between the Western and Eastern political blocs, but the dichotomy between modernism and social realism as well.

Policies that supported the antimodernist movement in art music created lots of gaps in the music financed by the Soviets. It's well-known that social realism showed preference for traditional forms and approaches in terms of harmony, musical language, and style; it was ardently against Western modernism and the avant-garde. (Sharikadze 2019: 18)

The role and function of official art music was to create a status or position, and the privilege and esteem attached to it. So, what did art music look like in terms of gaining status, fitting the ideology, having the proper aesthetic background, and becoming part of the cultural space as permitted by the cultural center? What did those unmortified art music composers have to contradict?

Briefly going through all the above mentioned questions and outlining art music according to a black-and-white reality, the following might be said:

- Status: official vs unofficial
- Ideology: Soviet vs anti-Soviet
- Aesthetic basis: social realism vs modernism/avant-gardism
- Cultural space: Soviet Union vs the Western political bloc;
- Cultural center: Moscow vs the multicentered culture of the West

This black-and-white reality was introduced with the intention to preserve the party line in culture, and that literally meant using censorship as a tool for ensuring the "normal," "official" order in art, to strengthen the Soviet ideology through all cultural means.

What was opposite to the official status in Soviet Union? It's clear that unofficial art music was placed opposite to official music. The main reason for that was its strong leanings towards Westernization, in other words, the influence of modernism and avant-gardism on art music.

As long as the ideology sought to preserve the purity of its concepts, censorship held high importance. Thus, it is unimaginable to talk about unofficial music without discussing the concept of censorship because they have been interrelated throughout the history of Soviet culture³; moreover, censorship was literally a reply to those "unmortified ones" that the system was not able to gain victory over; everything that did not conform to the ideals of socialist realism became officially sanctioned by the police state. Although strict censorship was softened during the Thaw, not much had been changed in terms of cultural policy. On one hand, the rules were in place for those following socialist realism as the dominant culture. On another hand, even in the drastic '30s, Communist Party leaders "faced opposition from the intelligentsia, and the Bolsheviks accepted the support of some avant-garde artists and writers. Lenin initially tolerated them, perhaps because of the prestige they lent Bolshevik rule" (Brooks and Chernyavskiy 2007: 142) and offered "to extend the boundaries of official tolerance by adopting a line considered by authorities" (McDermott

and Stibbe 2006: 90, 91). "It was also a surviving formula, a modality for writers and artists to cheat Communist censorship without going the whole way into open political opposition" (Copoeru and Sepp 2007: 74).

The abovementioned arguments allow Ross Haenfler (Haenfler 2014) to argue that those cases enforced conformity. It is worth mentioning that, during the time of the Communist regime, as Joseph Bakshtein, the Russian curator, author, and museum director, wrote:

The duality of life in which the official perception of everyday reality is independent of the reality of the imagination leads to a situation where art plays a special role in society. In any culture, art is a special reality, but in the Soviet Union, art was doubly real precisely because it had no relation to reality. It was a higher reality... The goal of nonconformism in art was to challenge the status of official artistic reality, to question it, to treat it with irony. Yet that was the one unacceptable thing. All of Soviet society rested on orthodoxy, and nonconformism was its enemy. That is why even the conditional and partial legalization of nonconformism⁴ in the mid-1970s was the beginning of the end of the Soviet regime (Bakshtein 1995: 332).

According to the polarity of perception in culture, it is evident that the Soviet totalitarian regime created a challenging space for musical art where in addition to ideology dictating forms of expression in music, individuals were trying to shake the concept of politically driven art through music (Sharikadze 2020).

The Thaw and unofficial music

Discussion about unofficial music typically starts by describing the importance of the Thaw era with relation to its birth. The political context is crucial to having a comprehensive understanding about the real statement art makes, but it's also essential for interpreting the circumstance in an objective way. In that regard, I would draw attention to the following quotes by two famous individuals from the twentieth century—Nikita Khrushchev and Zygmunt Mycielski—the first a politician, the second a musician. Both had absolutely different mindsets and approaches to culture and the problems faced by art.

Although Khrushchev⁵ did not focus on art in his secret speech, the real intention of the "Thaw maker" might be found in the Declaration on Music in Soviet Society made by him on March 8, 1963:

Music in which there is no melody produces nothing but irritation. [...] A normal person finds it difficult to understand what is hidden behind the word dodecaphonic... We need music that inspires, that calls for heroic deeds and for constructive labor. Music for such bands can be written only by composers who adhere to positions of socialist realism.

[...] We want to stipulate our own attitude towards music, its tasks and its creative direction. To put it briefly, we are for melodic music, rich in content, which stirs the souls of men, generating strong feelings. We are against cacophonous music. [...] Music in which there is no melody produces nothing but irritation. They tell us that such opinions as mine reveal a lack of understanding. [...] A normal person finds it difficult to understand what is hidden behind the word dodecaphonic, but in all probability, it is the same as cacophonous. Well, this cacophonous music we totally reject. Our people cannot include such trash in our ideological armament. (Shouts in the audience: "Right!") We need music that inspires, that calls for heroic deeds and for constructive labor. When a soldier goes to war, he takes all that he needs with him, and the regiment band never leaves him. It inspires him during the army march. Music for such bands can be written only by composers who adhere to positions of socialist realism, who remain close to everyday life and to the problems of national struggle, those who are supported by the people. Our political stand in art is that of intransigent opposition to abstractionism, formalism and other bourgeois perversions of this type. It is Lenin's line, which we have unswervingly followed, and which we will continue to follow. (APPLAUSE). (Slonimski 1971: 1377–1378)

Another influential figure, the well-known Polish composer Zygmunt Mycielski, argued about the challenges of the modern artistic world and its further development in Poland:

Unfortunately, we live in a world that is closed—and practically speaking—isolated from the artistic life surrounding us. Even numerous official visits, congresses, or conventions, which only a few—usually the same—artists and virtuosos attend, do not help here. That is not true artistic contact. Artistic contact means concert life, and concert programs on which a person can define the best achievements of music from around the world; it means easy access to publications, an exchange of the finest soloists and conductors. [...] we are becoming a provincial land, in which we cannot imagine either how or what is being played or produced in other places. We do not know what the level of an orchestra or violinist, or oboist is, or how a conductor interprets a particular work. Here in Poland the majority of musicians are not acquainted with Prokofiev's symphony for cello and orchestra, and we do not know all of Shostakovich's symphonies, or even the compositions of Janacek or Bartok, or the current works of Honegger, Stravinsky, Britten or Messiaen. [...] Such is the state of things. Ignorance of what is happening in our held elsewhere increases every year this is more than dangerous. (Droba 2014: 336)

According to Khrushchev's speech, life in the Soviet Union, including cultural life, stood on the pillar of the bipolar world concept, which was based on the perception of a black-and-white reality with its clearly identified boundaries, where revelation of any symptoms of the

Westernization of culture was enough to be labeled anti-Soviet or anti-official. The only parts of the Thaw speech that might be seen as positive were both the declaration of liberalization and openness as well as the testing of the limits of censorship.

It's true that the Thaw epoch, with its liberalization, brought back the sense of accessibility to the "forbidden fruit" as well as a feeling of boundlessness. At the same time, the Thaw created expectations, revealed positive signs in terms of opening doors for information, offered a perspective for the future without a cult of personality, and softened censorship. However, Thaw politics did not have a universal expression in culture. Khrushchev speaks for it since in his speech no word was said about the new cultural policy of the Soviets. In other words, it is clearly shown by the leader of the police state that the evaluation of the appropriateness of art music was still under strict control and no deviance from the rules was to be considered even during the Thaw.

In contrast to the Soviet leader, Mycielski underlined the dramatic situation for the further development of cultural life in Poland, which recalls the Georgian Soviet reality. Akaki Bakradze, the Georgian publicist and writer, described the state in the literature as follows:

Any doctrine was an expression of Russia's interest, which considered the interests of Georgia only to the extent of being acceptable for Russia. What is good and admissible for Russia is good and admissible for Georgia (and for all non-Russians). We have become one of the Russia's provinces like the Tambov or Kaluga regions. (Bakradze 2018: 2)

Bakradze's statement applied to art music as well.

Furthermore, the cultural policy during the Thaw epoch was still full of contradictions. On the one hand, the Soviet government upheld the participation of Soviet musicians in such festivals as Warsaw Autumn in Poland, but on the other hand, the Soviets adhered and remained in the dichotomy of the modernism and avant-garde. It was especially aimed towards the so called "young composers" keen to adopt the various "avant-garde" techniques of the West and actively falling under the influence of Westernization.

As a result, these "young composers," or "molodye kompozitory," as the Soviet press pointedly labeled them in negative screeds until well after they had ceased to be young, eagerly adopted the various "avant-garde" techniques of the West. The very specific use to which I am putting "young composers" (aided by the English "the" absent from the Russian original) thus has its genesis in the negative criticism of the time. I am using it to refer to a specific group of composers, those composers who would only later, in the mid-1960s, become unofficial, after the power relations within Soviet musical life had solidified, and what can legitimately be called an unofficial musical subculture had developed... In Russian the phrase "young composer" is as generic as its literal English

translation, but in its Soviet usage during the Thaw it acquired more specific shades of meaning. While Sovetskaya muzika carried general rubrics called “The Creative Activity of the Youth” (Tvorchestvo molodyozh’), and published many articles detailing compositions by “young composers”; when it came to negative criticism, the term “young composer” was turned into an epithet with a very specific connotation (Schmelz 2005: 140).

The name “young composers” was given to the generation born in the 1930s. They came onto the musical scene after WW2, and among them were Sofia Gubaidulina, Alfred Schnittke, Edison Denisov in Russia, Arvo Pärt in Estonia, and Natela Svanidze and Micheil Shugliashvili in Georgia. Various means of censorship were used to punish creative expression by this group, from banning the creative works⁶ of the rule breakers to outright ignoring them.

That is, when the “young composers” were mentioned critically it was very clear who was being addressed, as was the case. The composers started out as “young”—immature, impressionable, and hence only misguided—but as the 1960s unfolded they gradually moved beyond the pale, either receiving more direct criticism or, more often, going entirely unmentioned in the Soviet press; they became unofficial (Schmelz 2005: 140).

In this clash between the system and the individual—where it was so hard for a person to gain victory over the system—the generation of unofficial composers (these so-called “young composers”) was born. Both Natela Svanidze, a Georgian composer of Soviet times whose work is often neglected, and Micheil Shugliashvili, one of the founders of Georgian unofficial (so-called repressed) music, were members of this group.

Its paradoxical that the official art music, with its strong ideological background, created a stimulus for the development of unofficial music in the Soviet Union before and even during the Thaw. It was strangely predicted by Georgi Plekhanov⁷ at the beginning of the last century:

There is no force on earth which could say to art: You must take this and not another direction (Sjeklocha and Mead 1967: V).

Towards unofficial music: the Georgian case

The history of Georgian unofficial art music started after the death of Stalin and lasted until *perestroika*. Thus, the 1960s turned out to be important for Soviet music due to the birth of unofficial art music. The 60s are crucial for Georgian music for the following reasons in addition to those already mentioned:

a) First, this is a time when such Georgian composers as Sulkhan Nasidze, Sulkhan Tsintsadze, Gyia Kancheli, Otar Taktakishvili, Nodar Gabunia, Bidzina

Kvernadze, Natela Svanidze, Micheil Shugliashvili and other representatives of the official as well as unofficial music entered the musical scene and contributed to the rapid and diverse development of art music in Soviet Georgia.

- b) The 1960s was a time when radical changes had taken place in Georgian music; the “generation of 60s contributed to those changes to a large extent. These changes affected all aspects of musical thinking, including language, style, and genre.
- c) In the beginning of the 1960s, the Thaw allowed artists to discover new influences, such as the new Vienna school, John Cage, Béla Bartók, and the Polish avant-garde. The Georgian compositional school started to catch up to the information coming from the West and strived to find its way beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. But apart from that, composers had to be careful about producing abstract musical language and experiments.
- d) Composers tried to carve out a space for official and unofficial so-called “other music.” Nasidze, Gabunia, Kvernadze, Kancheli, and others worked within the context of the Thaw and post-Thaw musical reality, while Svanidze and Shugliashvili experienced problems in reaching out to their audiences.
- e) Soviet composers, Georgians among them, were allowed to attend the Warsaw Autumn Festival of contemporary music in Poland and to perform their works there. That of course was not the case for unofficial composers.
- f) An information boom accompanied sanctions and bans. The information boom was developed with a solid interest in pluralism, Neoromanticism, Prokofiev’s and Schostakovich’s music, Bartók’s works and all types of avant-garde techniques.

Generally, Georgian music strived to enrich musical language with new findings and saw a chance for development in linking tradition with modernity: Tsintsadze wrote his second symphony (1962), followed by Kancheli’s Concerto for orchestra (1962), *Largo and Allegro* (1963), and the First Symphony (1966), Kvernadze’s *Dance Phantasy* (1961); in 1968 Gabichvadze, Toradze, and Nasidze wrote their second symphonies, and that same year Svanidze created his first symphony; one year later, Nasidze wrote chamber symphony No 3.

Simultaneously, unofficial Georgian music was on the rise: Natela Svanidze drastically changed her style in 1963 after she visited the Warsaw Autumn Festival; Micheil Shugliashvili intended to blow out of the water all his works written in the 1960s. Although new ideas were not in line with the official concepts of the ruling party, unofficial art was flourishing while still being marginalized by the Soviets. The voices of unofficial Georgian composers—those of

Natela Svanidze and Micheil Shugliashvili—were either not heard loudly enough or at all.

Can we trace any tendencies from the past that could predict the birth of unofficial music in Georgia? The answer to this question is negative. But I think it's important to explain the reason thoroughly by looking back at history.

Let's start with the fact that Georgia as a country was occupied by the Red Army in 1921 and, as a result, became isolated from European artistic life, followed by full suppression in the 1930s. Generally speaking, the disadvantage of being one of the socialist republics of the Soviet empire was, in addition to occupation, the fact that the cultural paradigm was broken off and the newly established Georgian compositional school (just three years prior to occupation) found itself in another reality, that of social realism. The new Georgian professional school established in 1918 had had no time for experiments and independent development. Ideologically driven Georgian music of 1920–1950 might serve as the best example of this period. Let's list the objective reasons for the abovementioned:

- 1932 Stalin's government took control of the arts with the publication of *On the Reconstruction of Literary-Artistic Organizations*, a decree that placed artists' unions under the control of the Communist Party.
- Two years later, in the context of the promotion of socialist realism, four categories of unacceptable art were defined and labeled "formalistic" art; these categories included abstractionism, expressionism, and conceptual art.
- The worst part of this period in history was that the world was narrowed to the borders of the Soviet Union and the only cultural center for the peripheral republics was Moscow, the capital of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
- In 1936, avant-garde artists who were unable or unwilling to adapt to the new policy were forced out of their positions and often either murdered or sent to the Gulag, as part of Stalin's Great Purge.

In the 1930s the music was "carrying out less threat" for ideological standard-bearers. Only a few musicians were executed in the 1930s if we compare music to other fields (e.g., writing, art, theater, or poetry) in Georgia. There is an explanation for this phenomenon: in the 1920 and 1930s, after the occupation the Georgian professional music school was balanced in terms of style, was not adherent to the experiments, and there was no threat of music influencing the working class. Maybe lack of experiments and new ideas was the advocacy for the survival of the Georgian composers.

If unofficial musical culture might be traced through the history of closed performances in Soviet Russia, that was not the case for Georgia before the period of Thaw for art music:

Unofficial musical subculture took root in rare performances in small, closed venues such as scientific institutes in Moscow like FIAN—the Physics Institute of the Academy of Science (Fizicheskiy Institut Akademiy Nauk)—or the Kurchatov Institute (Institut imeni Kurchatova). There were also concerts, as we have seen, in open, publicly accessible venues like the Small Hall of the Moscow Conservatory, the Small Hall of the Leningrad Philharmonic, and even the hall at the House of Composers in Leningrad. The performances at these venues were dictated more by chance than anything else (Schmelz 2005: 198).

The Westernization of creative minds, which was revealed through the adoption of "strange" language features before then unknown, began to occur from the 1960s. The Georgian compositional school had to catch up with the information that was accumulated in the West during the period the Iron Curtain divided Europe.

Inspirational "contact zone"

The Westernization of creative minds occurred through various channels, one of the most crucial being "contact zones" (Mary Louise Pratt's expression). Contact zones were where "cultural goods are exchanged" (Lisa Jakelski); the more Mary Louise Pratt stated that the term referred "to social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they lived out in many parts of the world today" (Pratt, 1991 :34). Such zones in music consisted of various "cultural goods" in its origin, stylistic pluralism, musical language, compositional techniques, concept, and musical aesthetics as well. Meanwhile contact zones were an important stimulus, a source for influence often accompanied by an information boom that served as an inspiration for reviving musical language and traditions (e.g., dodecaphony, sonorism, and aleatorics). Georgian composers in the 1960s received cultural goods through either personal contact (between members of the Russian avant-garde such as Schnittke, Denisov, or Gubaidulina, or representatives of unofficial art music) or through attending the Warsaw Autumn Festival of contemporary music in Poland. This festival rendered a great service in spreading information about recent tendencies in art music throughout the world. While Svanidze found inspiration at the Warsaw Autumn Festival and prepared for a drastic style change,⁸ Shugliashvili's personal friendship with Andrei Volkonski (the founder of unofficial music in the Soviet Union) allowed him access to new information. Volkonski visited Tbilisi several times, and a few Georgian composers had the opportunity to meet him at Shugliashvili's place.

Although Shugliashvili had never been at the WAF, his close friendship with Volkonski played a crucial role in the composer's life. The composer's efforts to modernize his music started with the adoption and adaptation of "new" techniques such as dodecaphony and serial, sonoristic, aleatory, and electronic techniques, the adoption of different compositional techniques such as Structuralism and Rationalism, and the use of algorithmic organization of mathematical models.

Micheil Shugliashvili (1941–1996)⁹

Micheil Shugliashvili was an outstanding Georgian composer and teacher, the founder of a computer music studio in Tbilisi, and a brilliant member of the so-called musical resistance in a country where attacking freedom formed the main attitude for life and culture. He was a unique example of an individual who had never been outside of the Soviet Union and who experienced the full means of Soviet censorship. He never tried to negotiate about musical style with decision-makers in culture, and that's why he was forced to exit musical life and become a teacher. Nearly all his works were banned from the 1970s to 2015, and these banned musical pieces were not published until 2018. His works found their way to the audience only after his death. In 1996 his piano work was performed for the first time by Nana Khubutia, respected Georgian pianist, teacher, and conservatoire professor. Despite this Shugliashvili managed to reveal and incorporate new music information into his work and find his own ways of expression, which gained him recognition as one of the most distinguished Georgian avant-garde artists. His works were interpreted as a Georgian analogue of Xenakis.

I found personal consultations with Shugliashvili's son and the composer's close friends and conducting individual interviews with his former pupils the appropriate approach to help me examine Shugliashvili's legacy. Personal recollections serve as a good source of information in this situation; we lack evidence, since no written material (publicity or interviews) is available. Shugliashvili as a person was extremely modest and did not place himself at the center of attention. He also did not pay attention to his archive, which was actually lost after his death. The only material that remains accessible is a few of his writings about the features of his individual compositional technique.

Due to the fact that the archive of the composer has been lost, researchers have to base their research on oral stories told by his contemporaries as well as his former pupils and friends, such as Reso Kiknadze, Zurab Nadareishvili, and Teimuraz Bakuradze.¹⁰

According to Shugliashvili, his main creative works are as follows:¹¹

For orchestra:

- *Gradationi* (1979)
- *Progressions* (1976)
- *Polichronie* (1978)
- *Paraphrase* (1976)

For two pianos and string quartet:

- *Sextet* (1973)

For piano:

- *Ecercise* (1972)
- *Da capo* (1976–1979)

For three pianos:

- *Grand Chromatic Phantasy* (1974 / 1976–1978)
- *Largo e Presto* (1977)
- *Pastorale* (1977–1978)

For tape:

- *Multiplications* (1977–1979)
- *Reminiscence* (1976)
- *Inversus* (1976 / 1972–1979)

As we know from his former pupils, Shugliashvili prioritized pieces he composed at the beginning of the 1970s. Shugliashvili left no details about the reason for this choice, but we can assume that the starting point may have been the compositional technique based on progressions of numbers which he became interested in and started working with in the 1970s. Shugliashvili explains the technique of the progression in the following way:

I have been working on this system since 1973. This technology is close to computer music and maybe that is a reason why these pieces are not performed. I am working on how to express musical form adequately graphically. Apart from that, since my student years, I've been working on the relevant graphic realization of the musical form and theoretical issues. The final solution and realization of it is not possible with the computer technique. Finally, I've been working on an original method for musical education for last 10 years, which has its followers among musicians in Tbilisi. (Kavtaradze 2018)

Shugliashvili's *Da capo* for piano and the following three most important compositions for three pianos have been selected: *Grand Chromatic Phantasy*, *Largo e Presto*, and *Pastoral*. All were written in the 1970s and created using his original technological idea based on the progression of numbers. This technique was explored for the first time in *Da capo*, the piece written for solo piano in 1973.

It's based on 24 structural non-changeable elements. On one hand, the sequence of the elements is defined by repetition (*da capo*); on another hand the static elements create a dynamic process where the sequence shows the intensity and the relaxation of the emotional load. Compositionally, the piece consists of symmetric sections; the relation between them is strictly based on the principle of *inversus*. (Shugliashvili M 2005)

The technique of the progression achieves another level in the group of pieces written for three pianos. Shugliashvili builds both parts of *Largo e Presto* on the quotes taken from Chopin's piano works: *Largo* starts with the reminiscence of the quote from Chopin's Prelude No. 20, while *Presto* is built on a quotation from Chopin's 2nd Sonata's Finale.

It's an unusual choice for an unofficial artist to refer to Chopin's piano works. Prelude, Op. 28 No. 20 in C minor, commonly known as "Chord Prelude," probably attracted Shugliashvili's attention because of its slow progression of quarter note chords. But what about the second part of *Presto*, which is developed on the Finale theme from the 2nd Sonata by Chopin? The short finale, which is also marked as *Presto*, is a *perpetuum mobile* in "relatively simple" binary form (Rosen 1995: 294). The sonata's final part has been inspiring musicians for decades: Garrick Ohlsson¹² described it as "the weirdest movement he's (Chopin) ever written in his whole life. [...] the movement was truly looking into the 20th century and post-romanticism and atonality" (Ohlsson 2018), Leikin noted the Chopin's finale as "probably the most enigmatic piece Chopin ever wrote" (Leikin 1994: 191), and Anton Rubinstein is said to have remarked that the fourth movement is the "wind howling around the gravestones" (Thompson 2013). Supposedly all of the above inspired Shugliashvili when he composed *presto* part. Shugliashvili emphasized:

[*Largo e Presto*] is based on the principle of register and canonic multiplication and reprise progression, which results in a peculiar sound based on acoustic and stereophonic effects. As for the form, the work is a triptych, the parts of which are conformed in equal time proportion (4 + 4 + 4 = 12). The work expresses epitaphic feeling, "sinking" in its statics gradually evokes dynamic mood. (Shugliashvili 2005)

Pastorale for three pianos was written in 1977–1978 with the aim to play "one 'pastoral' texture in each part, constructed on the intonations of Ionic mode. [...] Each piano part is a line of "mechanical" sequences, which acquire peculiar sound only in ensemble polyphony" (Kavtaradze 2018).

Grand Chromatic Phantasy ("Symphony") is a large-scaled composition written for three grand pianos and lasts nearly an hour. Shugliashvili was inspired by Bach's Chromatic Fantasy in D minor. Shugliashvili's piece with its "amazingly strong emotional impact is based on accurately calculated constructivist ideas and mathematical progressions. The idea of this construction is born from the chromatic scale and is realized on every level and provides algorithmic organization of mathematical models, sound and rhythmic material" (Kavtaradze 2018: 3). This is how the dialogue with Bach is carried out. Progression is everywhere, via canonic multiplication and reprise progression.

Each piano part has the line of "mechanic" sequences firstly short, then constructed on complete chromatic movements, which acquire particular function in ensemble polyphony. A rich arsenal of modern pianist technique (including rhythmic imitation on the lids of all three grand pianos) creates the effect of orchestra sound. The flows of pulsating sounds stretched in time often overlap, compress the space and erupt like volcanic lava. (Kavtaradze 2018: 4)

Conclusions

Shugliashvili's creative works tell us a story about the development of unofficial music in Soviet Georgia, but this is also a story about the unmortified artist's legacy in Georgian professional compositional school. Although Shugliashvili was underrepresented during his life, it took about 20 years to bring his works back into the light. Shugliashvili's life shows the turbulence of the status of unofficial music in politically driven art music. His legacy has still to be examined, and I do hope that this work will eventually be done.

Endnotes

- ¹ Rebecca Raby, Ross Haenfler, Paul Sjeklocha, Igor Mead, Marina Frolova-Walker, Richard Taruskin, Alexander Glezer, Joseph Bakshtein, Peter J. Schmelz, Nicolas Slonimsky, etc.
- ² I use Peter Schmelz's translation (Schmelz 2005).
- ³ Such an approach has been practiced in the Soviet Union since the 1930s. The "terror of censorship" drastically entered into force and lasted until the end of 1940, and the rules applied to music, art, and film. The decree stated that the measures were considered to be temporary, although censorship lasted until the 1980s. The rules dealt with small details, from the labels of bottles to the titles of operas (viz: The title for Glinka's opera *Life for the King* was changed to *Ivan Susanin*) to whole opera works (for instance, Tchaikovsky's opera works were considered inappropriate for the new Soviet class until the end of WW2). Violation of censorship rules could be construed as "divulging state secrets." Soviet censors worked with a large volume of information that was not suitable for publication/performance in open sources, among them artworks, literature, and musical pieces from the West, especially those with abstract musical language, avant-garde music, etc. However, censorship was not able to control the ban on literature due to *samizdat* literature (self-published literature).
- ⁴ The term "Soviet Nonconformist Artist" was applied to art produced from 1953 to 1986.
- ⁵ Nikita Khrushchov was the most scandalous first secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR and the "author" of the political Thaw, the term used in his secret speech at the 20th Communist Party Congress of the Soviet Union, held on February 24–25, 1956, in Moscow.
- ⁶ For instance, the synopsis of so-called "accepted musical pieces" for the staging and performance for Soviet ideology in music was published in 1929. It was done by the *Glavrepertkom* (the main council for repertoire in the 1930s). The

synopsis started with the preface: “The presented collection should be considered as an official publication of the *Glav-repertkom*; with this issue the published synopsis previous to May 28, 1928 are annulled” (Vlasova 2010: 47).

- 7 Georgi Plekhanov (1856–1918) was a Russian revolutionary, philosopher, founder of the social-democratic movement in Russia, and one of the first Russians to identify himself as “Marxist.”
- 8 Incidentally, Shugliashvili was the only composer who had never been included in the delegation of Georgian composers to be sent to Warsaw Autumn Festival (WAF).
- 9 Micheil Shugliashvili, a Georgian composer, was born in Tbilisi in 1941 and graduated from the Tbilisi State Conservatoire in 1964. He taught the subject of music theory and was the only composer who was never a member of the Communist Party
- 10 I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Teimuraz Bakuradze and Ketevan Bolashvili, who provided me with information about the composer’s rare writings with the edition made by Bakuradze and Zurab Nadareishvili.
- 11 Shugliashvili wrote the following pieces between the 1962–1969:
 - Variation für Klavier* (1960);
 - Miniaturen* for woodwind quartet (1961);
 - Sonata for clarinet and piano (1962);
 - String Quartet (1963);
 - Simphonietta Suite* for orchestra (1964);
 - Scenes from Shota Rustaveli’s *The Knight in the Panther’s Skin* for chamber choir, harp, piano, 12 strings and percussion (1965);
 - Trio for clarinet in Es, in B and bass clarinet (1966);
 - 12 piano pieces for children (1967).
- 12 Garrick Olof Ohlsson was an American classical pianist and first-prize winner at the International Frédéric Chopin Piano Competition, the Busoni Competition in Italy, and the Montreal Piano Competition in Canada. Ohlsson was nominated for three Grammy Awards; he is a 2008 Grammy winner.

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Santrauka

Straipsnyje analizuojamas kultūrinis pasipriešinimas kaip sudėtingas reiškinys, apibūdinamas jo santykis su neoficialiąja akademinė muzika. Siekdama apibrėžti pasipriešinimą akademinėje muzikoje, autorė akcentuoja kultūros gebėjimą atsispirti taisyklėms, oficialiosios kultūros nustatytoms visoms meno formoms, ir pasipriešinti tam, kas bendrai pripažįstama „oficialiąja norma“. Autorė teigia, kad politiškai kontroliuojamame mene akademinės muzikos kūrimas cenzūros sąlygomis, ignoruojant „visoms meno formoms nustatytas taisykles“, priylgsta pasipriešinimo aktui. Todėl ji mano, kad neoficialiosios muzikos terminas išsamiai apibrėžia pasipriešinimo politinei meno kontrolei aktą ir geriausiai išreiškia kultūrinę nukrypimo nuo kultūros standartizavimo tikrovę. Neoficialiosios muzikos terminas visame straipsnyje vartojamas kaip sąmoningo nepaklusimo viršenybės tvarkai kultūroje sinonimas.

Straipsnyje pateikiama neoficialiosios akademinės muzikos samprata, aptariant jos vietą tarp dominuojančios vadinamosios oficialiosios ir neoficialiosios kultūros, taisyklių laikymosi svarbą ar nukrypimą nuo jų. Autorė apibrėžia neoficialiosios akademinės muzikos sąvoką, akcentuoja cenzūros vaidmenį ir charakterizuoja politinį „atlydžio“ laikotarpio kontekstą. Micheilio Šugliašvilio (Shugliashvili), neoficialiosios (vadinamosios represuotos) muzikos atstovo ir vieno iš jos pirmųjų kūrėjų, veikla aptariama atsižvelgiant į įvairius kontekstus: politinę aplinką,

septintojo dešimtmečio gruzinų muzikos raidos tendencijas, vakarietiškos muzikos įtaką „atlydžio“ kompozitoriams ir vadinamosios „kontaktnės zonos“, įkvėpusios kompozitorius sekti vakarietiškoje muzikoje jau sukauptą informaciją, svarbą. Šiuo atžvilgiu minėtini asmeniniai Šugliašvilio ir Volkonskio kontaktai. Gruzijos neoficialiosios akademinės muzikos istorija prasidėjo po Stalino mirties ir truko iki *perestroikos*. Autorė pabrėžia septintojo dešimtmečio svarbą gruzinų muzikai ir parodo jos raidą link neoficialiosios akademinės muzikos kūrimo.

Kaip teigia buvę Šugliašvilio mokiniai, jis labiausiai vertino kūrinius, parašytus aštuntojo dešimtmečio pradžioje. Neliko išsamesnės informacijos, paaiškinančios priežastį, tačiau manytume, kad atspirties tašku galėjo būti jo praktikuota kompozicinė technika, grindžiama skaičių progresija, kuria jis susidomėjo ir pradėjo naudoti aštuntajame dešimtmetyje. Straipsnyje aptariami Šugliašvilio kūriniai: „Da capo“ fortepijonui ir trys svarbiausi jo kūriniai trims fortepijonams: „Grand Chromatic Phantasy“, „Largo e Presto“ ir „Pastoral“. Visi kūriniai parašyti aštuntajame dešimtmetyje originalia kompozicine technika, grindžiama skaičių progresija. Technikos ypatumas paaiškinamas remiantis negausiais Šugliašvilio rašytiniais dokumentais. Autorė parodo muzikinės idėjos ir kompozicinės technikos ryšį ir aptaria galimas sąsajas su jo darbuose cituojamais kūriniais. Kadangi archyvas dingęs, kompozitoriaus rašytiniai dokumentai tapo prieinami jo artimų draugų ir šeimos dėka.

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Danutė PETRAUSKAITĖ

Vytautas Laurušas's Worldview as Reflected in His Activity and Letters to Jeronimas Kačinskas

Vytauto Laurušo pasaulėžiūros atspindžiai jo veikloje ir laiškuose Jeronimui Kačinskui

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Abstract

Vytautas Laurušas (1930–2019) was a composer, pedagogue, administrator, Communist Party activist, supporter of the restoration of Lithuania's independence, and winner of the Lithuanian National Prize for Culture and Arts. He lived and worked in two different epochs: in the Soviet era, that is, under totalitarian rule, and in independent Lithuania. The topic of this paper is Laurušas's memoirs and epistolary legacy, and the aim is to explore his worldview, which allowed him to perform successfully in different times. The research is based on several methods: analysis of primary sources, the history of music, musicological literature, and periodicals, given the ideological context, as well as comparison and generalization of facts and interpretations. The paper does not claim to reveal the development of Laurušas's mindset comprehensively and consistently, as it is based on only a minor part of his memoirs and letters; however, it is expected to be of use to those who want to study Laurušas's artistic and social activities in depth.

Keywords: Vytautas Laurušas, Jeronimas Kačinskas, Lithuania, the USA, music, Soviet era, Communist Party, national revival, diaspora, independence.

Anotacija

Vytautas Laurušas (1930–2019) – kompozitorius, pedagogas, administratorius, komunistų partijos veikėjas, Lietuvos nepriklausomybės atkūrimo šalininkas, Lietuvos nacionalinės kultūros ir meno premijos laureatas. Jis gyveno ir kūrė dviejose skirtingose epochose – sovietmečiu, t. y. totalitarinio režimo sąlygomis, ir laisvoje Lietuvoje. Šio straipsnio objektas – Laurušo memuarai ir epistolinis palikimas, o tikslas – susipažinti su jo pasaulėžiūra, leidusia jam sėkmingai dirbuoti skirtingais laikotarpiais. Tyrimas pagrįstas keliais metodais – pirminių šaltinių, muzikos istorijos, muzikologinės literatūros, periodinės spaudos analize, atsižvelgiant į ideologinį kontekstą, taip pat faktų bei interpretacijų lyginimu ir apibendrinimu. Straipsnis nepretenduoja išsamiai ir tolygiai atskleisti Laurušo mąstymo raidos, nes remiamasi tik nedidele jo atsiminimų ir laiškų dalimi, tačiau norisi tikėti, kad šis darbas padės tiems, kurie ateityje nutars labiau pasidomėti šio kompozitoriaus menine ir visuomenine veikla.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Vytautas Laurušas, Jeronimas Kačinskas, Lietuva, JAV, muzika, sovietmetis, komunistų partija, tautinis atgimimas, išeivija, nepriklausomybė.

Introduction

The spring of 2020 marked the 90th birth anniversary and one-year death anniversary of Vytautas Laurušas. He still seems to be with us, and therefore it may be too early to talk about his life path and beliefs; however, given the fact that, in 2020, the independent state of Lithuania celebrated its 30th anniversary, and Laurušas, who was a member of the Lithuanian Communist Party (hereinafter: the LCP) and held high administrative posts, also contributed to its restoration, it seemed interesting to try to understand his worldview and values. The biggest impetus for the implementation of this idea was a bundle of Laurušas's letters written to Lithuanian American composer Jeronimas Kačinskas in the years of national revival. Kačinskas corresponded with a number of people and stored a big part of his correspondence with them until his death. Laurušas's

first letter was dated 26 April 1988 and the last one 8 December 1995. We can only wonder how many letters were exchanged because when Kačinskas was ill and moved to a nursing home and later after his death when unauthorized persons were handling the composer's epistolary legacy, the documents were moved from one place to another. About 20 letters from Laurušas (some of them with a missing beginning or end) found their way to Lithuania. As it turned out, more than one had been lost on the way to America. This is to be regretted, since letters as a genre help to reveal the social, political, and cultural atmosphere of the time as well as provide information about the relationship between the recipient and the sender and the individuality of the latter. However, even from the surviving correspondence it is possible to form a picture of how Laurušas lived and what he felt during the historical turning point, the collapse of the USSR, and the restoration of independent Lithuania.

Not many written sources can be found about Laurušas's life and work, and that is mostly information about one of his compositions or another, published in popular Lithuanian newspapers and journals. The most impressive source is the book *Vytautas Laurušas. Gyvenimo realybės ir kūrybos interpretacijos (Vytautas Laurušas: Interpretations of Life Realities and Creative Work)* (2009) by Rita Aleknaitė-Bieliauskienė. Based merely on the narratives of the protagonist and his contemporaries, it is not of a scientific nature and does not contain any in-depth analysis or generalizations. Still, the book is valuable as a source of information coming directly from Laurušas. Regretfully, his friendship with Kačinskas has been only mentioned in passing. Therefore, the scientific novelty of the present paper lies in the revelation of those long-lasting relationships and in the emphasis on Laurušas's worldview as highlighted in his letters. It may be relevant to those who are interested in the relationship between music and politics and are less familiar with the life of Lithuanian composers in the years of historical turning points.

Vytautas Laurušas: personality formation and activity before 1988

Laurušas grew up in Šiauliai in a family of hardworking craftspeople, excellent tailors, and loving and attentive parents. They instilled Christian values, diligence, honesty, and a sense of responsibility in their children. The years of the Bolshevik occupation indirectly affected the Laurušas family, too; thus, Vytautas must have heard about the deportations, the prison in Pravieniškės, and Siberia. But sad thoughts were overshadowed by school life, the daily duties of the pupil, and music activity. Music was heard in the boys' gymnasium, at church, and the music school that moved from Klaipėda to Šiauliai in 1939. Vytautas began his studies in it in 1944. At first, he attended piano and flute classes but quickly realized that it was much more fun to extract sounds from and produce melodies on the keyboard (Aleknaitė-Bieliauskienė 2009: 86). He was especially fond of composer Julius Gaidelis, a teacher with long and lush hair, who looked like a "genuine artist" to young Laurušas. True, the pleasure of seeing him did not last long: in the autumn of 1944, Gaidelis moved to the West. Thus, Laurušas saw how many Lithuanian intellectuals had fled from their homeland; however, at the time, he was hardly able to understand the reasons for their flight.

The Laurušas family sympathized with the ideas of socialism. Antanas Laurušas, Vytautas's father, who bought a *Europe Guide* with the flags of European countries, used to point to the flag of the Soviet Union and explain that more justice could be found in that country. Maybe that's why in 1940 he agreed to sew red ties for Šiauliai workers so that they could meet Russian soldiers all dressed up, yet

when he saw those soldiers, shabby and wearing tarpaulin boots, he was very disappointed.

In 1949, Vytautas left the gymnasium. On the occasion of its centenary, the pupils staged the play *Tadas Blinda* by Gabrielius Landsbergis-Žemkalis, in which Vytautas was entrusted with the role of a revolutionary student. This choice was apparently determined not so much by the young man's worldview as by his artistic abilities. After all, in the last years at school, Vytautas was already being called a composer. He proved it in the final concert at the gymnasium by playing his 15-minute *Fantasy* on the piano.

Beyond family, school, and friends, others influenced the maturing personality. During his childhood and adolescence, Vytautas kept close contacts with the Jesuits, who had settled in Šiauliai in 1930, of about whom he later said:

The Jesuit brothers particularly valued justice. My "spiritual father" was priest Pranciškus Masionis. In his church, I daily served at Mass. Influenced by the hymns of Julius Juzeliūnas, I decided to write a hymn, too. My first composition was the hymn *To Jesus Christ the King*, where both the music and lyrics were mine. Pranciškus Masionis, my spiritual father, highly praised that piece of mine and said that, if I became a Jesuit, I would be able to worship God with my new compositions. [...] it was a time of self-knowledge, of spiritual maturation. More than one sentiment had been instilled into my heart: to forgive everyone, not to blame anyone, and to suffer wrong as trials sent by God. I learned tolerance, learned to get on with people and help them in good faith, and not to suspect anyone because it was humiliating. (Aleknaitė-Bieliauskienė 2009: 86, 88)

The Jesuits were preparing Vytautas for a religion-related future; they promised to send him to study in Innsbruck¹ and explained that he would be able to simultaneously study composition because the laws of the Order did not forbid it. The romantically minded young Vytautas wrote poems, dreamed, and seemed not to have anything against a clergyman's career. It is difficult to say what would have happened with him if, in 1949, the Soviet government had not closed the Jesuit residence and, even earlier, their church. It was like an omen encouraging Vytautas to choose the path of music and to enroll at the Lithuanian State Conservatory.

Laurušas did not immediately get into the Department of Composition due to his poor knowledge of theoretical subjects; he accepted the proposal to study at the Department of Folk Music and transferred to the Class of Composition two years later. In it, he was given a strong foundation in composition and tested his artistic powers in writing both instrumental and vocal works, such as Sonata for cello and piano as well as the ballad *Mother* for soloist (tenor), male choir, and symphony orchestra, written to the lyrics by Justinas Marcinkevičius under the supervision of Professor Julius Juzeliūnas as his diploma work. The years of studies were not easy either financially or spiritually: it was a period

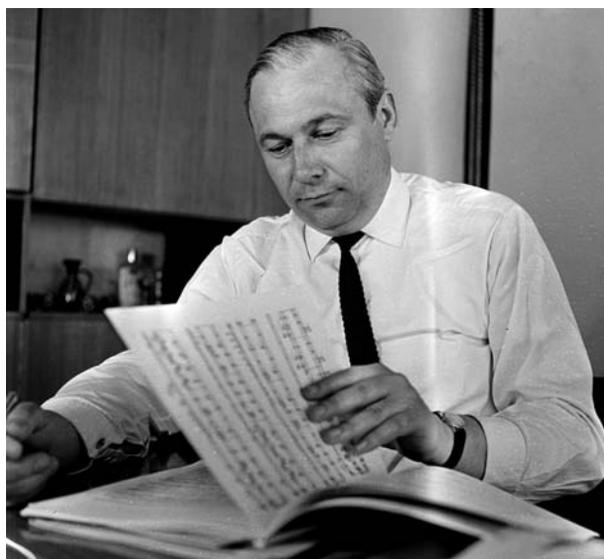


Figure 1. Vytautas Laurušas, 1952 (The Lithuanian Central State Archives)

of Stalinist rule, when the LCP, acting in accordance with the Kremlin's directives, sought to transform Lithuanian national identity and implemented the Soviet interpretation of history and the class struggle theory. Deportations and repressions took place in Lithuania; students could be accused of spreading hostile ideology and expelled from the conservatory for a single imprudent word.² Young composer Laurušas graduated from the conservatoire in 1956. In the same year, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union³ took place, which condemned the cult of personality of Joseph Stalin and raised the principle of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries. After that congress, the destruction of Soviet concentration camps began, and trains stopped transporting political prisoners in cattle wagons from Lithuania to the east. However, fear had plagued people for a long time, and the method of socialist realism, imposed on Lithuanian artists by the occupational authorities in 1940, had not been revoked. Socialist realism was based on the principles of a folk character of art works, loyalty to the Party, and socialist humanism, and its aim was to exalt the proletariat, the revolution, the Communist Party, and its leaders. Composers, fearing to be called formalists, as had happened to Sergei Prokofiev, Dmitry Shostakovich, and Aram Khachaturian in Moscow and to Balys Dvarionas, Juozas Karosas, and Stasys Vainiūnas in Vilnius (see *Muzika...* 1992: 95–96), began to quote folk melodies in their works and to write mass songs, cantatas, or oratorios, neglecting instrumental music. Laurušas also paid tribute to the idols of communism: in the late 1960s and in 1970s, he wrote choral songs *Lenin's Flags*, *With Lenin's Name*, *The Party is our Leader*, *In the Land of Oriol*, *The Nemunas*, and *Lithuania Sings to Lenin*. Nevertheless, he did not waste his energy writing large-scale ideological

works and tried to maintain a balance between the obligatory clichés and his artistic individuality. Still, there was a lot of fear. Even then, Laurušas learned to hide his beliefs and dreams as if constantly wearing a protective mask that soon adhered to his face and was difficult to discover for other people.

Upon graduating from the conservatoire, Laurušas worked for several years as an editor for the Radio Committee of the Lithuanian SSR and as a consultant for the Composers' Union. Those were highly ideologized institutions, constantly monitored and censored by the state security structures. In 1961, he was invited to teach theoretical subjects at his alma mater, the Lithuanian State Conservatoire. He did well everywhere because he fulfilled the ideological requirements of the time. In 1963, Laurušas was offered the position of director of the Opera and Ballet Theatre of the Lithuanian SSR. Of course, the position could only be occupied by a member of the LCP, thus Laurušas joined the Party in the same year. It was a period of political "thaw" which gave people some hope. However, in 1964, with Leonid Brezhnev, who replaced Nikita Khrushchev, the era of stagnation in the state began meaning the avoidance of any change, and it covered all areas of life. The Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU became the most influential institution in the country. Most artists, including Laurušas, quickly realized that they could only succeed in life and career as members of the Communist Party, and once they became Communists, they would quickly climb the career ladder. The ambitions came true.

Laurušas headed the Opera and Ballet Theatre for 12 years, from 1963 to 1975; he was chairman of the Composers' Union from 1971 to 1983; a candidate for membership to the Central Committee of the LCP from 1971 to 1986; since 1986 a member of the Central Committee of the LCP; in 1975, a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR; since 1980, the vice-chairman of the Supreme Council; and from 1983 to 1994, the rector of the Lithuanian State Conservatoire (since 1992, the Lithuanian Academy of Music). Thus, a romantic young man gradually turned into a party functionary, an official, and a nomenclaturist; otherwise, he did not change—he did not become arrogant and he loved people and respected his subordinates, found common ground with people regardless of the level of their education, always lent a helping hand to those who needed it, had a sense of humor, and was eloquent. People loved him, too. Only he found less and less time for writing music, and occasionally had to take breaks from composing for several years. Still, he sometimes succeeded in writing memorable compositions. Thus, for example, his poem *Voices of the Night*, written in 1969 and performed in a competition in Italy by the *Varpas* male choir (conductor Adolfas Krogertas) in the same year, won first place and made the composer famous throughout

Europe. Thanks to that poem and other compositions, including Sonata for violin solo, the romance cycle *Waves* for tenor and piano, String Quartet No. 1, and the cantata *Flaming Night*, Laurušas had his name inscribed in the history of Lithuanian music as a composer who sought new harmonies and colors and who dared to use modern means of musical expression—suspended chords, dodecaphony, and aleatorics—that had nothing to do with the doctrine of socialist realism. However, it was much more difficult to be a modern creator and to choose topics that were sensitive to the Lithuanian nation. Even if some composers (such as Feliksas Bajoras and Bronius Kutavičius) turned to the past of the Lithuanian nation, its suffering, and the history of the State of Lithuania, Laurušas did not dare to do so. While holding responsible administrative positions, he could not be free in his artistic decisions. Therefore, when he came up with the idea of writing an opera, he chose one of the issues raised by the propaganda war between the USSR and the West—the theme of emigration.

The government of the Lithuanian SSR took the mass emigration of Lithuanians to the West in the last years of the Second World War as a great defeat: it was well understood that people were fleeing from the new regime. They were called bourgeois nationalists and lackeys of the Hitlerites, while the leaders of the public diaspora organizations that raised the issue of the occupation of Lithuania were humiliated and mockingly called “liberators” or “reactionary elements.” That was not enough, and more serious measures had to be taken to silence hostile voices. Contacts with emigrants were forged and efforts made to lure them back, as that was the only way to reduce the number of potential opponents. In the newspaper for emigrants *Tėvynės balsas* (*Voice of the Homeland*), government representatives tried to explain to its readers why it was worth returning home (Paleckis, Gedvilas 1947). However, only a small proportion of the refugees wanted to re-emigrate. Therefore, it was necessary to call on the professional help of the KGB structures, which were instructed to limit the emigrants' contacts with people living in Lithuania, to monitor the activities of emigrant organizations and individuals, and to influence the emigrants' political views in various ways. Therefore, works of art depicting Lithuanians' life in emigration in dark colors or compromising emigrants were highly desirable, and artists who produced such work were encouraged. One of such artists was Laurušas, who in 1967 wrote the opera *Stray Birds* to the libretto of poet Eugenijus Matuzevičius and conductor Algimantas Kalinauskas. The main characters—Tadas, his fiancée Rūta, and his friend Marius—fled to the West and tragically ended their lives there. The creators of the opera, who compared emigrants with stray birds, tried to emphasize two important ideas: 1) people could not be happy living far from their homeland; and 2) the capitalist system was disastrous for them.

The conclusion followed that happiness could only be found when living in Soviet Lithuania.

However, the opera, written and staged in the anniversary year of the October Revolution, did not directly glorify the Communist regime: it only revealed the lives of emigrants who had not found happiness abroad. Today, in the era of global migration, some of the storylines may seem even more relevant, yet at the time, everyone understood what the composers of the work wanted to say. As a result, no one dared to criticize the libretto, and the music was rated well enough. It was decided to submit the work to an All-Union Opera Competition. The jury members, who came to Vilnius from Moscow, analyzed the score, participated in rehearsals, listened, and watched. The results of the competition delighted everyone—the opera was awarded second prize. In 1970, it was also taken to the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow. After the performance, *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the CPSU, immediately drew readers' attention to the most important thing—the ideological significance of the opera:

Stray Birds is a story about the difficult fates of people who had lost their political orientation in the horrors of war storms and occupations. (Шехонина 1970)

Thus, Laurušas persuaded the highest strata of the state power of his ideological loyalty and earned political dividends but could only enjoy them temporarily—his greatest opus became irrelevant in the reborn Lithuania. Laurušas visited Moscow on various occasions. Some of the trips were related to the performance of his works, while others to the activities of the administered institutions. He met with high-ranking ministry officials, famous artists, and politicians. In the Soviet Russian capital, he observed changes in the conjunctural environment and the behavior of party actors and learned how to maneuver under the party dictatorship in an effort to preserve the national character in his compositions and national interests in other activities. In particular, the 1963 tour of the Lithuanian Opera and Ballet Theatre in Moscow was worth mentioning. At that time, the highest officials of the LCP and government representatives also accompanied the performers. After all, the tour of the theater was a very important event of both artistic as well as political significance, after which one could expect either praise, positive solution to the problems raised, high awards, even cash prizes, or penalties and the loss of current position. Nikita Khrushchev, secretary general of the CPSU, also visited the performances. After the final concert, the Muscovites hosted a feast for the guests. The table was loaded with food and drinks, and toasts were raised to the friendship of nations. In such informal meetings, it was possible to resolve some issues that could not be discussed in governmental offices. During the feast, Laurušas memorized a conversation between Khrushchev

and Antanas Sniečkus he overheard which caused him unpleasant feelings. Laurušas said:

In the last minutes of saying goodbye, Khrushchev uttered the words that were probably very welcome to Sniečkus: “So you remain the first Secretary.” Sniečkus rushed to kiss Khrushchev’s hand. (Lapinskas 2015)

After that incident, a joke was born that, just like geese saved Rome, the Lithuanian Opera and Ballet Theatre saved Sniečkus.⁴ Laurušas contributed to the salvation with his song *Lenin’s Flags*,⁵ which ended the Lithuanian concert at the Kremlin Congress Palace and clearly demonstrated obedience to the Soviet regime. It also meant sycophancy to power, only in a more refined form. The composer was thanked for the successful tour—on returning from Moscow, continued as the director and moreover became artistic director of the theater but was also allowed to build a new contemporary palace for it.

A meeting with a “stray bird” in Boston

During his administrative career, Laurušas did not get rich, but he became acquainted with influential people and the stars of the art world of Soviet Russia; he had the opportunity to visit foreign countries and participate in high-level international events and music festivals that could be attended only by Party members or high-ranking composers. Moreover, he could both participate and hear his compositions performed. He had an extraordinary opportunity in 1988, after *perestroika* accelerated. In Boston that year, under the renewed treaty between the United States and the USSR, on March 11 through April 2, the festival of the Soviet nations, called Making Music Together, took place. A group of musicians going to Boston was formed in Moscow, led by composer Rodion Shchedrin. It consisted of 285 individuals, including 12 composers. Laurušas was among them. Irena Argustienė-Laurušienė, who performed his vocal compositions, accompanied him; however, he was not allowed to take along the Vilnius String Quartet, which had played Laurušas’s music more than once.⁶ The Americans were represented by Sarah Caldwell,⁷ who took care of the running of the events and their funding.

The reception of the festival by Lithuanians in Boston was ambiguous. On the one hand, Lithuanian Americans were very much looking forward to the performance of Laurušas’s works and regularly called Shchedrin about it. On the other hand, they used this event as an opportunity to protest against the occupation of Lithuania. Even before the opening concert of the festival, a crowd of protesters greeted the performers and listeners with shouts “Nyet, nyet, Soviet!” Other picketers held posters with inscriptions, such as “The Results of Glasnost Are Easy to See in Boston

Theaters, not in Lithuania,” or “Democracy Yes, Marxism No” (McLellan 1988).

Three compositions by Laurušas—the String Quartet, the cantata *Flaming Night*, and the Concerto for voice and string quartet—were performed on March 23 in the lobby of the Boston Opera House. It was a festival space intended for the performance of all chamber compositions brought from the USSR. The concerts were moderated by Moscow musicologist Leo Ginzburg, who invited the composers onto the stage and asked them questions. Laurušas also had to answer them. A numerous audience assembled in the lobby, most of them from the Lithuanian diaspora, which Laurušas did not maintain close ties with. At the beginning, he spoke Russian, but when he heard a voice say, “Vytautas, speak Lithuanian!” he continued his answers in his native language, thus causing confusion among the Muscovites who could not speak either Lithuanian or English. Gintaras Čepas, chairman of the Lithuanian community in the area, offered his services as an interpreter and managed excellently. That was Laurušas’s first bold step aside from the rules of communication abroad established for the citizens of the USSR. Due to that, both Laurušas and the performers of his cantata received a storm of applause. Soon favorable reviews on his music were published by the main city newspapers, *The Boston Globe* and *The Boston Herald*. The Lithuanian press was also happy with their compatriot’s successful performance even though it placed greater emphasis on politics. Prior to the concert, the Lithuanian diaspora newspaper *Draugas (Friend)* picked up on the fact that, next to Laurušas’s name in the bill, his nationality was not indicated:

The official information did not even indicate that Vytautas Laurušas was Lithuanian or which string quartet would perform his works, or which soloist would participate in the performance of his compositions. Thus, the Soviet Union once again boasted about the works of a Lithuanian that were attributed not to the Lithuanian nation to which they legally belonged, but to the Soviet Union, which enslaved Lithuania. (*Lietuvio kūriniai* 1988)

Elena Vasyliūnienė,⁸ who attended the concert, asked Laurušas how, while living among other nations, he managed to maintain his Lithuanianess. He was a little perplexed but replied that he wrote as he felt (Vasyliūnienė 1988). The audience appreciated his words because they meant that Laurušas had preserved his national identity under the Soviet occupation.

The biggest surprise and joy for Laurušas was the presence of Jeronimas Kačinskas (1907–2005), a conductor and composer of Lithuanian modern music, who was spotted among the audience during the concert. In 1944, as the Red Army approached, Kačinskas left Lithuania. He had lived in Boston since 1949. Laurušas had heard about him from



Figure 2. Jeronimas Kačinskas with his wife Elena (Danutė Petrauskaitė's personal archive)

Antanas Račiūnas and Balys Dvarionas during his studies. Although Laurušas did not have the opportunity to hear Kačinskas's music at that time, he created the images of the first Lithuanian Modernists in his imagination, which attracted him "like distant stars and helped to form a real image of the former musical culture of independent Lithuania" (Mikšytė 1991).

During the festival, Kačinskas was almost 81, and Laurušas hardly expected to see him, all the more so because he did not know him personally and had heard about Kačinskas's unfavorable attitude towards any Soviet initiatives, even in the field of culture. And yet Kačinskas came to the concert of Laurušas's compositions. At that time, Kačinskas was still an active composer, but he no longer led any musical ensembles, no longer taught at the Berkeley College of Music, and played the organ at the Lithuanian St. Peter's Church in Boston only on holidays. He was curious to hear the works of the Lithuanian composer and simultaneously to show him due respect as the initiator and chairman of the Composers' Union of the Lithuanian SSR, since on 9 December 1987, the first concert of Kačinskas's works was held in Vilnius. Laurušas responded publicly to the presence of an unexpected guest—he warmly emphasized Kačinskas's contribution to the popularization of modern music in interwar Lithuania.

After the concert, Laurušas hoped to see Kačinskas in the audience again, but Kačinskas made the first step and visited Laurušas at the hotel. A friendly conversation immediately ensued. It looked like a meeting of good friends who had not seen each other for a long time. Kačinskas invited Laurušas to his home for a longer meeting, and Laurušas immediately accepted. The conversation lasted

several hours. Laurušas took a closer look at the environment in which the expatriate composer lived and worked for many years and discussed a wide range of topics with him, from history and politics to the latest musical trends. When Laurušas returned to Lithuania, he admitted without hesitation that the strongest impression he had from the Boston Festival was the meeting with Kačinskas, a kind of a prelude to a time of great change. The image of "stray birds" also changed. Laurušas saw that, although nostalgia pervaded emigrants' lives, they were active in promoting Lithuanianness, had faith in the rebirth of Lithuania, and enjoyed material well-being.

The friendship between the two composers

Both musicians, having run out of time for conversation in Boston, felt the need to continue their discussion and began to correspond. Although letters are monologues by nature, their content and linguistic expression are close to a dialogue; therefore, they cannot be considered a form of self-talk (Čepaitienė 2010: 10). This statement is also testified to by Laurušas's letters to his new friend. When we analyze their content, the first thing that catches the eye is the address. Other pen friends addressed Kačinskas (in literal translation) as "Highly Revered Composer," "Honorable Maestro," "Honorable Professor," or "Honorable Sir," while Laurušas's letters started with "Dear Jeronimas," "Dear Elenute and Jeronimas," or "My dear and kind Jeronimas." In the Lithuanian letter-writing tradition, "dear" is used to address particularly close people, which applied in that case. Readers of Laurušas's letters may be surprised by the unceremonious address of Kačinskas as *Tu* ("thou"; singular for the pronoun *you*): after all, Kačinskas was more than twenty years older than Laurušas. It would seem that out of respect for Kačinskas's age alone, he should have written *Jūs* (plural for the pronoun *you*), as was the norm in Lithuania.⁹ But such an address was used at the request of Kačinskas himself. Laurušas later said that, when he met the expatriate musician at a Boston hotel and addressed him as *Jūs*, the latter immediately interrupted him: "Not 'Jūs!' Thy name is Vytautas, and my name is Jeronimas" (Mikšytė 1991). This is how they communicated for many years, calling each other by their first names, and revealing to each other the troubles and joys of their lives.

Nostalgic memories of Boston ran throughout all Laurušas's letters. Kačinskas offered nice feedback about his friend's concert during the festival, while Laurušas was impressed by the warm welcome at Kačinskas's home:

As much as I have traveled abroad, from nowhere have I brought the kind of impressions I experienced in Boston. It seems to me that I have left a part of my heart in this city. Undoubtedly,

the successful concert of my works and pleasant meetings with Lithuanians living in Boston contributed to that.

The warmth, hospitality, and sincerity of your home made an unforgettable impression on me. And who else could create that wonderful warmth of home, if not the lovely Mrs. Elenutė? Please pass on my thanks again and bow to her on my behalf. Dear Jeronimas, I keep your letters as a precious relic. I am proud to be able to correspond with you so openly and sincerely.¹⁰

I often remember you both. Any time we met, we had a lot to talk about and to share thoughts on [various topics], starting with creativity, life and ending with politics. For me, both of you have been very dear and close to my heart since our first meeting in Boston. I cannot talk to anyone as openly and sincerely as I do to you. Therefore, I wish you both the best health and high spirits. If we stay healthy, we will be meeting again, and more than once.¹¹

Kačinskas also cherished that friendship; he and his wife often remembered the time spent with Laurušas in Boston. He wrote that “it was a bright moment in the lives of both of us” (Mikšytė 1991).

Laurušas’s letters revealed that he had no true and sincere friends. For a number of years, he had held high administrative positions and consequently the instruments of power and influence in his hands, and he was surrounded by colleagues and students as well as a flock of sham friends who kept making requests or even demands or who were secretly envious of him. Laurušas could not trust most of these people and later admitted:

Sometimes it seems that bursting predatory instincts also lead to a best friend becoming an enemy. I have never tried to build an exceptional team of my own. I didn’t have a “circle of friends,” although I happened to see them and experience their behavior. How many people are eager to take advantage of the proximity to power. And then they betray you [...]. It hurts. Some people seemed to be closer, but when faced with insincerity, I used to see everyone as if from outside. (Aleknaitė-Bieliauskienė 2009:19)

Time revealed who were true friends and who were fake ones.

Laurušas did not feel the age difference between Kačinskas and himself. Therefore, when Kačinskas would fall ill, Laurušas worried a lot. It was hard for him to imagine that their correspondence would end or, even worse, he would lose a dear friend. For the first three years, in almost every letter, Laurušas invited his friend to visit Lithuania. He hardly knew that Kačinskas, who had escaped from the Soviet regime, had promised never to set foot in occupied Lithuania. And he fulfilled his promise: he first came to his homeland in the autumn of 1991, when the USA had already recognized Lithuania as an independent state, and then twice more, in February 1992 and in May 1993.



Figure 3. Vytautas Laurušas, Jeronimas and Elena Kačinskas in Vilnius, autumn 1991 (Danutė Petrauskaitė’s personal archive)

The period of 1988 through 1991, before Kačinskas’s visit to Lithuania, was full of political and cultural events. It coincided with a sharp increase in the demand for works by expatriate composers, the revival of religious music, and the organization of new festivals. Choirs, orchestras, and individual performers also became intensely interested in Kačinskas’s music, and it was increasingly often heard in concert halls. Laurušas was one of the first to inform his friend about one or another premiere of his compositions and was incredibly happy about it. Actually, he was doubly happy—first, that he could hear music he had never heard, and second, that he knew its composer personally:

Your name was constantly remembered by young composers of my generation. We told each other when we learned something new from Boston. You were then the embodiment of modern Lithuanian music for us. Although we were separated from the free world by the Iron Curtain, we tried in every way to get as much information as possible about you and other Lithuanian composers who lived in America. For me, ever seeing you alive in Boston and talking to you was an almost unrealizable dream.¹²

In Lithuania, Kačinskas was remembered by his surviving students and colleagues. They would ask Laurušas about him, speculating whether he had changed much since he lived in his homeland. Laurušas felt as if he had a privileged friendship with Kačinskas and claimed that he had seen and known a relatively young and sprightly man, a famous Lithuanian artist, a professional musician, and a great companion.¹³

Laurušas told Kačinskas that his works were gradually being integrated into Lithuanian musical life and were becoming part of it, that Lithuanian composers often talked about him, and wanted to be the first to inform him about the decision of the Lithuanian Composers' Union:

You, Jeronimas, were unanimously elected Honorary Member of the Composers' Union during our congress, attended by more than a hundred composers and musicologists. We value you as a Lithuanian composer who has laid a solid foundation for Lithuanian modern music.¹⁴

Connecting Kačinskas and Laurušas, in addition to music, was Lithuania, which Laurušas called "our homeland." In the letters, cultural news was always followed (or preceded) by information about ongoing political processes. Laurušas's presentation of them was emotional and accompanied by abundant comments. Therefore, his letters can be viewed both as a personal diary and as a yearbook of the history of Lithuania, in which the changes that took place in the country as well as more important events in the lives of both composers were revealed (see Table 1):

Table 1. The most important events reported by Laurušas in his letters to Kačinskas

No.	Year	Events
1.	1988	A week of Lithuanian music in Vilnius. The works by Kačinskas and Kazimieras Viktoras Banaitis were played. Kačinskas's Fantasy for organ was performed by Vytenis Vasyliūnas.
2.	1988	Sąjūdis (the Reform Movement of Lithuania) was established.
3.	1988	The Archcathedral of Vilnius was returned to church goers.
4.	1988	On September 1, the flag of independent Lithuania was hoisted at the Lithuanian State Conservatoire.
5.	1988	The flag of independent Lithuania was hoisted over Gediminas Castle Tower in Vilnius on October 7 and over the War Museum Tower in Kaunas on October 9. Vincas Kudirka's <i>National Anthem</i> was performed.
6.	1988	The Lithuanian SSR Composers' Union discussed the issue of the Lithuanian anthem.
7.	1988	On 22-23 October, the Constituent Assembly of the Lithuanian Reform Movement took place.
8.	1988	Laurušas wrote a letter to Cardinal Vincentas Sladkevičius asking for permission to hold organ music concerts in Lithuanian churches.
9.	1988	The Lithuanian Composers' Union distributed apartments in a newly built house.
10.	1988	On October 23, the Holy Mass was celebrated at the Archcathedral in Vilnius and broadcast on Lithuanian television (LTV).
11.	1988	For the first time, November 1 (All Saints' Day) was declared a day off. Laurušas visited the graves of Jonas Basanavičius, Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, and Kipras Petrauskas.
12.	1989	Laurušas, Vytautas Landsbergis, and Julius Juzeliūnas were elected Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to represent Lithuania in Moscow.
13.	1989	The Composers' Union of the Lithuanian SSR split from the USSR Composers' Union and became an independent organization.
14.	1989	The Lithuanian Composers' Union elected Kačinskas its Honorary Member.
15.	1989	Laurušas as the Rector of the Lithuanian State Conservatory was re-elected for the second term
16.	1989	Laurušas composed <i>Liaupsės saulei</i> [Eulogy to the Sun] for mixed choir.
17.	1989	In April, the mixed choir of the Lithuanian State Conservatory participated in the polyphonic music competition in Italy and won the first place; it also held a concert in the Vatican and received the exclusive attention of Pope John Paul II.
18.	1989	In May, the first World Congress of Lithuanian Culture took place in Vilnius
19.	1989	For the first time, the Returns music festival was held in Vilnius, featuring six works by Kačinskas.
20.	1989	During the festival, poet Bernardas Brazdžionis and a men's vocal quartet from Los Angeles visited Lithuania.
21.	1989	On August 22, a speech by the former Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Juozas Urbšys was broadcast from a tape recorder at a multi-thousand rally in Vingis Park in Vilnius.
22.	1989	On August 23, the Baltic Way took place.
23.	1989	At the end of August, the mixed choir of the Lithuanian State Conservatory participated in the choral music festival in Italy and again visited the Vatican, where it performed concerts for worshipers in the Paul VI Audience Hall and sang Lithuanian songs. John Paul II gave the choristers a papal blessing and called the Lithuanian State Conservatory one of the most famous music schools in Europe.
24.	1989	At the beginning of September, two representatives of the Lithuanian State Conservatory, Eglė Janulevičiūtė and Jurgis Karnavičius, participated in an international pianist competition in Italy. Janulevičiūtė was one of the prizewinners.

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25. 1989 The Supreme Council of Lithuania adopted important laws on citizenship and the holding of a referendum. The Church of Lithuania was legalized. Examples of Lithuanian passports were prepared.

 26. 1989 On October 20, Jackus Sondeckis, the father of musician Saulius Sondeckis, a former mayor of Šiauliai, died on his way from Boston to Lithuania. Laurušas attended the funeral and made a speech.

 27. 1989 A discussion took place with Cardinal Sladkevičius on how to improve the qualifications of organists working in churches. The Organ Department was restored at the Lithuanian State Conservator.

 28. 1989 The journal *Kultūros barai* (Fields of Culture) continued publishing *A History of Lithuania*, edited by Adolfas Šapoka.

 29. 1990 Laurušas left the Lithuanian Communist Party.

 30. 1990 Chamber Orchestra *Ave musica* performed *Five Etudes* by Kačinskas.

 31. 1990 Nine choral works by Kačinskas were performed in the Muzikos Ruduo (Musical Autumn) festival.

 32. 1990 During *November Sinoikia 90* in Vilnius and Marijampolė, a Mass in Honor of King Mindaugas of Lithuania by Kačinskas was performed.

 33. 1990 Preparation of a new statute for the Lithuanian State Conservatory began. Marxist-Leninist sciences were given up.

 34. 1993 On the proposal of the Heraldry Commission, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania approved the Law on the Flag of the President.

 35. 1993 In February, the first post-war presidential elections of the Republic of Lithuania took place. Stasys Lozoraitis and Algirdas Brazauskas competed in them. Laurušas voted for Lozoraitis who lost.

 36. 1993 Inauguration of the President of the Republic of Lithuania Brazauskas.

 37. 1993 The left wing gained a huge advantage in the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania. People began to worry about the loss of the state independence. The parliamentarians pledged to protect it.

 38. 1993 On December 28, the second term of Laurušas as the Rector of the Lithuanian State Conservatory ended.

 39. 1994 On January 14, Prof. Juozas Antanavičius was elected the new rector of the Lithuanian State Conservatory, already renamed the Lithuanian Music Academy.

 40. 1994 Laurušas finished writing a cycle of preludes and fugues for piano *Spalvų polifonija* (Polyphony of Colors) and began collecting material for the opera *Karalius Mindaugas* (King Mindaugas).

 41. 1994 The World Lithuanian Song Festival took place in Lithuania.

 42. 1994 Darius Lapinskas's opera *King Mindaugas* was staged in Jurbarkas.

 43. 1994 The 90th birth anniversary of composer Vladas Jakubėnas was commemorated. A concert of his compositions was held in the Lithuanian Philharmonic Hall. A two-volume collection of Jakubėnas's articles and reviews was published by musicologist Loreta Venclauskienė. A society was established to promote Jakubėnas's works.

 44. 1995 Laurušas forged contacts with the German Ambassador to Lithuania Reinhart Krauss and arranged Joseph Haydn's *Kaiser Quartet* for the chamber ensemble of his home. On October 3, on the anniversary of German unification, it was performed in Vilnius.

 45. 1995 Laurušas composed *Concento di corde*, a piece for two violas dedicated to Kraus.

 46. 1995 English pianist Richard Meyrick performed a prelude and fugue from Laurušas's cycle *Polyphony of Colors* in London.

 47. 1995 On October 27, Laurušas was attacked and beaten up by hooligans. He attributed this event to the inactivity of the existing government of the Democratic Labor Party of Lithuania. Laurušas was convinced that the said political force would lose in next year's elections.

As can be seen, the letters covered a variety of topics. They can be organized into several groups. The first and largest group consisted of descriptions of political events. That was due to two reasons. The first was Laurušas's own great attention to the ongoing changes and his own participation in the political processes. He took part in them, obedient to his inner voice and led by the vision of his childhood—-independent Lithuania, for which, starting with 1988, the time came to become a reality. The second reason was the desire to indirectly involve Kačinskas in that process so that he could feel the miracle of the nation's rebirth with all his soul, and therefore Laurušas was very persuasive when describing

the events. One of the examples he gave was the hoisting of the Lithuanian flag over Gediminas Castle Tower:

You, Jeronimas, can hardly understand what great joy has flooded the hearts of all of us. Everyone cried, and tears rolled down the faces of both old and young. Tears of joy and pain were rolling—of joy, for we all believe that finally all the misfortunes that have been plaguing our small nation have finally gone to the past and we are rising to a new life and of pain that thousands of thousands of innocent Lithuanians do not see this happy hour, having gone down to their eternal rest in the distant areas of Siberia after having faced unimaginable human suffering. Now, as we walk through the narrow streets

of old Vilnius, we will be accompanied by a tricolor, flying in the wind over Gediminas Hill. How beautiful and spectacular it is either when the bright sun is shining or the autumn drizzle is coming down.¹⁵

Some events were narrated in detail using artistic means of expression. An example is the description of the Baltic Way:

You wrote about the Baltic Way in your letter. I can tell you about that unprecedented campaign as its participant. It was the idea of our Sąjūdis and the Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts, which was impressively implemented. The organizers did not really expect so many participants. You can imagine thousands of cars on the Vilnius-Riga highway in the afternoon. In advance, each city and district were allocated a certain section of the road to be filled by people holding hands. At 10 a.m., it was reported on Vilnius Radio that the part of the road intended for Lithuania was already full of people. In some places, not one, but three rows of people holding hands were standing, and Kaunas formed a living chain of its people up to Ukmergė. A light breeze fluttered numerous tricolors tied with black ribbons. About two million people took part in the entire Baltic Way from Vilnius Gediminas Hill via Riga to Tallinn's Old Thomas belfry, a total of 790 km. You, Jeronimas, cannot imagine what a magnificent view it was. Everybody was concentrated and very attentive to each other. Candles burned in the hands of most people. Bunches of live flowers were poured on the road from the plane, intended for those Lithuanians who had died in the forests and camps of Siberia before the rebirth of the Homeland. On the evening of August 23, God gave us wonderful weather: the bright sun was slowly sliding through the vault of the sky towards the west, and there were no clouds in the sky and no wind. It seemed that the nature of Lithuania was concentrated on those sad festivities. It seems to me that with this peaceful action we have once again shown the whole world how patiently and sincerely we have been striving for Lithuania's independence.¹⁶

In his comments on the most important moments of political life, Laurušas never emphasized his own personality. Even though he was involved in many events and even initiated some of them, he always wrote "we," thus emphasizing the contribution of all the people who worked with him, for example, "we raised," "we considered," "we prepared," or "we restored." However, in one letter on political issues, he spoke in the first person. The letter contained particularly important information. He wanted Kačinskis to know this information as well and simultaneously was afraid to send a letter from Lithuania because it might get lost or fall into the hands of the Soviet security service. He handed it to one of his colleagues going to Spain, and the letter successfully reached Boston. In it, Laurušas confessed to his friend that he had left the LCP and explained why he had been a member for so many years:

[...] An important event in my personal life as well: I left the ranks of the Communist Party a few months ago. I am now a nonparty man. The wave of liberalism, which briefly breathed during Khrushchev's reign, brought a large part of the creative intelligentsia to the Communist Party. 99% of all those who joined the party at that time did so not because they went along with its ideas or admired the prospects of establishing a communist regime, but [wishing] at any cost to preserve the deep traditions of Lithuanian culture and to strive for conditions preventing complete deviation from the achievements of Western European culture. The most important and largely achieved goal was to protect Lithuania from complete Sovietization and oppression. Today, 80% of the Lithuanian population are Lithuanians. This is an extremely high figure, as there are only 50% of Latvians in the population of Latvia and under 50% of Estonians in Estonia. Such a surviving Lithuanian Lithuania was able to start the struggle for the restoration of independence with such great courage. While I was in the United States, some Lithuanians told me they were wondering how to meet that great Bolshevik Laurušas in Boston. I have never been like this, Jeronimas, and you had a chance to see it for yourself. I came to the party not because of its ideas, and now I left its ranks completely without hesitation.¹⁷

It was a sincere confession based on the naive belief of some people in the early 1960s that Lithuanians could preserve the national spirit through joining the ranks of the LCP. Historian and politician Arvydas Anušauskas did not believe such explanations. Based on the 1989 survey conducted by the Vilnius Committee of the LCP, he argued:

[...] in the atheist party, every second person was a believer, which means that people joined the Communist Party for a career or other expectations. (Dykovienė 2015)

Historian Saulius Karalius also supported this idea, explaining that, in the postwar years, the population, intimidated by repressive measures, tried to survive. Therefore, most people took the path of conformity. A Party membership card at the time was like a ration card. Without it, a person was prevented from going abroad, even to the countries of the Socialist camp (Ibid.). However, Laurušas did not mention that in the letters. No one forced him to join the party, which meant that there was both an element of conformity and fear in his choice. After all, he left the party only when Lithuania's independence had already been declared. Laurušas was ambiguous on the issue of the LCP. He emphasized its positive side when telling Kačinskis about the determination of its members to preserve the national spirit and ties with European culture. On the other hand, he also saw the dark side of communism, due to which "a small Lithuanian nation of three-million experienced humiliation, mockery, deception, and suffering for so many years!"¹⁸ When discussing Lithuanian youth, Laurušas admitted that, at school, he was "deceived by falsely arranged and distorted

historical facts. Only now does he know the whole truth about the path of suffering and pain his nation has taken.”¹⁹ When writing that, Laurušas must have experienced inner drama. After all, at that time he still belonged to the LCP; he felt he was ready to go his own way. However, neither in 1988 nor in 1989 had he yet dared to give up his Party membership card.

In the first postwar presidential elections in Lithuania, held in 1993, Laurušas refused to support the candidacy of Algirdas Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (hereinafter LDDP) formed from the former Communists, and therefore did not hesitate to vote for the neutral candidate Stasys Lozoraitis. He was greatly upset when Lozoraitis received only 38.9 percent of the votes. Laurušas also took a negative view of the elections to the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, when the LDDP candidates won the majority of votes. He tried to find comfort in a program seen on LTV, in which the former interwar Lithuanian President Antanas Smetona’s maid asked the audience not to resent Brazauskas, because his election was the will of the Lithuanian people, but said it was better to pray “that God would enlighten his mind and make him a really good and faithful president for the sake of Independence of Lithuania.”²⁰ Laurušas hardly found solace in such advice. He saw Lithuania’s slump during the LDDP rule and wrote to Kačinskas about the passive president, rural communities ruined by excessive drinking, and growing crime he experienced personally: on 27 October 1995, in the middle of the day, he was attacked by several hooligans on one of the central streets of Vilnius. The composer was not robbed, but he was hit on the head and had his front teeth knocked out. He was most affected by the fact that no one came to the rescue. Laurušas blamed the LDDP for such a situation and the moral decline of people:

The behavior of the Neo-Communist government is strange. So many facts are reported in the press about corruption or about the relationship between the organized crime and the government, and the public does not receive any fact-based denial from the government. In the Seimas, the DDP has a majority, nothing prevents them from passing strict laws to return the country to normal living conditions, but they do not do that. Now there is no doubt that the LDDP will lose in next year’s parliamentary elections.²¹

Still, after a while, when the wounds inflicted by the attackers had healed, Laurušas viewed the situation from a philosophical perspective:

[...] I am well now and just having to go through the dental implant procedure. I have done some thinking and come to the conclusion that this is God’s rebuke for all sins.”²²

It is difficult to say what Laurušas meant when he wrote about sins, but he may have felt guilty about his long-term



Figure 4. Vytautas Laurušas, Jeronimas and Elena Kačinskas in Vilnius, October 1991 (Danutė Petrauskaitė’s personal archive)

affiliation with the LCP and the execution of its instructions.

In his letters, Laurušas very often mentioned the name of God, sometimes several times in one letter. He called the meeting with Kačinskas in Boston a gift from God. He prayed to God and asked him to give health to his best friend and to allow them to meet many more times; for himself, he asked for time to implement all his creative ideas and believed that Lithuania needed dedicated missionaries who would teach people to “open their hearts to God’s grace and bring them back under the care of Mary, Patroness of Lithuania”;²³ he was upset about the Word of God having been eliminated from the life of Lithuanian people through most cruel means yet realized that it would take several more decades to return spiritually oppressed people to the house of God.

During the Soviet years, Laurušas, like most Lithuanians, secretly celebrated Catholic holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, remembered the 16th of February, and deep in his heart believed that someday freedom would come to Lithuania, yet he did not think that it would happen so soon. After meeting Kačinskas, on the occasion of those holidays he would receive from Boston congratulations as well as small gifts—various delicacies, such as coffee, which could not be found in Lithuanian shops at that time. Laurušas reciprocated by sending him Lithuanian souvenirs. Once walking past an art shop in Vilnius, he stepped in and saw an image of Jesus woven in linen. The painting was so mesmerizing, spiritual, and devotional that it immediately became engraved in his memory. Laurušas could not forget that image either day or night, and he decided to buy the piece of art and send it to Boston. Kačinskas was very happy with it, and Laurušas was happy to have given joy to his friends.²⁴

Laurušas did not write much about music. The topic became more relevant in 1994, when his second term as rector ended. For a while, the composer felt confused—after more than three decades of responsible positions at the Lithuanian Opera and Ballet Theatre, the Composers' Union, and the Lithuanian State Conservatory, he felt as if he was no longer necessary:

You know, Jeronimas, I often think that it is detrimental for a composer to do administrative work. You can put a lot of effort into this work, but you won't get any thanks. Meanwhile, creation is a certain value that no one can destroy or erase. What you have done accumulates into some kind of capital that everyone must reckon with, whether they like it or not. Such thoughts visit me now after I have devoted half of my 64 years of age to administrative activities. When I think about it, a lot has been done in this area. An opera house has been built. I laid the first brick, smashed a bottle of champagne, and led the ceremony of opening the new theatre building. In the Composers' Union, on my initiative and under my leadership, a composers' house in Vilnius and a residential house in Druskininkai have been built. However, I am not looking forward to any thanks and I received them from no one. Everyone accepts it as if everything has been done without special effort and energy. These are the thoughts after leaving the administrative work.²⁵

However, soon his life returned to normal. Laurušas enjoyed his pedagogical work, devoting the rest of his time to music—he finished writing *Polyphony of Colors*, a cycle of preludes and fugues for piano, began collecting material for his second opera *Mindaugas*,²⁶ befriended German Ambassador to Lithuania Reinhart Kraus and wrote *Concerto di corde* for two violas for him as well as arranged Joseph Haydn's *Kaiser Quartet* for his home chamber ensemble. If before 1994 Laurušas wrote to Kačinskas that he did not have time to compose, then later the compositions followed one after another. Over the last 25 years of his life, he wrote more works of music than during the period of 1955 to 1994 (Laurušas). In the last decades of the composer's life, his old dreams of living and working in independent Lithuania seem to have come true.

Conclusions

Laurušas's life path can be chronologically divided into several periods: 1) childhood (before 1941); 2) adolescence and the beginning of youth, which coincided with the years of occupation, the war, and postwar years (1941–1949); 3) the period of studies (1949–1956); 4) the first years of work (1956–1962); 5) a period of active administrative activity as a member of the elite of the Communist Party (1963–1988); 6) the era of historical turning points (1988–1990); and 7) resignation from the

Communist Party and work in independent Lithuania (1990–2019).

Laurušas's personality was formed in the interwar and postwar years based on Christian values. His love for God, his neighbor, and his homeland was instilled in him by his parents, teachers, and the Jesuit priests, with whom he had maintained close contacts. He did not forsake those values all his life. Only in the conditions of the Soviet regime did he take over the rhetoric of Communist ideology for fear of repression: he was not ready to become a hermit or a dissident. Moreover, his creative instinct was so strong that he dared to transgress some of his moral principles and join the LCP, hoping to secure the opportunity to create and help others. Laurušas proved this as the head of the Lithuanian Opera and Ballet Theatre, the Composers' Union, and the State Conservatory. He paid tribute to the occupation authorities by writing several songs praising the leaders of the Socialist revolution and the Communist Party; moreover, in his opera *Stray Birds*, a contribution to the then escalated propaganda campaign seeking to get the emigrants back, he sympathized with the Lithuanian emigrants to the West who had lost their political orientation and tragically ended their lives.

Laurušas had heard about the expatriate musicians based in America during his studies and secretly admired them but never thought he would be able to meet any of them. However, thanks to *perestroika* in the 1980s and personal connections, he was able to participate in the USSR Music Festival in Boston in 1988. During the festival, he met Jeronimas Kačinskas, one of the pioneers of modern music in Lithuania. Their sincere friendship lasted for many years. Laurušas wrote candid letters to his friend (about 20 of them have survived), in which he shared his thoughts on music and commented on the political changes that encouraged him to renounce the Communist past and support Lithuania's independence. The letters featured the values formed during his childhood and adolescence, this time underpinned with the belief in the strong necessity for freedom in the life of the individual, the nation, and the state as well as with faith in God. The return to the fundamental phenomena of being seemed to have framed Laurušas's worldview. It could be compared to the ABA three-part reprise form, which revealed inner drama and the marks left by historical eras that could be felt in the composer's mindset as well as in his music.

Laurušas's letters are valuable as a personal diary and as a yearbook of Lithuania's revival. When summarizing his life path, he realized that he had spent too much time on administrative work and political activities and acknowledged that the artist's mission was to create art because the greatest capital of artists was their works.

Endnotes

- ¹ Since the seventeenth century, the University of Innsbruck had a Faculty of Theology and a Jesuit college and church at it.
- ² Order No. 47, 11 March 1957, of Jurgis Karnavičius, director of the State Conservatory of the Lithuanian SSR. Vilnius Petrauskas' Personal Archive.
- ³ Hereinafter: CPSU.
- ⁴ In 1964, Khrushchev was removed from his post, and Sniečkus served as the First Secretary of the LCP for another decade.
- ⁵ In Rita Aleknaitė's book about Vytautas Laurušas, the word *Lenin* was omitted, and the song was called *Flags*.
- ⁶ Upon arrival to Boston, the string quartet was formed of two Muscovites and two students from Boston who were not able to convey the composer's idea well enough.
- ⁷ Sarah Caldwell (1924–2006) was an American conductor, impresario, and stage director. She was handed the scores of the compositions performed at the festival, including several copies of Laurušas's cantata *Flaming Night* in Lithuanian and Russian (later they went to the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center of Boston University and are presently stored in Sarah Caldwell's Collection #1733).
- ⁸ Elena Vasyliūnienė (1913–2001) was a pedagogue, journalist, and active figure in the Lithuanian community in Boston as well as the wife of violinist Izidorius Vasyliūnas.
- ⁹ The Lithuanian Sg. pronoun *tu* (Pl. *jūs*) is used when talking to family members, friends, or young children, whereas *jūs* is used to politely address an elder person or a person that one does not know.
- ¹⁰ Vytautas Laurušas's letter to Jeronimas Kačinskas. Vilnius, 2 October 1988. Lithuanian Archives of Literature and Art (hereinafter: LALA).
- ¹¹ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 17 April 1994. LALA.
- ¹² Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 22 June 1995. LALA.
- ¹³ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 5 July 1988. LALA.
- ¹⁴ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, January 1989. LALA.
- ¹⁵ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 14 October 1988. LALA.
- ¹⁶ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 27 August 1989. LALA.
- ¹⁷ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 18 November 1990. LALA.
- ¹⁸ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 6 November 1988. LALA.
- ¹⁹ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 7 November 1989. LALA.
- ²⁰ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 7 March 1993. LALA.
- ²¹ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 15 November 1995. LALA.
- ²² Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 8 December 1995. LALA.
- ²³ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 18 November 1990. LALA.
- ²⁴ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 7 March 1993. LALA.
- ²⁵ Laurušas's letter to Kačinskas, 8 December 1995. LALA.
- ²⁶ The opera has not been written.

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Santrauka

Laurušo gyvenimo kelią chronologiškai galima suskirstyti į kelias atkarpas: 1) vaikystę (iki 1941); 2) paauglystę ir jaunystės pradžią, kuri sutapo su okupacijų, karo ir pokario metais (1941–1949); 3) studijų laikotarpį (1949–1956); 4) pirmuosius savarankiško darbo metus (1956–1962); 5) aktyvų administracinės veiklos periodą, priklausant komunistų partijos elitui (1963–1988); 6) istorinių lūžių laikotarpį (1988–1990); 7) išsivadavimą iš partinės priklausomybės ir darbą nepriklausomoje Lietuvoje (1990–2019).

Laurušo asmenybė formavosi tarpukario ir pokario metais krikščioniškų vertybių pagrindu. Meilę Dievui, artimui ir tėvynei jam skiepijo tėvai, mokytojai, jėzuitų kunigai, su kuriais palaikė glaudų ryšį. Tų vertybių jis neatsisakė visą gyvenimą, tik sovietinio režimo sąlygomis dėl represijų baimės perėmė komunistinės ideologijos retoriką. Tai kompozitorius darė nenorėdamas pasirinkti atsiskyrelio ar disidentų dalios. Be to, jo kūrybinio instinkto būta tokio stipraus, kad išdrįsta nusižengti kai kuriems savo moraliniams principams ir įstoti į Lietuvos komunistų partiją, tikintis taip garantuoti sau galimybę kurti ir padėti kitiems. Tai Laurušas įrodė vadovaudamas Lietuvos operos ir baleto teatrui, Kompozitorių sąjungai, Valstybinei konservatorijai.

Duoklę okupacinei valdžiai jis atidavė parašęs keletą socialistinės revoliucijos vadus bei komunistų partiją šlovinančių dainų ir operą „Paklydę paukščiai“, kurioje užjautė politinę orientaciją praradusius lietuvių emigrantus ir prisidėjo prie tuo metu eskaluojamos propagandinės akcijos siekiant prisivilioti juos iš Vakarų atgalios.

Apie išėvijęs muzikus, įsikūrusius Amerikoje, Laurušas buvo girdėjęs dar studijų metais ir slapčia jais žavėjosi, bet niekada nemanė, jog pavyks su kuriuo nors iš jų susitikti. Tačiau dėl devintajame dešimtmetyje prasidėjusios *perestroikos* ir asmeninių ryšių jam pavyko 1988 m. nuvykti į SSRS muzikos festivalį, surengtą Bostone. Jo metu jis susitiko su vienu iš moderniosios muzikos pradininkų Lietuvoje Kačinsku. Tarp jų užsimezgusi nuoširdi draugystė truko ne vienus metus. Laurušas rašė savo draugui nuoširdžius laiškus (jų išliko apie 20), kuriuose dalijosi mintimis apie muziką, pasakojo apie politines permainas,

pastūmėjusias jį atsižadėti komunistinės praeities ir remti Lietuvos nepriklausomybės šalininkus. Juose vėl iškilo vaikystės ir paauglystės metais susiformavusios vertybės, tik šį kartą su itin stipriai išreikšta laisvės būtinybe žmogaus, tautos ir valstybės gyvenime, taip pat Dievo tikėjimu. Šis grįžimas prie pamatinių būties reiškinių tarsi įrėmino kompozitoriaus pasaulėžiūrą. Ją būtų galima palyginti su trijų dalių reprizine forma – ABA, bylojančia apie išgyventas vidines dramas bei istorinių laikotarpių paliktas žymes, kurias galima apčiuopti ne tik kompozitoriaus mąstysenoje, bet ir jo muzikoje.

Laurušo laišakai yra vertingi kaip asmeninis dienoraštis ir Lietuvos atgimimo metraštis. Apibendrindamas savo nueitą gyvenimo kelią, jis suprato, kad per daug laiko skyrė administraciniam darbui ir politinei veiklai, ir pripažino, kad menininko misija yra kurti meną, nes didžiausias menininko kapitalas yra jo kūriniai.

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A “Special Period in Times of Peace”: Emergence, Exodus, and Evasion on the Cuban Music Map of the 1990s

„Ypatingasis taikos meto laikotarpis“. Iškilimas, emigracija ir laviravimas
XX a. paskutinio dešimtmečio Kubos muzikiniame žemėlapyje

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Abstract

The political changes that shook Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991 brought about one of the biggest fractures in Cuba's political and sociocultural life after the triumph of the revolution. Consequently, the Cuban musical map of the 90s was marked by two main events: the boom of timba in popular dance music and the exodus of most of the island's classical composers. As we will see, evasion was a feature shared by both music scenes. In the case of timba, it was manifested in the development of musical and performative resources of radical complexity and social background; while in contemporary classical music, it was manifested in the increasing expansion of the work of its composers in the new spaces of the Cuban diaspora. The effect of this historic moment in Cuban society is evident both in the multifaceted physiognomy that music acquires on the island and abroad as well as in the social and cultural uses music entails as a process of constructing new identities. Deepening these complex dynamics is the main objective of our proposal, which is approached from a sociological, cultural, and musicological perspective by authors such as Frith (1987), Clifford (1988), Bhabha (1994), Hall (1996), Brah (1996), Brazier and Mannur (2003), and García Canclini (2008).

Keywords: Special Period, Cuban popular dance music, Cuban timba, Cuban Classical Contemporary music, Identity, Cuban composers of the diaspora, Louis Aguirre.

Anotacija

Politiniai pokyčiai, sukretę Rytų Europą 1989–1991 m., po revoliucijos triumfo tapo vieno iš didžiausių Kubos politinio ir sociokultūrinio gyvenimo lūžių priežastimi. Todėl XX a. paskutinio dešimtmečio Kubos muzikinis žemėlapis buvo pažymėtas dviem pagrindiniais įvykiais: populiariosios šokių muzikos timbos suklestėjimu ir daugumos klasikinės muzikos kompozitorių išvykimu iš salos. Beje, laviravimas buvo abiejų muzikinių scenų bendras bruožas. Timbos atveju jis pasireiškė radikalaus sudėtingumo muzikinių ir atlikėjiškų išteklių vystymu ir socialiniu kontekstu, o šiuolaikinėje klasikinėje muzikoje – intensyvėjančia kompozitorių kūrybos plėtra naujose kubiečių diasporos erdvėse. Šio istorinio momento poveikį Kubos visuomenei akivaizdžiai liudija tiek muzikos įvairovė Kubos saloje ir už jos ribų, tiek socialinė ir kultūrinė muzikos funkcija naujų tapatybių formavimo procese. Straipsniu siekiama perteikti šią sudėtingą dinamiką, remiantis įvairių autorių (Frith (1987), Clifford (1988), Bhabha (1994), Hall (1996), Brah (1996), Brazier ir Mannur (2003) ir García Canclini (2008)) sociologinėmis, kultūrinėmis ir muzikologinėmis įžvalgomis.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: ypatingasis laikotarpis, Kubos populiarioji šokių muzika, kubietiška timba, Kubos šiuolaikinė klasikinė muzika, tapatybė, kubiečių diasporos kompozitoriai, Louis Aguirre'as.

Introduction

The political changes that shook Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991 deeply fractured the post-revolutionary history of Cuba, an ideological and economic satellite of the former Soviet power within the Caribbean region. The collapse of the former Soviet Union and The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) together with the tightening of the economic blockade imposed by the United States since the early sixties translated into an unprecedented crisis for the island. According to some experts, “una de las más grandes recesiones económicas del siglo XX [...]”¹ (Fogel 1997: 142).

The radical depression of the economy as well as the island's model of socialist development resulted in a new period called the “Special Period in Times of Peace” (*antesala de un epílogo que se llamaría, a rajatabla, la Opción cero*)² (Diego 1996: 212). The levels of individual and social consumption of the people plummeted and the phrases “there is no” and “in the fight” became everyday refrain. The consequences of this crisis, the effects of which can still be seen in the economy of the country, were considerably severe between 1991 and 1993 when the gross domestic product (GDP) contracted between 32% and 36% (Ibarra 2000).

The substantial lack of material resources and basic needs in Cuban society brought about a group of regulations

(ideological and economic reforms) that forced the industry and Cubans' way of life to change. Among these measures we can mention the emergence of self-employment and jobs within the tourist sector, an increase of wired family remittances, free travel to the island for Cubans who had emigrated legally, and decriminalization of the possession and use of US dollars. It was indeed a change in the island's socialist economic structure that challenged the government to face a terrible material crisis.

Modeled after a hypothetical "Special Period in Times of War"—designed decades earlier for the eventuality of a U.S. invasion attempt—the "Special Period in Time of Peace" entailed severe measures to confront a siege-type of situation, and therefore extreme scarcity. [...] Belt-tightening measures were put in place to confront the loss of Soviet bloc subsidies and trade, which up until then amounted to 84 percent of all trade [...]

Stories of people raising pigs in their bathtubs and traveling to rural areas to barter everything imaginable for food were overwhelmingly common. Electricity blackouts of many hours a day and the constant and unpredictable interruption in the supply of all other utilities made quotidian tasks such as cooking and cleaning an ordeal. In Havana the pitch-black, traffic free nights became havens for petty crime. (Hernández-Reguant 2009: 4-5)

However, the most significant and immediate effect was undoubtedly the dramatic exile of Cubans to the United States, which became one of the biggest recorded exoduses in the recent history of the country. From this situation emerged the most dramatic and unique images of the Special Period, which peaked in the summer of 1994.

According to sociologist Ernesto Rodríguez Chávez, Cuba and the United States signed a migratory agreement (December 1984) that favored the annual arrival to the United States of up to twenty thousand Cubans as legal immigrants. Nevertheless,

lejos de servir de instrumento idóneo al desarrollo ordenado y legal de la emigración, se convirtió en factor de presión psicológica: alentaba las salidas legales, pero las impedía al mismo tiempo y conducía el flujo migratorio hacia caminos marginales, como las salidas ilegales por medios propios, los robos de naves aéreas o embarcaciones y el asalto a sedes diplomáticas.³ (Rodríguez 1997: 104-105)

This critical situation peaked on August 5, 1994, with the Maleconazo uprising, a protest that took place in some streets of the city, mainly the eastern area of the Malecón and the municipalities of Downtown and Old Havana. After intercepting some boats to prevent them from leaving for the States, hundreds of citizens took the streets and fought the police with stones and sticks. The riots caused the destruction of shop and hotel windows and the vandalism of commercial centers. As a result, several people were injured, some were rumored to have died in the incident,

and more than one hundred were detained. The riot only stopped when Fidel Castro personally appeared.

A few days later, on August 12, Cuban authorities decided not to interfere with Cubans fleeing the island by their own means. The above led to the biggest migratory exodus of the period, known as "the rafter's crisis." Thousands of desperate people, among them families with children, "set sail" using precarious home-made means of navigation, which included tractor tires, ropes, and wooden rafts to float off the island. In total, 36,000 people fled the island as rafters between August and September 1994 (Rodríguez 1997).⁴

At the same time, with the breakdown of the usual modes of professional development, many Cuban intellectuals, academics, and artists decided to settle either temporarily or indefinitely in different European countries and those of the Americas. Some were able to achieve this through work contracts with Cuban and foreign enterprises and others by independent means. One of the many strategies devised by the youngest artists, among those who were painters, musicians, writers, film makers, dancers, or actors was fleeing the country legally. These strategies often included applying for international scholarships and participation in festivals, contests, and student exchange programs hosted by various centers and universities of the old and new continent, which often entailed off-the-record balancing and juggling acts and overcoming restrictions. These exceptional opportunities helped many to permanently settle outside the island.

Despite the harsh economic conditions, Cuban culture achieved important results in those years. Among them we can mention the international success known as the Buena Vista Social Club, the "world boom of Cuban salsa," the significant access Cuban writing and poetry published by Western publishing houses, and the first and second Salons of Cuban Contemporary Art (1995 and 1998/1999). It was also an important decade for the Cuban cinema with the movie *Fresa y Chocolate* (*Strawberry and Chocolate*, 1993) directed by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea and Juan Carlos Tabío (Mexican-Cuban-Spanish Coproduction) which won an Oscar nomination for Best Foreign Movie.

Two main events marked the Cuban music scene of those years, which encompassed diverse genres and musical styles such as timba, salsa, hip-hop, rap, trova, jazz, rock, son, rumba, and pop. On one side and within the scope of the island's popular dance music was the boom of timba as a transgressive genre and on the other, the exodus of young Cuban contemporary classical composers who immigrated to Europe, the United States, and Latin America. These events offer a two-sided view of one of the most significant periods of the recent history of Cuban music as well as a privileged perspective of the social and musical events of the largest Caribbean island in a very relevant moment of its socialist history.

The boom of popular dance music, timba especially, on the island and the international market brought substantial changes in the musical discourse. On one side, it became more complex due to its persistent fusion, hybridization, and crossing of performative and stylistic features, and on the other, it led to the emergence of new ethical and social archetypes in the everyday occurrences of popular life. The scope of classical contemporary music, however, reveals one of the most graphic behaviors of Cuban society in the decade of the 90s: the search for new prospects beyond the frontiers of the Caribbean island, which fostered the confrontation of two complementary discourses. One belonged to the old composers of the 60s, 70s, and 80s, which even today persists as reference marker for the music that is composed on the island, and the other belonged to the diaspora composers characterized by new codes, scenes, and identity resources due to their trans-territoriality. Despite their differences, as we will prove in this article, evasion is a feature shared by both music scenes.

The effect of this historic moment in Cuban society is evident both in the multifaceted physiognomy that music acquires on the island and abroad, as well as in the social and cultural uses music entails as a process of constructing new identities. The main objective of this proposal is to delve into the dynamics of these complex processes from a sociological, cultural, and musicological perspective.

The cuban timba of the new “new man”

Timba (also known as hyper salsa), imposes itself in the 90s as a phenomenon of music-dance expression with urban roots that was extremely popular in the Cuban society of the special period; although “se viene gestando en Cuba desde la década de los 70 aproximadamente”⁵ (González and Casanella 2002: 4). It had such a great impact that for many, the term timba “ha servido para nombrar, por convención intuitiva, toda la producciónailable [cubana] de los 90, independientemente de estilos y códigos específicos”⁶ (Ibid.: 3). From a commercial point of view, timba is usually “emplear [...] como concepto de marketing, que intenta diferenciar las composiciones nacionales sonero-salseras de los últimos años, de las producidas fuera de la Isla”⁷ (Ibid.).

From a musical point of view, timba approaches the characteristic “timbric and functional layers” (franjastimbrico-funcionales) of Cuban music from a different perspective.⁸ The extreme fragmentation and counter-accentuation of its sonority has become an undistinguishable feature due to its exacerbated tension, aggressiveness, and emancipation of changing and diverse rhythmical layers. Scholars such as Vincenzo Perna considers timba “[a] result of an innovative fusion of elements drawn from multiple directions [...]” (Perna 2005: 2) in so far as musical style “eclectic and open

to disparate and even contrasting musical influences” (Ibid.: 3). Danilo Orozco highlights the dislocation of elements and inter-stylistic confluences as the definitive feature of this tendency or musical style, falling into the definition of “inter-genre.”

híbrido concreto que se nutre de diferentes géneros (o sus rasgos estilísticos derivados) con una mezcla específica y muy dinámica de elementos yuxtapuestos que se muestran en permanente pugna interna o tensiones, que no permiten precisar, de manera estable, los componentes, lo cual no descarta que sea posible una relativa coherencia a través de uno o más comportamientos musicales.⁹ (González and Casanella 2002: 4)

Undoubtedly, timba evidences this behavior in the convergence of characteristic features of son montuno, salsa, rumba, mambo, and the ritual and festive music of Afro-Cuban roots as well as rap, hip-hop, jazz, cumbia, and funk.

This new style within the Cuban music and dance tradition contributes to the use of a wider spectrum of percussion and brass instruments and a tendency to see a progressive acceleration of the musical tempo as an inductive effect of extensive climatic elements (known in the musical jargon of timba as “bomb” or “masacote,” and in dance jargon as “tembleque” or “despelote” [frenzy]). The use of continuous fragmentation in the bass line and the tumbao¹⁰ sonero of the piano, as well as the development of a more solo singing declaimed line alternating with choruses in amore parlando style (influence of hip-hop and rap) were also a part of this style. Its manner of dancing, directly inherited from rumba elements of bantú and abakuá origin, is characterized by brusque, dislocated, and aggressive movements with a sexual connotation.

The main bands of this musical and social phenomenon are numerous and to a great extent composed of a wide range of virtuoso musicians who studied in the professional music school’s system of the island. Among them, José Luis Cortés y NG la Banda stands out, to whom the creation of timba is attributed as well as popular songs such as “Échale limón” and “Santa palabra” (CD *Échale Limón*, EGREM 1993). Also, Paulo F. G. y su Élite with compositions such as “Sofocación” and “Se lo buscó” (CD *Sofocándote*, Areito 1995). David Calzado y la Charanga Habanera with “Nube pasajera” and “El temba” (CD *Pa’ que se entere La Habana*, Magic Music 1996). Manolín, el *Médico de la salsa* (the salsa doctor) with “Una aventura loca” and “A pagar allá” (CD *Una aventura loca*, Caribe 1994). Bamboleo with “Ya no hace falta” and “La tremenda” (CD *Ya no hace falta*, Ahí-Namá Music 1999) and Giraldo Piloto and his band Klimax with “Juego de manos” and “Amor de hospital” (CD *Juego de manos*, Manzana 1997). To the above popular timba bands, other names could be added, such as La Charanga Forever, Manolito Simonet y su Trabuco, Azúcar Negra, Danny Lozada y la Timba Cubana, Carlos Manuel y su Clan, Isaac Delgado y su Orquesta, and Juan Formell y Los Van Van.



Figure 1. Timba dancing (taken from González, Casanella 2002: 2).

Frequently, the lyrics of timba songs refer to the chronicles of marginal neighborhoods and touristic centers (one of its main audiences, together with the European and Asian markets) that portray the Cuban reality of the special period. At the same time, they encourage fun and the pursuit of dreams of fortune.

Los trepidantes cambios en la escala de valores humanos, el retorno de conductas aparentemente anuladas, así como la lucha por la supervivencia encontraron eco en las letras, con un real desbordamiento de lo hasta entonces considerado "marginal".¹¹ (Casanella 2013: 149)

In these songs, Afro-Cuban religious traditions take a privileged space due to—independently and beyond of their ancestral and ever-growing identity sign¹²—the increase of ritual practices in a context where money transactions prevail; whereas the image of women gains special attention, showing them as objects of desire and moral criticism and making reference to the rebirth of a new prostitution and its practitioners, "las jineteras." It is precisely to this emerging phenomenon of Cuban sexual tourism that José Luis Cortés y NG La Banda dedicated "La Bruja" (CD *La bruja*, Murakami's 1994), one of the most controversial and popular songs of those years.

Lyrics of the song *La bruja* (José Luis Cortés y NG La Banda, 1994)

Salgo de la casa aburrido, irritado
A buscar tu silueta, desesperado
Me encuentro a mí mismo, solo y cansado.
La vida es un circo, todos somos payasos
Pasean los magos, todo me da asco
Y eso me pasa porque faltas tú.

Tú te crees la mejor, tú te crees una artista
Porque vas en turitaxi por Buena Vista
Buscando lo imposible, porque a ti te falto yo también.
Cambiaste mi amor por diversiones baratas
El precio del espíritu no se subasta
Por eso te comparo yo con una bruja.

Coro: Tú lo que eres una bruja
Solo: Tú eres una loca
Coro: Una bruja sin sentimientos, Tú eres una bruja
Solo: Tú lo que eres una loca, una arrebatada, una desquiciada.

... ..

Solo: Tú eres la bruja de la escoba
Coro: Coge tu palo y vete
Solo: Por eso contigo no quiero nada
Coro: Coge tu palo y vete

... ..

Coro: Corre niño que te va a coger
Solo: La bruja te va llevar
Coro: Corre niño que te va a coger
Solo: Oye! La bruja te va a arrastrar

I get out of my house bored and irritated
searching for your figure, desperate
I find myself lonely and tired.
Life is a circus, we're all clowns
Magicians stroll, everything is disgusting
And that happens because you're missing.

You think you're the best, you think you're an artist
Because you take a turitaxi to go around Buena Vista
Searching for the impossible, because I'm also missing in your life.
You changed my love for trinket fun
The price of the soul isn't to be auctioned
That's why I compare you to a witch.

Chorus: You're a witch
Solo: You're crazy
Chorus: A witch with no feelings, you're a witch
Solo: You're crazy, wild, mad

... ..

Solo: You're a witch with a broomstick
Chorus: Take your stick and leave
Solo: That's why I want nothing to do with you
Chorus: Take your stick and go away

... ..

Chorus: Run boy she's coming after you
Solo: The witch will take you away
Chorus: Run boy she's gonna get you
Solo: Eh! The witch will sweep you along.

Despite its popularity, “La bruja” by José Luis Cortés (El Tosco) was banned in the mass media because, according to official censorship, it sounded more humorous than sententious. In other words, it was publicly sentenced by the political and intellectual elite of the island, since it praised one of the most sensitive and dishonorable issues of the Cuban socialist society of the 90s: prostitution. Curiously enough:

The song makes a reference to turitaxis (dollar-only taxis used by foreigners), but it does not mention prostitutes, jineteras or tourists. In its lyrics, there is virtually nothing reminiscent of the often explicit language of Western pop and rock, or the misogynist showers of words contained in much North American rap. Nevertheless, ‘La bruja’ caused a moral scandal in Cuba: it was banned by radio and met with the solemn condemnation of the Federación de Mujeres Cubanas (Federation of Cuban Women, or FMC), a powerful quasi-governmental organization.¹³ (Perna 2005: 196)

The linguistic codes used in the lyrics of timba are identified with vulgar and marginal expressions of the language. In them converge dissimilar elements of the traditional, the danceable, and children’s songbooks and the literary and poetic universes as well as Cuban popular and religious lexicon in a constant intertextual dialogue.

Recursos tradicionales como la jocosidad, el choteo, el doble sentido, la ironía, la sátira, la parodia y la hipérbole se utilizaron para abordar temas de aguda connotación social y manifestar la voluntad autoral de censurar y denunciar hechos mediante la mordacidad, la burla solapada pero irreverente o rodeada de una atmósfera que trasmite sus intenciones, tanto o más que el texto mismo.¹⁴ (Casarella 2013: 154)

The aforementioned ostensibly leads to the creation of a new popular phraseology. This fact, and the crystallization of new gestural codes and manners of dressing in Cuban society—a clear reflection of timba’s success and popularity—draws us to highlight that: “Los gustos en la música popular no se derivan simplemente de nuestras identidades socialmente construidas; también contribuyen a darles formas”¹⁵ (Frith 2001: 434). From this same perspective, scholar López-Cano asserts that:

La timba es un factor fundamental en la construcción del arquetipo cultural del “Chico duro de la Habana”, la coraza que abriga a ciertos sectores ante su realidad. La timba no es lamento que llora por lo que pasa, tampoco es hipocresía que niega lo que pasa: es cinismo que colabora a sobrellevar y normalizar la vida en medio de todo lo que pasa.¹⁶ (López-Cano 2005)

The lyrics of this musical and social phenomenon are recognized as “street’s voice”: non-committal but defiant words that subvert the evasion from or absence of official discourse on race, gender, class, and nation. That is the

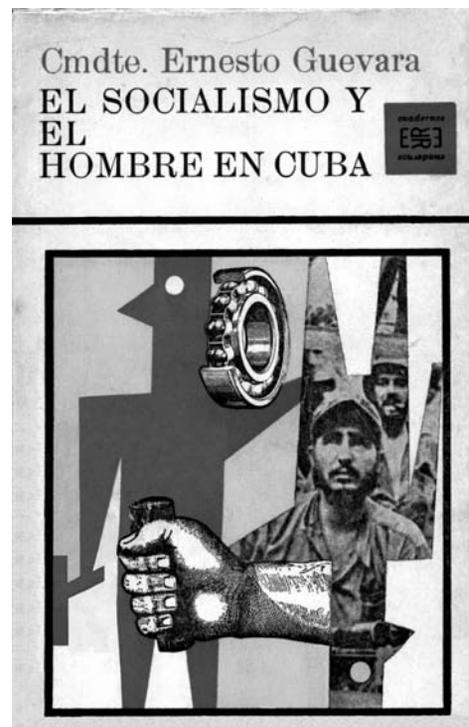


Figure 2. Cover of the first edition of the book *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, Guevara, Ernesto, 1965, Havana: Revolución.

reason why these texts so often became the target of official criticism and censorship.

The combination of all these features lead us to reflect on the possibility of the formation of a new identity: an identity that either on account of the new ideals promoted by the lyrics of timba or by the new archetypes taken after the timba idols—sexy young male singers living an ostentatious lifestyle due to their commercial success—is significantly detached from the revolutionary ideals of that “new man” that Ernesto (Che) Guevara praises in his historic letter “Socialism and Man in Cuba,” initially published in the weekly *Marcha* in Montevideo, on March 14, 1965.

Se corre el peligro de que los árboles impidan ver el bosque. Persiguiendo la quimera de realizar el socialismo con la ayuda de las armas melladas que nos legara el capitalismo (la mercancía como célula económica, la rentabilidad, el interés material individual como palanca, etcétera), se puede llegar a un callejón sin salida. [...] Para construir el comunismo, simultáneamente con la base material hay que hacer al hombre nuevo.¹⁷ (Guevara 1965: 29-30)

el hombre realmente alcanza su plena condición humana cuando produce sin la compulsión de la necesidad física de venderse como mercancía.¹⁸ (Ibid.: 39-40)

la culpabilidad de muchos de nuestros intelectuales y artistas reside en su pecado original; no son auténticamente revolucionarios. Podemos intentar injertar el olmo para que dé peras, pero simultáneamente hay que sembrar perales. Las

nuevas concepciones vendrán libres del pecado original. Las probabilidades de que surjan artistas excepcionales serán tanto mayores cuanto más se haya ensanchado el campo de la cultura y la posibilidad de expresión. Nuestra tarea consiste en impedir que la generación actual, dislocada por sus conflictos, se pervierta y pervierta a las nuevas. [...] Ya vendrán los revolucionarios que entonen el canto del hombre nuevo con la auténtica voz del pueblo.¹⁹ (Ibid.: 49-50)

The new "new man" (post-revolutionary hero)²⁰ that emerges from the interaction of timba with the scene of social and economic crisis of the special period undermines socialist ethics. Their paradigms talk about a new materialism, about the normalization of a new ethical and social way of life, about the aggravation of vulgarity, about the search for an ideological and spiritual refuge in Afro-Cuban religious practices (pride in Black culture and race), and all in all, the disillusionment with the Cuban Socialist Revolution.

Cuban classical contemporary composers in the diaspora

Running parallel to the popular dance music scene, the Cuban classical contemporary music of the 90s reveals ambivalent behavior. On one hand, the official discourse of the island insists on empowering the old protagonists of the Cuban musical vanguard of the 60s and 70s as well as the faithful exponents of the post-Romantic and post-nationalist esthetics of the 80s. Among them are Harold Gramatges (1918-2008), Juan Blanco (1919-2008), Héctor Angulo (1932-2018), Carlos Fariñas (1934-2002), Roberto Valera (1938-), Leo Brouwer (1939-)—who indisputably is the most famous Cuban international composer, Guido López Gavilán (1944-), José Loyola (1949-), and Juan Piñera (1949-). Meanwhile, on the other hand, is the striking evasive or escapist reaction shown by younger composers who have recently graduated from the Composition Department of

Table 1. Present location of Cuban composers who graduated from ISA in Havana between 1990 and 1999.

Year of graduation	Composer	Presently lives in
1990	Jorge José Maletá Cocina	Madrid, Spain
	Juan Antonio Prada García	Montevideo, Uruguay
	Orlando Vistel Columbié	Havana, Cuba
1991	Louis Franz Aguirre Rovira	Aalborg, Denmark
1992	Julián Antonio Blanco Vega	San Salvador, El Salvador
	Carlos Alberto Puig Hatem	Miami, the United States
	Orlando Gómez Martínez	Matanzas, Cuba
1993	Perla del Carmen Morales Batista	Mexico
	Elio Esteban Villafranca Gómez	New York, the United States
	Keila María Orozco Alemán	New York, the United States
1994	Luvia Denis Naranjo	Miami, the United States
	Alain Perón Hernández	Barcelona, Spain
	Teresa María Núñez Daumy	Havana, Cuba
	Eduardo Morales-Caso	Madrid, Spain
1995	Amed Torrecilla Valera	Madrid, Spain
	Gisell Pérez Quintana	The United States
1996	Ailem Carvajal Gómez	Parma, Italy
	Jorge Martínez Galán	Amsterdam, Holland
1997	Daniel Luis Stable Pérez	Miami, the United States
	Yosleivy Lemes Ulloa	Barcelona, Spain
1998	Yosvany Quintero Monzón	Basilea, Switzerland
	Mónica O'Reilly Viamontes	Guayaquil, Ecuador
	Raquel Rubí Cordoví	Miami, the United States
	Luis Ángel Palomino Tuero	Havana, Cuba
1999	Bárbara María Llanes Zertucha	Havana, Cuba

the Instituto Superior de Artes of Havana (ISA or University of the Arts), the only existing institution in the country.²¹

Immersed in the controversial Cuban reality of the 90s, these young classical contemporary composers also opted for the difficult experience of exile, and with that, the decentralization of their generational group. We should take into consideration that this group, just like many of the young intellectuals of this period, was able to take an active and professional part in Havana cultural life at the end of the twentieth century. However, the abovementioned did not prevent them from falling into the allure immigration posed that permeated Cuban society of the 90s.

During the last decade of the turn of the century, in the idyllic, quasi-extemporaneous environment of the ISA, a considerable number of composers graduated, of which only a small number currently remains on the island. The objective figures of this phenomenon reveal that out of 25 composers who graduated between 1990-1999, only five remain on Cuban soil. For the most part, members of the Cuban diaspora of the 90s today live in European and Latin American countries.

During those difficult years, the students of the composition department of ISA were incited by the generational challenge of facing a cultural and ideological situation plagued by skepticism and radical changes, completely opposite to the experiences and motivations of their professors. During the Special Period, the canon of Cuban cultural policy, up to then defended as a bastion of national expression, does not find in the new generations of artists and intellectuals the same support it did in the past—nor an openly critical stance. Hence, the young artistic manifestation of those years is not assumed as an expression of the nation or as a political-social genealogy.

In the 1990s, most artists chose not to directly collide with revolutionary ideology, strategically insisting instead on the separation of art from politics. It was popular culture, rather, that provided a space for cultural critique. (Hernández-Reguant 2009: 11)

After they left the country—mainly through scholarships subsidized by international universities and conservatoires—the migratory experience of these Cuban composers turned their music into a space of fundamental interest in the recent (unofficial) history of Cuban contemporary classical music. Their proposals are marked by identity cleavage and hybridization, a continuous process of assimilation and utopian return (the “teleology of origin/return”), which encompasses transnational circuits in a constant exchange of cultures and subjectivities (Clifford 1998, 1997). In other words, a dialogical and liminal space in which “diasporic subjects experience double (and even plural) identifications that are constitutive of hybrid forms of identity” (Brazier and Mannur 2003: 5).

Immersed in a continuous process of negotiation, the work of these Cuban composers corresponds to “networks of transnational identifications encompassing ‘imagined’ and ‘encountered’ communities” (Brah 1996: 196), invariably subject to the continuous dynamics of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. As García Canclini states, the two processes (de/reterritorialization) refer to “the loss of the ‘natural’ relation of culture to geographical and social territories and, at the same time, certain relative, partial territorial relocations of new and old symbolic productions” (García Canclini 2008: 229). To summarize, “a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity” (Hall 1990: 235).

Some of the classical contemporary composers of the Cuban diaspora include Ileana Pérez-Velázquez (Cienfuegos, 1964-), who has lived in New York since 1993; Eduardo Morales-Caso (Havana, 1969-), who has lived in Madrid since 1996; Keyla Orozco (Santiago de Cuba, 1969-), who lived in Amsterdam from 1996 to 2017 and settled in New York in 2018; Ailem Carvajal (Havana, 1972-), who has lived in Parma since 1997; and as the greatest exponent, Louis Aguirre (Camagüey, 1968-), who has lived in Aalborg since 2004.²² The careers of these resilient composers unfolded within subaltern spaces in the communities where they have settled down. They had to confront diverse reactions to alterity, namely situations of “cultural difference” or in Bhabha’s words:

A split between the traditional culturalist demand for a model, a tradition, a community, a stable system of reference, and the necessary negation of the certitude in the articulation of new cultural demands, meanings, strategies in the political present, as a practice of domination, or resistance. (Bhabha 1994: 35)

Despite the aforementioned, the music of Louis Aguirre, a composer to whom we will now dedicate our full attention, has been performed in numerous festivals across Europe, the United States, Latin America, Australia, and Asia, which has undoubtedly enriched and reconfigured his previous trajectory, and that of the enclave that welcomed him in Denmark (in 2015 Aguirre was awarded with the prestigious “Three Years Grant” by the Danish State Arts Council). It is questionable whether he would have gained such recognition or international projection immersed in the Cuban isolation of the last decades. Aguirre is a member of the Danish Composers’ Society as well as the council of the Snow Mask Composers’ Group and the artistic director of the Snow Mask Ensemble. His prolific catalogue comprises over 170 oeuvres (90% of them commissioned and premiered). Typically devoted to diverse chamber combinations and solo instruments, Aguirre’s work is characterized by a plurality of creative processes and cultural elements of multiple origins (from the Western musical vanguards, including the “new complexity,” to the

Danish "new simplicity," Carnatic music or classical music from Southern India, and the Gagaku and Kabuki of Japanese traditional music). All the above falls into a saturated aesthetic framework in which his direct relationship with Afro-Cuban ritual practices turns his music into the ideal communicative link with his gods or *orishas*.

Either as a negotiation or identification tool "that lives with and through difference," Louis Aguirre's approach to the African-based religious and cultural universe is, to a great extent, due to his consecration as a palero (practitioner of the Regla de Palo Monte) and santero (practitioner of Santería or Regla de Ocha) in 1999 and 2000. These two Caribbean religious systems derive from African religious practices known as Kongo (originally from Zaire, Congo, and Angola) and Yoruba (originally from Nigeria, Benin, and Togo) respectively. Religion has therefore become one of the guiding principles of his extensive diaspora work.²³

Aguirre turns the creative space of his Afro-Cuban oeuvres into an essential means of ritual communication and adoration. The composer asserts that:

Y fue mi contacto con el arte ritual afro-cubano lo que me dio la independencia y la posibilidad de construir una obra que no está animada por el consumo, la ligereza y las modas. El rito me dio la fuerza para hacer una obra en solitario, desde la fe y la magia. (Aguirre 2017: 5)²⁴

Mi obra se nutre de las ceremonias de la santería, donde la música forma parte integral del contacto con "otros mundos": dioses, deidades, orishas y ancestros; y "otra realidad": trance, posesión y adivinación. En la mayor parte de mi música el sonido es un vehículo de catarsis y significación sagrada. [...] En realidad, fueron mis creencias espirituales las que originaron mi necesidad de lograr un sonido/timbre (klang) capaz de reflejar las sonoridades complejas de los rituales afrocubanos; un sonido susceptible de transmitir la atmósfera violenta, telúrica y brutal de estas ceremonias: su energía, su pavor, su magia [...], los momentos colectivos de trance, donde la respiración cargada, los suspiros, los susurros, el hablar en lengua y los gritos forman partes del sonido mágico que producen los asistentes a las ceremonias [...]. (Aguirre 2014 in Morales 2018: 317)²⁵

Unlike the Afro-Cuban tradition that strongly emerged in Cuban concert music during the first three decades of the past century with composers such as Ernesto Lecuona (1895-1963), Amadeo Roldán (1900-1939), and Alejandro García Caturla (1906-1940),²⁶ Aguirre's proposal marks a moment of deep fracture or inflection. His hyper-Afro-Cuban aesthetic explores the inner and visceral worlds of Black expression, avoiding more external or picturesque means of musical representation. This is evidenced both in relation to the aforementioned Afro-Cuban precursors, as well as the followers of the different generations of composers who, on and off the island, up to they day they died or to the present day continue to use Afro-Cuban aesthetics,

from Argeliers León (1918-1991) and Hilario González (1920-1996) to Eduardo Morales-Caso, Ailem Carvajal, and Yalil Guerra (1973).

Despite being a diaspora composer, Aguirre's Afro-Cuban compositions propose a thunderous and frantic sonority, the purpose of which is to represent the magical-religious universe of African descent, not from the outside perspective, but from the inside, and rejects the nostalgic tone for a Cuban past. Beyond his elitist-bourgeois ancestry, white skin and Western intellectual formation—Harold Gramatges, Roberto Valera, Rafael Reina (1961), Jos Zwaanenburg (1958), Karl Aage Rasmussen (1947), and Hans Abrahamsen (1952), were among his professors—Aguirre's hyper-Afro-Cubanism appropriates the religious and cultural Black elements as object and not as subject. It is but a less picturesque and more heterogeneous (multi-cultural) and brutal proposal that reveals the inner side of Afro-Cuban ritual practices, far away from a romantic and epidermal conception. As a result, it gives rise to a micro-sensorial aesthetic of multiple strategies and identity and creative positioning whose frontiers (re-invention/assimilation), time (past/present), and cultural spaces (local/global) are constantly crossing over.

Aguirre's Afro-Cuban pieces therefore become a field of rigorous timbral innovations, dramatic enhancement, and brusque sound impacts, bringing spectators face to face with a cathartic acoustic experience. By continuously incorporating extended instrumental techniques and new compositional solutions specifically related to Carnatic music, his music falls into a saturated and complex aesthetic framework. Within this creative space, Aguirre hybridizes narrative wefts of ambivalent modernization and traditionalism, densely marked rhythmic structures, microtonal *ragas*, disproportionate timbres, and unconventional mannerisms of performance.

From this perspective, the composer has developed an extremely demanding discourse requiring the utmost in expression and capabilities both from the musical instruments as such and the essentially virtuoso players required to play them. Aguirre's work clearly owes something to the vast tradition of Edgar Varèse, Iannis Xenakis, Luigi Nono, Helmut Lachenmann, and Brian Ferneyhough. It goes from the rhythmic complexity of Carnatic music to the hyperrealist and motley touch of "instrumental musique concrete" and the aesthetic of the "new complexity."

Aguirre's catalogue contains over one hundred pieces that portray this hyper-Afro-Cuban aesthetic. Among them we can mention: *Eshu-Eleggua* (2003) for amplified solo harpsicord, *Oggún (Requiem for solo Organ)* (2004), *Ogguanilebbe (Liturgy of the Divine Word)* (2005) for solo soprano, bass clarinet in Bb, double bass and piano, *Añá (Transmutation Liturgy)* (2005) concerto for solo percussion and ensemble, *Yemayá (Oru)* (2008) for solo

accordion, *Orula (Divination Liturgy)* (2011) for solo amplified flute(s) and three percussionists, *Oru a Yemayá y Obba* 2012/2013 for clarinet in Bb, trumpet in Bb, vibraphone, and 2 pianos (piano I microtonally tuned), *Nsambia Mpungun* (After a painting by Louis Arturo Aguirre) (2012/2014) for solo amplified singer/viola, *Oru de Igbođú III* (2016) for saxophone quartet, *Bembé a Obbatalá y Oddúa* (2002-2017) from the Chamber Symphony (1991-2017) for ensemble, *Wemilere a Yemayá y Oshún* (2017) for solo amplified oboe and pre-recorded electronics, *Iyalodde* (2018) concert for two solo percussionists and symphony orchestra, *Oriki a Oggún* (2019) for solo trombone, and *Wemilere a Eleggua y Oggún* (2019-2020) for percussions sextet.

An example to be taken into consideration within this plethora of compositions is his string quartet *Ochosi* (2010),²⁷ commissioned and premiered by the Arditti String Quartet at the Internationale Ferienkurse für neue musik, Darmstadt, in that same year, which undoubtedly constitutes an unprecedented event in the history of Cuban music and the septuagenarian trajectory of these European academic encounters. We must also mention the fact that one year later (2011), and with this same piece, Aguirre was awarded the first prize of the Martirano Award at the University of Illinois in the U.S.A.

The richness of the compositional resources this chamber piece exhibits, as well as its demanding performative level, makes it easier for the composer to capture in sound form his ambitious Afro-Cuban conception. The first element that stands out is the use of electronic amplification the composer indicated for the performance, which reveals a wide range of expressive possibilities both for the passages of extreme sonority as well as those almost inaudible, which

bring to mind a higher sense of introspection and immateriality. The second is the use of an extremely precise graphic and instrumental notation that appeals to the interpreter's ambivalent performance between maximum control and unavoidable level of uncertainty.

The climax of Aguirre's string quartet (example 1) can be taken as a reference to the abovementioned: the nuances and character *fffff* (*brutale*), which match this instant of unitary texture, entail, among other specific notations, the use of the bow in extreme *sul ponticello al tallone*, and *marcato*, as well as precise details concerning bow directions, together with an incredibly strong pressure of the bow (total scratch sound) and a complex indication of fingers' pressure over the strings that combines the pressure between normal sounds and flageolets. Adding to the above, a sharp profusion of *glissandi* and some suggested or relatively undetermined notes make the performer counterpose extreme registers in a frenzied rhythmic of triplets in thirty-second notes.

A revealing symbolic sense can be inferred from the ritualistic character that defines this moment of expression *brutale*, with its accentuated velocity and resulting timbral saturation, quite close to an electronic sound. It should be highlighted for this purpose that, in the Afro-Cuban world, *Ochosi*, the *orisha* from which the piece takes its name, symbolizes the forces of nature, war, magic, and the hunt and whose symbols are a bow and arrow poised to shoot. Precisely this last image, from an iconic point of view, seems to refer to the graphic conception of this fragment of gestural writing. Likewise, its final cadence transforms into a symbolic gesture of ascending propulsion towards an immaterial, almost inaudible infinite, highlighted by the extremely subtle pressure the performers must use upon the instruments' strings with their bows and fingers.

Example 1. Louis Aguirre String Quartet *Ochosi*, 180-183 bars, Igbođú Edition 072.



Example 2. Louis Aguirre String Quartet *Ochosi*, reference microtonal scale.

It should be explained that in the symbolic conception of Cuban Santería, three positions correspond to Ochosi's bow and arrow: downwards, meaning defense; upwards, meaning war; and horizontal, meaning neutrality. Curiously enough, and as part of the composer's own multiculturalism, we must add that in the Hindu mythology "el arco pertenecza a los atributos de Śiva y Viṣṇu, y que en el *R̥g Veda* el lanzamiento de una flecha se compare con una plegaria" (Andrés, 2012: 191).²⁸

One of the components that contributes the most to the aesthetics of this Afro-Cuban string quartet is, undoubtedly, its distorted lyricism, based on a boundless microtonal and timbral conception. In Aguirre's work, the textural density this sonority implies is detached from the superficial search of local color and exotic effects and becomes a key structural factor. In *Ochosi*'s particular case, it must be noted that the organization of sound pitch corresponds to a microtonal scale of 24 sounds, conceived by the composer from his knowledge of *ragas* in Carnatic music (example 2).

Whether the composer does not specifically use the groups of principal *ragas* of Indian music (*janaka ragas* "mother ragas," *janya ragas* "derived ragas," and *bashanga ragas*), their referents are indeed present in the conceptual core of his proposal. This way, Aguirre takes as the organizational principle of his pitch system the subdivision criteria of the seven degrees (or *sorams*) of the Carnatic *ragas*.²⁹

Just as we saw in the previous example, unlike these *ragas*, Aguirre adopts his own system of 24 pitches, which allows him to equate his Western thoughts to the Indian structural principles. Considering the norms and specificity of the complex Hindu system, which basically works with rhythmic and melodic aspects, the composer develops in his work an unprecedented way of thinking as well as a hitherto unknown microtonal harmonic notation. This procedure allows him to tackle, from a vertical point of view, his chord constructions in search of a thought that correlates his Western reasoning, besides helping in the projection of transposing principles, and the development of generator or mother cells, and polyphonic resources of microtonal foundations.

In accordance with what was previously expressed, notice that in example 3, the short fragment in which the mother cell of the piece appears in its original form (sa [c], ri 1- [c ≠], ma 2- [f #], pa [g], and ma 2-) for the first time, found in the first violin in the initial beat tempo of bar 42, followed by a cell variation in progressive ascension.

Notice the references appended to the example as previous manifestations of the mother cell in its transpositions and inversions (from *sorams* pa [g] and ri 2 [d]); each has been identified with the same *glissandi* treatment and an extremely fast *vibrato* quite "savage" in character.

Following this same example, notice the joint presentation performed by the lower line of the violoncello, based on a variation of the mother cell in longer rhythmic values and structured from *soram* Ri 2 (d). Also, the pitch that defines the outline of the motif (c#-g≠) remains within a semitone and a quarter tone respectively, just above the fifth that presents the mother cell. Likewise, and as part of the prevailing polyphonic conception of the piece, notice the anticipated presentation on the lines of the second violin and viola (40-42 bars) composed of some elements of the mother cell. In this particular case, over *soram* Ri 2 (d). The setoff marked by the melodic design of these two lines highlights a total range of 5th just over 3 quarter tones, besides the characteristic tritone interval of the mother cell.

The eleven sections that conform the rigorous structural projection of this piece, totally derived from a mother cell of only five pitches, reveal the predominance of a solid cellular composition principle. From a holistic point of view, these sections are organized within a complex dialectical dramaturgical sense, subject to recurrent interruptions of contrasting gestures as well as a horizontal polyphonic concept.

Whichever the case, the aesthetic proposal of Aguirre's string quartet surpasses by far the contributions that were once made by the composer of the Cuban classical music vanguard, with pieces such as: *Cuartetos de Cuerdas núm. 1 y 2* (1963 and 1964) by C. Fariñas, *El Cuarteto* (1966) by R. Valera, or the past and recent quartets by L. Brouwer, *Cuarteto No. 1, "A la Memoria de Béla Bartók"* (1961), *Cuarteto No. 2 "Rem Tene Verba Sequentur"* (1968), *Cuarteto No. 3* (1991-1997), and *Cuarteto No. 4, "Rem Tene Verba Sequentur II"* (2007). Aguirre's compositional leap breaks with the chamber continuity of the island and stands in line with the route traced by the physical qualities and sound perforation of Lachenmann's *Gran Torso* (1972), the micro-timbral, explosive, and piercing sonorities of Julio Estrada's *Ishini'ioni* (1984-1990), and Iannis Xenakis's *Tetras* (1983), or the saturated and "over-expressive" polyphony of Raphaël Cendo's *In Vivo*. This last quartet written by the young Parisian composer, who was a pupil of Fernéyhough and Romitelli, coincided in time with Aguirre's quartet.

Vln. I

Mother Cell, Transp. to Pa (Sol) and Invert., 4-6 b.

Vln. I

Mother Cell, Transp. to Ri 2 (Re), 29-30 b.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

Example 3. Louis Aguirre String Quartet *Ochoxi*, 40-43 bars, Igbodú Edition 072.

The vast work in Aguirre's catalogue, eager for risk and invention, captures and hybridizes any element within reach of the composer's multicultural restlessness. He represents in sounds his stratified liturgical visions and his "cosmogonic trances" which have Cuban roots but also have universal dimensions. Here, past and present fuse according to a creative experience of sophisticated cosmopolitanism and savage rituality, through a balance of sound expansion and tension whose peak moments are still set aside for the creative maturity of this composer of the Cuban diaspora.

Conclusions

To conclude, we can assert that the political changes that took place in Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991 deeply affected the Cuban music and society of the 90s. The new codes, scenes, and identity resources which characterized its multifaceted physiognomy on the island and abroad, either in the scope of popular or classical contemporary music, and the practices developed as a result of the socio-economic crisis of the special period, reveal a prominence in

the processes of constructing, negotiating, and transforming sociocultural and collective identities.

Here, the old "new man" cannot find space enough within the musical imaginary of the present generations. Both the "tough boys of Cuban timba" as well as the emigrant composers of the island's classical contemporary music express in their musical work the transgression and conformation of old and new subjectivities. Irony, satire, parody, marginalization, evasion, religiosity, migration, hybridization, virtuosity and de/re-territorialization converge in this "dialogic and liminal space"—non-committed, but defiant—as referents of a new Cuban musical expression. Indeed, a new music identity expression that, although it owes a debt to tradition, subverts and crosses the "nationalist" canon of Cuban cultural policy from both sides of the geographic margins of the island.

Going deeper into this musical and socio-cultural phenomenon with an open, modern, and integrated approach constitutes a more than necessary exercise for the study of the Cuban music of the 90s. It is an unavoidable action to understand, from a more encompassing dimension, the changing interstices of the Cuban reality of the last decades.

Endnotes

- 1 "one of the biggest economic recessions of the 20th century [...]" (Fogel 1997: 142). My translation.
- 2 "prelude of an epilogue that would be strictly called Zero Option" (Diego 1996: 212). My translation.
- 3 "Far from being the perfect setting for a legal and ordered immigration, it turned into a factor of psychological pressure since it encouraged and at the same time forbade leaving the country through legal channels. It led the flow of immigrants towards marginal roads such as illegal leavings by personal means, hijacking of aircrafts or boats and assaulting diplomatic venues" (Rodríguez 1997: 104-105). My translation.
- 4 See the 2002 documentary *Balseros*. Production House: Bausan Films and TV3. Directors: Catalonians Carles Bosch and Josep M. Domenech. Script by: Carles Bosch and David Trueba. Awards: Oscar nomination to Best Documentary in 2004. Goya (Spain) and Coral (Havana Film Festival) for Best Documentary in 2002 and National Film Award of Catalonia in 2003.
- 5 "it had been brewing in Cuba since approximately the decade of the 70s" (González and Casanella 2002: 4). My translation.
- 6 "has served to refer to, by intuitive convention, the entire [Cuban] dance production of the 90s regardless of styles and specific codes" (González and Casanella, 2002: 3). My translation.
- 7 "used [...] as a marketing concept that tries to differentiate the national son and salsa compositions of recent years from those produced outside the island" (González and Casanella 2002: 3). My translation.
- 8 We are referring to that element of syntactic order and communicative function that Argeliers León, musicologist composer and ethnologist, recognizes as concrete contribution from Africa ("cultural continuity") to the Latin American and Caribbean music (León 1986). In his words: "Timbric bands [layers] (franjas timbricas) are sonorous masses of different textures and tone qualities that are temporally extended. While the European musician might conceptualize the unfolding of music in time as articulated by small units, the African musician conceives of a performance as situated in space, instead of unfolding in time, more like concrete images within a space whose dimensions are shaped by the timbric combinations themselves, and by the very subtle variables in the quality of such timbres. African music thus circumscribes a space whose dimensions and boundaries are intrinsically delineated and easily perceptible as timbric bands" (León 2007: 21-22). Following León's premises, these bands are concretized in three zones or timbric layers distributed in three levels: high (conducting band of stabilizing function), middle (complementary band of referential function), and low (improvising band whose parlando nature gives it the more creative freedom and figurative level of the ensemble).
- 9 "concrete hybrid that is nourished from different genres (or their derived stylistic features) with a specific and extremely dynamic mixture of juxtaposed elements that manifest in permanent internal conflict or tension that cannot be specified in a stable way, which does not rule out that the relative coherence through one or more musical behaviors is possible" (González and Casanella 2002: 4). My translation.
- 10 Danilo Orozco, famous son scholar refers to the term tumbao as "[...] modelo o patrón básico y fundamental—en instrumentos como el tres, bajos, teclados—que dan el carácter y propician sutiles interrelaciones en muchas músicas de son, y se extienden a otras interconectadas" (Orozco 2000: 9). "[...] model or fundamental and basic pattern—in instruments such as tres, basses and keyboards—which gives character and propitiates subtle interrelationships in many son musics and extends to others that are interconnected" (Orozco 2000: 9). My translation. "Also marcha. The term tumbao is perhaps best translated as 'groove.' It refers most often to The basic pulse of a composition, with characteristic aggregate rhythms, pulses, emphases, and syncopations. [...] Alternately, tumbao can refer to the most typical patterns played on particular instruments, especially the conga drum. Tumbao in this sense is the most fundamental rhythm of the instrument that the performer will repeat in endless variation throughout the course of a composition" (Orovio 2004: 215).
- 11 "The fast-paced changes in the scale of human values, the comeback of apparently overridden behaviors, as well as the constant struggle for survival, found echo in the timba lyrics, with a real overflow of what so far was considered 'marginal'" (Casanella 2013: 149). My translation.
- 12 African-based religious practices were brought to the New World in the conditions of a resilience culture through the inhumane flow of enslaved people imposed by the European colonial empires from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Africans were mainly imported to Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, Colombia, the Southern part of the United States and the islands of the Caribbean. However, in spite of the brutal process of acculturation to which these practices were submitted, their extraordinary capacity for adaptation and integration into the new context gave them an important role in the process of identity conformation that took place in these syncretized and trans-cultured territories. In Cuba as well as in many areas of the Spanish-speaking islands of the Caribbean prevail Santería or Regla de Ocha, Regla de Ifá, Regla de Palo Monte, and the Abakuá fraternities. After the triumph of the Cuban revolution (1959) and its consequent assimilation to the Marxist legacy, these religious practices were excluded from the public and official spaces of society. With the arrival of the special period, these latent practices flourished exponentially.
- 13 Founded in 1960, the Federación de Mujeres Cubanas is recognized on the island as a mass organization devoted to the development of policies aimed at achieving the full exercise of women's equality in all spheres and levels of society. From its beginning and until 2007, the Federación was presided by Vilma Espín (wife to Raúl Castro Ruz), who was also a member of the Council of State and director of the Comisión de Atención a la Mujer, la Infancia y la Juventud of the National Assembly of the People's Power.
- 14 "Traditional lexical resources such as jocularly, double meaning, irony, satire, parody, and hyperbole were used to tackle issues of severe social connotation, and manifest the author's will to denounce and censor certain facts through mordacity, through sly and irreverent mock or, surrounded by an atmosphere which conveyed their intentions as much, or more, than the text itself" (Casanella 2013: 154). My translation.
- 15 "taste in popular music does not simply derive from our socially constructed identities. It also contributes to shape them" (Frith 2001: 434). My translation.
- 16 "timba remains a fundamental factor in the construction of the cultural archetype of the "tough boy of Havana" [Chico duro de La Habana]. Such hardness is a kind of shield that protects certain sectors when facing their marginal reality. Timba is neither a wail that cries for what's going on, nor hypocrisy that denies the reality; it is cynicism that helps to endure and normalize life in the middle of everything that is going on" (López-Cano 2005.) My translation.
- 17 "The pipe dream that socialism can be achieved with the help of the battered instruments left to us by capitalism (the

- commodity as the economic cell, profitability, individual material interest as a lever, etc.) can lead into a blind alley. [...] To build up communism it is necessary, simultaneous with the new material foundations, to build up the new man” (Guevara 1965: 29-30). My translation.
- ¹⁸ “man truly achieves his full human condition when he produces without being compelled by the physical necessity of selling himself as a commodity” (Guevara, 1965: 39-40). My translation.
- ¹⁹ “the fault of many of our artists and intellectuals lies in their original sin: they are not true revolutionaries. We can try to graft the elm tree so that it will bear pears, but at the same time we must plant pear trees. New generations will come and will be free of original sin. The probability that great artists will appear will be greater to the degree that the field of culture, and the possibilities for expression, are broadened. Our task is to prevent the current generation, torn asunder by its conflicts, from becoming perverted and from perverting new generations. [...] Revolutionaries will come who will sing the song of the new man in the true voice of the people” (Guevara 1965: 49-50). My translation.
- ²⁰ See Behar, *La Caída del Hombre Nuevo. Narrativa Cubana del Periodo Especial* (2009).
- ²¹ Before the exodus of the young composers in the decade of the 90s, we should mention a few more names that belong to previous generations of ISA and immigrated during the decade of the 80s. They are: Carlos Malcom (1945-), Flores Chaviano (1946-), Armando Rodríguez Ruidíaz (1951-), Julio Roloff (1951-), and Guillermo Frago (1953-). Unlike the young generations of the 90s, these composers were subject to formative and professional development in former socialist countries.
- ²² See Morales Flores, *Identidades en proceso. Cinco compositores cubanos de la diáspora (1990–2013)* (2018) and “Art Music and Transterritoriality: Reflections on Cuban Migrations to Europe during the 1990s” (2020).
- ²³ See Marrodán, “Entrevista a Louis Aguirre: densidad, exceso, ritos: sincretismo cultural para una teogonía afrocubana” (2016)); Morales Flores, “Música, ritual y sacrificio: Una nueva estética afrocubana en *Ebbó*, ópera-oratorio de Louis Aguirre” (2018); Morales Flores, “Neo-afrocubanismo, ritualidad y música carnática: diálogo intercultural en la obra de Louis Aguirre” (2018).
- ²⁴ “And it was my contact with Afro-Cuban ritual art that gave me the independence and the possibility of constructing a work that is not animated by consumption, lightness and fashions. The rite has given me the strength to do a work in solitude, from the faith and magic” (Aguirre 2017: 5). My translation.
- ²⁵ “My work draws from Santería ceremonies where music plays an all-embracing part when in contact with ‘other worlds’: deities, *orishas* and ancestors; and ‘other reality’ trance, possession, and divination. In most of my music, sound works as a means of catharsis and sacred significance. [...] Actually, my spiritual beliefs gave rise to my necessity of achieving a sound/timbre (klang) capable of reflecting the complex sonorities of Afro-Cuban rituals. A sound capable of transmitting the brutal, telluric and, violent atmosphere of these ceremonies, their energy, terror and magic [...] the collective moments of trance in which heavy breathing, sighs, whispers, glossolalia, and screams are part of that magic sound uttered by the attendants [...]” (Aguirre 2014 in Morales 2018: 317). My translation.
- ²⁶ Good examples of these first Afro-Cuban compositions include *Danzas Afrocubanas* (1912-20) and *Rapsodia Negra* (1943) by Ernesto Lecuona; *Tres Pequeños Poemas* (1926), *La Rebambaramba* (1928), and *Rítmicas* (1930) by A. Roldán; and *Obertura Cubana* (1937), *La Rumba* (1927) and *Manita en el Suelo* (1937) by A. G. Caturla
- ²⁷ See <https://soundcloud.com/louis-aguirre> [last checked 2020 09 26].
- ²⁸ “the bow is an attribute of Shiva and Vishnu and in the Rigveda the shooting of an arrow is compared to a prayer” (Andrés, 2012: 191). My translation.
- ²⁹ The names of these *sorams* are: *sa* (I grade), *ri* (II), *ga* (III), *ma* (IV), *pa* (V), *da* (VI), and *ni* (VII) and their subdivisions into two, three, four, or five types of sounds depends on the different *srutis* or pitches (microtonal) that each of them fixedly contains. Likewise, consider that ragas have as guideline the possibility of selecting one or various *srutis* for each degree or *sorams* in their structure. This way, each *raga* contains a different version of basic organization of these seven degrees or *sorams*. For example, *ri*, *ma* and *da* (II, IV y VI) possess four different types of *sorams*, while degrees *ga* and *ni* (III y VII) have five. However, *sa* and *pa* (I and V) will always be fixed *sorams* without any subdivision, therefore, constituting the referent tonic axis of this microtonal system.

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Santrauka

XX a. paskutinis dešimtmetis tapo stipraus lūžio laikotarpiu porevoliucinės Kubos, sovietinės valdžios ekonominės ir ideologinės satelitės Karibų jūros regione, naujausioje istorijoje. 1989–1991 m. Rytų Europoje vykę politiniai pokyčiai padarė reikšmingą poveikį socialistinės Kubos kultūriniam ir sociopolitiniam gyvenimui. Buvusios Sovietų Sąjungos ir ESPT (Ekonominės savitarpio pagalbos tarybos) žlugimas kartu su griežtesniu ekonominiu embargo, JAV įvestu septintojo dešimtmečio pradžioje, virto precedento neturinčia krize. Tai buvo vadinamojo „ypatingo taikos meto laikotarpio“ eufemizmas, kurį Karibų jūros salos vyriausybė pasitelkė „nuliniam variantui“ įvardyti.

Materialinių išteklių trūkumas ir negalėjimas patenkinti pagrindinių poreikių Kuboje paskatino griežtas ideologines ir ekonomines reformas, kartu ir tūkstančių kubiečių nepasitenkinimą ir emigraciją. Atsižvelgiant į dramatiškus sunkumus, to kritinio meto Kubos muzikiniame žemėlapyje išsiskyrė du pagrindiniai įvykiai: pirma, timbos kaip padarumo ribų peržengimo žanro suklestėjimas salos populiarijoje šokių muzikoje ir, antra, daugumos Kubos šiuolaikinės klasikinės muzikos kūrėjų emigracija į Europą, JAV ir Lotynų Ameriką. Šių tendencijų pagrindu vienas iš reikšmingiausių naujausios Kubos muzikos istorijos laikotarpių apžvelgiamas dviem požiūriais; taip pat siūlomas išskirtinis žvilgsnis į socialinių ir muzikinių didžiausios Karibų jūros salos gyvenimą ypatingu jos socialistinės istorijos laikotarpiu.

Laviravimas buvo bendras abiejų muzikos scenų (populiariosios šokių muzikos ir šiuolaikinės klasikinės muzikos) bruožas. Timbos atveju jis išryškėjo vystantis radikalaus sudėtingumo muzikiniams ir atlikėjiškiems ištekliams, hibridizacijai ir socialiniam fonui. Šiuolaikinėje klasikinėje muzikoje jis reiškėsi socialinės ir muzikinės veiklos nuosmukiu Kuboje ir, atvirkščiai, intensyvejančia emigravusių kompozitorių kūrybos plėtra naujose kubiečių diasporos erdvėse XX a. pabaigoje ir XXI a. pradžioje. Dėl minėtų istorinių įvykių susiformavusios muzikinės praktikos skatino naujų sociokultūrinių kodų, muzikinių scenų ir archetipų atsiradimą. Poveikį liudija atsiradusi kubietiškos muzikos įvairovė saloje ir užsienyje, taip pat socialinė ir kultūrinė muzikos funkcija senų ir naujų tapatybių formavimo, svarstymo ir transformavimo procese. Tai kelionė per kritinių „ypatingo laikotarpio“ metų Kubos visuomeninį gyvenimą ir muzikinę kultūrą, kurioje neišvengiamai priartėjama prie kūrybingo ir iššūkių metančio „kietų kubietiškos timbos vyrų“ pasaulio ir detersitorializuotų kompozitorių kubietiškoje diasporoje, daugiausia dėmesio skiriant hiperafrokubietiškai Louiso Aguirre'o muzikai.

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The Czech Lands and Sacred Music Before and After 1989¹

Čekų žemės ir sakralinė muzika prieš 1989-uosius ir po jų

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Abstract

Sacred music was barely tolerated in the former Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989, and composing or performing required courage. Liturgical and non-liturgical texts, biblical materials, and religious musical symbols expressed the distress that composers and performers felt and helped them find lost hope and spiritual balance. Czech liturgical and sacred music entered a new phase after the Velvet Revolution in 1989. The atmosphere of freedom had a positive impact on this genre: the increased number and artistic value of compositions as well as the increased number of concerts and new festivals enjoyed the great attention of the audience. Sacred music has remained popular with music artists, organizers, and the public and has not lost any of its topicality or artistic value throughout the first twenty years of the twenty-first century.

Keywords: sacred music, Czechoslovakia, the Czech Republic, composers, compositions, 1948, 1968, 1989, Petr Eben.

Anotacija

Buvusioje Čekoslovakijoje nuo 1948 m. iki 1989 m. sakralinė muzika buvo sunkiai toleruojama: ją rašyti ar atlikti reikėjo drąsos. Liturginiai ir neliturginiai tekstai, Biblijos medžiaga ir religiniai muzikiniai simboliai puikiai perteikė sielvartą, išgyvenamą kompozitorių ir atlikėjų, ir padėjo jiems atgauti prarastą viltį bei dvasinę pusiausvyrą. Čekų liturginė ir sakralinė muzika įžengė į naują etapą po 1989 m. Aksominės revoliucijos. Sakralinė muzika populiarė tarp muzikos atlikėjų, organizatorių ir klausytojų; per pirmuosius du XXI a. dešimtmečius ji neprarado savo aktualumo ir meninės vertės.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: sakralinė muzika, Čekoslovakija, Čekijos Respublika, kompozitoriai, kūriniai, 1948-iejai, 1968-iejai, 1989-iejai, Petr Eben.

Introduction

The existence and development of few genres of classical music reflect the political and social developments in the twentieth century to such an extent as sacred music. The atmosphere of Communist Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989, in particular, fundamentally influenced the development of sacred music. The environment changed substantially following the 1989 political revolution. The role that sacred music played in contemporary culture in the first years of democracy was as strong as that of exiled literature and theatrical pieces by previously banned authors. And what has happened since? Has sacred music lost its meaning in the present liberal world?

The aim of this study is to describe the development of sacred music in the Czech lands between 1948 and 2020 across all music spheres, namely production/composition, interpretation, reception, and reflection.

Sacred music: the genre and its history in the twentieth century

Sacred music rests on Christian themes in the European tradition of music.² The history of the Czech lands is linked to the Roman-Catholic Church, to which 30% of the population belong.³ The text below therefore deals with the context related to this religion. We leave aside Evangelical and Orthodox music, as well as Jewish and Eastern music, although their recent history is also interesting.⁴

A description of sacred music on the music-speech level tends to present a challenge. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht proposed the following, most comprehensive, definition in his essay:

It is a music where the relationship to God evolves in a peculiar act of relating. This can take place in different ways: through a verbal note which conceptually determines and directs the existence and meaning of tones; with a text, by writing lyrics or new lyrics; through purpose or function, or by transferring music, any music, to worship or only to the

cult space of the temple; by associations, historically created stylistic peculiarities, which provide music with an aura of spirituality; via idioms and quotations which, if recognized, represent spirituality as they have a similar impact as a text; and, above all, by a subjective or collective understanding, which declares a certain music or music in general to be related to God, sanctified by God, turning to God. (Eggebrecht 1997: 143–144; also see: Eggebrecht 1997: 132–133)

The most typical forms of sacred music include masses, requiems, and officiums, cantatas and oratorios, and in terms of smaller pieces, psalms, sequences, hymns, passions and prayer songs. Sacred music is most often vocal-instrumental, but it can also be orchestral, chamber, or solo.

The “sacredness” of each composition is primarily defined by the clear intent of the artist. Not every use of musical quotations, however, or idioms historically linked to religion is sacred music. An example is the sequence of *Dies irae* quoted in *Black Angels* by George Crumb (1970), where the composer protests against the Vietnam War, or the use of the Hussite chorale *Ktož jsú boží bojovníci* (*Who Are Warriors of God*) in *Music for Prague 1968* by Karel Husa to express the composer’s emotions over the invasion of Prague by the Warsaw Pact troops. These two pieces are not sacred, however, as the sacred songs used here only serve as a musical symbol.

Composers tended to be driven to compose sacred music by personal or professional circumstances; for the most part, these two aspects merged. Their personal reasons were as follows: composers drew on their religious beliefs and worldviews. They declared their faith or affiliation to the church, and their compositions praised and glorified God and pleaded for help or reconciliation. This group of composers includes those who chose the spiritual genre only on occasion. They would, for example, often at a mature or old age or some other stage in their lives, sum up their lives, philosophize about the meaning of human existence, or react to a difficult situation they or their loved ones were facing.

A great number of artists were involved in sacred music due to their job. These were artists connected with organ music, whether as choirmasters, church singers, or organ players. Their compositions were used at church masses. This category also includes custom compositions created for particular musicians, singers, vocal and instrumental ensembles, festival committees, or composer contests.

As a result of growing religious liberalism and atheism, the nineteenth century saw some composers begin to view spiritual themes as a cultural phenomenon. They thus acknowledged the roots of our civilization to remind us of core and timeless values and pass on humanism.

The sacred music of the twentieth century increasingly reflected on the contemporary world. Composers wrote music, for example, to lament the horrors of war (Bohuslav

Martinů *Polní mše* (*Field Mass*), 1939, Britten’s *War Requiem*, 1961). Some reflected on perverted ideologies,⁵ with Eastern Bloc artists protesting against the Communist dictatorship. They used liturgical and non-liturgical texts, biblical materials, and religious musical symbols as an allegorical or metaphorical expression of their distress or in order to seek out lost hope and spiritual balance.⁶ For other composers, sacred music was an escape from the dictates of socialist realism, mass songs, or celebratory cantatas.

The compositional style of sacred pieces, a reservoir of conservative music language for centuries, absorbed contemporary compositional techniques in the second half of the twentieth century. The compositions included timber pieces (György Ligeti *Requiem*, 1963–65, Krzysztof Penderecki *St. Luke Passion*, 1963–66), modal pieces (Olivier Messiaen *The Transfiguration of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, 1965–69), minimalist (Arvo Pärt: *The Berlin Mass*, 1990, Sofia Gubaidulina: *Sieben Worte*, 1982), Neoromantic pieces (Krzysztof Penderecki: *Polish Requiem*, 1980–84) and poly-style/postmodern pieces (Alfred Schnittke *Requiem*, 1974–75). Sacred themes and forms also entered modern popular music and jazz (Andrew Lloyd Weber: *Jesus Christ Superstar*, 1970, Leonard Bernstein: *The Mass*, 1971, Paul McCartney: *Liverpool Oratorio*, 1991). Catholic music tied to liturgical purposes was influenced by the recommendations of the Second Vatican Council, 1962–65.

Before 1989: totalitarian regime

The totalitarian Communist regime installed in Czechoslovakia⁷ by the 1948 Czechoslovak *coup d’état* naturally did not welcome sacred music. Communists strove to suppress the influence of Christian churches on society. Seminaries, except for the state-supervised school in Litoměřice, were abolished in 1950. Simply entering a church became an act of extraordinary courage in an atmosphere where many members of the church hierarchy were brutally interrogated, falsely accused, and given long sentences. Teachers and cultural workers with an active faith in God lost their jobs.

It is surprising how many church choirs continued to work at nearly the same pace under such trying conditions throughout the forty-one years of totalitarianism. Astonishingly, the membership hardly wavered. A great number of church choirmasters, organists, and singers were prominent in the local music culture. These musicians managed to skillfully merge their church and secular activities.

Scarcely any sacred music was composed in the 1950s, these being the years of flourishing socialism, political trials, and enforcement of atheist propaganda. The themes were based primarily on Old Testament texts and stories, which were more likely to be tolerated by the regime for being ancient and having historical value. Compositions written

in this period include the cantata *Žalm (Psalm) 116/117* (1951) by Jarmil Burghauser (1921–1997) and the oratorio *Noé* (1956–58) by Ilja Hurník (1922–2013). Another option was to compose strictly instrumental pieces, whose “ideological incorrectness” was difficult to prove. This was why the renowned organ music *Nedělní hudba (Sunday Music)* (1959) could be composed by Petr Eben (1929–2007) (see also Vondrovicová 1995 and Vítová 2004).

Composers did not dare to set the requiem text to music, as confirmed by Jaroslav Smolka. He calculated that out of the 108 vocal works made in the 1950s, not a single one was a Requiem (see Smolka 1991: 156).

A renaissance within the Communist Party and the new humanization tendencies of the 1960s brought some hope. Parishes and ecclesiastical orders were slowly re-established. The Catholic Church underwent a major shift after the Second Vatican Council introduced a number of groundbreaking changes to the Roman Catholic rite. The *Missa Mundi* was accompanied by “live and active” participation by the entire congregation of believers. Latin was permitted to be replaced by the national language. Adjusting church music to the church community also often meant a drop in its artistic quality and pushed the hitherto privileged role of church choirs into the background. The council, in contrast, opened churches to a wider musical public, which was also implemented in Communist countries.

The post-council times gave rise in the Czech lands to four mass ordinaries by Josef Olejník (1914–2009) (see Komárek 2001), Karel Bříza (1926–2001), Petr Eben, and Zdeněk Pololánik (b. 1935).

Youth scholas boosted the participation of young believers in the liturgy as their rhythmic masses were accompanied by guitars and flutes as well as other instruments. Their musical inputs responded to the sky-rocketing rise of rock and pop music and usually alternated with church choirs from week to week.

The sacred music of earlier epochs, the Baroque and Classicism-Romanticism, slowly began to be played by the media. Composers worked with the spiritual genre through biblical stories, liturgical texts, and prayers sometimes combined with modern poetry. Texts in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew were likely to be incomprehensible to censors. Examples include the mixed choir with three trumpets and timpani *Nabuchodonosor* (1961) by Zdeněk Pololánik; *Missa glagolitica* (1964) to the Old Church Slavonic text by Jiří Laburda (b. 1931); the composition on Hebrew texts *Zaklínání času (Incantations of Time)* (1967) by Miloslav Ištvan (1928–1990); the cantata *Gesta Machabaeorum* (1967) by Alois Piňos (1925–2008); *Requiem* (1968) for solos, choir, and orchestra by Luboš Fišer (1935–1999); the motet on suffering *O sacrum convivium* (1968) by Jan Klusák (b. 1934); or the composition for solo voice and chamber ensemble *Ex libro psalmorum* (1968) to Psalm 144, with a plea for protection from enemies, by Jan Málek (b. 1938).

The turning point was 21 August 1968, when the troops of five “friendly” armies of the Warsaw Pact entered Czechoslovakia and society was gripped by disillusionment and disappointment. Occupation-protesting compositions included the choral *Modlitba (Prayer)* (1968) to the words of Ghanaian Christians; *Iudica me, Deus* (1969) to Psalm 63; the “Darmstadt” oratorio *Adam a Eva (Adam and Eve)* (1969–1970) to the words of Karel Šiktanc, by Zdeněk Lukáš (1928–2007); or the triptych *In extremis* (1969) with texts from the Gospel of St. Matthew by Alois Piňos. The symphonic movements *Vox clamantis* (1969) for three solo trumpets and orchestra by Petr Eben combine John the Baptist’s words *Jaššerú messiláh l’elóhebéú* shouted in Hebrew and a quotation from the oldest Czech sacred song *Hospodine, pomiluj ny (Lord, Have Mercy on Us)*. The composer’s intention was to explain “the development from wandering and searching to getting to know and having certainty.” Petr Eben expressed this goal through specific music idioms:

1. I use more polytonality at the beginning of the composition, while the harmony at the end is concentrated in the tonal centers.
2. The alternative rhythmical patterns and extremely fluctuating tempo of the beginning are changed by the metro-rhythmical stabilization.
3. The three trumpets mean a stabilizing tendency. (Vondrovicová 1995: 223)

The vocal-instrumental Symphony No. 8 *Antifony (Antiphonies)* (1970) by Miloslav Kabeláč (1908–1979) became also very prized. The composer incorporated the Old Testament warning “Mene tekel ufarsim” and the praise of the righteous “Amen. Hosanna, Hallelujah.” This work was premiered in Strasbourg. Kabeláč was convinced that this city was the right place because it was the seat of the *Conseille de Europe* during the post-war period. This composition also begins with a warning and ends optimistically. As for the compositional style, Kabeláč stated:

The 8th symphony is based on the tone-group of perfect fourth interval. The small four-tone motif within the fourth interval is created here. It runs through the entire symphony. The time component is organized, f. e. the metro-rhythmical and tempo parts, in a similar way. [...] A similar principle is also used in the timbre: related colors are arranged and fixed, so they can be worked with as colored clusters. (Nouza 2010: 370)

The heroic act of the student Jan Palach, who set himself on fire on Wenceslas Square in Prague on 16 January 1969 in protest against the occupation of Czechoslovakia was commemorated by Petr Eben’s *Chorální fantazie na Svatý Václave (Chorale Fantasy: Saint Wenceslas)* (1972) and the cantata *Ignis pro Ioanne Palach* (1969) by Jan Novák (1921–1984).

The 1970s were marked by so-called normalization. Composers inspired by “flawed” ideas were repressed and had to avoid many public activities. Jarmil Burghauser, a leading composer, conductor, and editor of the work of Antonín Dvořák is an example. The Circle of Non-Members, a counterpart to the official Composers’ Union, which Burghauser headed, was abolished. The artist had to withdraw his membership from the Junák sports organization and was not allowed to participate in the production of his compositions. His name could not be included in the *Baker’s Dictionary* nor in the publication of selected volumes of the critical edition of Antonín Dvořák’s work. He began to compose under the name Michael Hájků (see Kittnarová 2013: 21).

The “religious” composers most active in this period included František Gregor Emmert (1940–2015, *Vánoční oratorium (Christmas Oratorio)* (1971), and *Stabat Mater*, 1976–1978) and Jiří Laburda. The genre was also composed in on occasion by Luboš Fišer (*Crux* for solo violin, 7 timpani, and 7 bells, 1971), Marek Kopelent (1932, *Jitřní chvalo zpěvy (Morning Hymns)*, 1978) and Klement Slavický (1910–1999, the six-part *Psalmi*, 1970, and *Cantus sacri*, 1971).

The most important representatives of Czech sacred music of the second half of the twentieth century (until 1989) included Jan Hanuš (1915–2004) and Petr Eben in Prague and Zdeněk Pololáník in Brno. These composers were open about their religious beliefs, and sacred music was one of their central themes. Hanuš resigned from his public office (chair of the Union of Czechoslovak Composers), Pololáník lived off royalties for the performance of his music abroad and worked as a church organist, while the public activities of Petr Eben (a lecturer at Charles University) were tolerated only because he was popular abroad and his work brought profits.

Hanuš composed, for example, *Poselství (The Message)* (1969) for mixed choir, chamber ensemble, and a tape to the Bible and Kamil Bednář, seven mass cycles, *Pašije podle Matouše (St. Matthew’s Passion)* (1977–78), *Pašije podle Jana (St. John’s Passion)* (1982), and the oratorio *Ecce homo* (1980) to Václav Renč and František Trtílek. Petr Eben composed three mass ordinaries (*Missa Adventus*, 1952; *České mešní ordinarium (Czech Ordinary of the Mass)* (1965); and *Missa cum populo*, 1981–1982), two mass propriums, *Vesperae* (1968), the organ cycles *Laudes* (1964) and *Job* (1989). Zdeněk Pololáník wrote mass ordinaries and propriums, the oratory *Šír haš-šírím* (1970), psalms and prayers.

The Communist dictatorship relaxed in the 1980s, as is evident from the gesture made by Cardinal František Tomášek in 1984. He invited Pope John Paul II to Czechoslovakia. Although only the papal envoy joined the nationwide pilgrimage to Velehrad to honor the Slav Apostles St. Cyril and Methodius, it was clear that the totalitarian regime was beginning to lose ground. Records show an

increase in the number of sacred works, but composers continued to be forced to compromise. They also faced repression. In a prominent case, the composer Miloš Bok (b. 1968) had the students of the Prague Conservatory perform his *Missa solemnis* (1986), for which they were suspended. Svatopluk Havelka (1925–2009) was met with great success with his oratorio *List P. Bracioliniho L. Brunnimu z Arezza o odsouzení M. Jeronýma z Prahy (Epistle of P. Bracciolini to L. Brunni of Arezzo on the Condemnation of M. Jeroným of Prague)* (1984), which was awarded the Golden Shield of the Panthon (1988) and marked the beginning of Havelka’s journey to sacred music.

The new generation of composers focusing on sacred music included, in addition to Miloš Bok, Ivan Kurz (b. 1947, five symphonic pictures calling for spiritual purification—*Nakloněná rovina (Inclined Plane)* (1979), *Vzlínání (Emergence)* (1981), *Podobenství (Parable)* (1982), *Bláznovská zvěst (The Gospel’s Folly)* (1987), and *K Tobě jdu (I Come to Thee)*, 1988).

In summary, the spiritual genre of Czech composers during the totalitarian years brought together not only representatives of New Music and of the interwar avant-garde, whose compositions included the techniques of multimedia composition, concrete music, electronic music, timbre and modalism, but also musicians professing a traditional style, enriched by modern principles.

As concerns reception, many compositions would be left untouched for a number of years (for example, Luboš Fišer’s *Crux* waited for nine years), while others premiered in Western Europe (the abovementioned Kabeláč’s 8th Symphony in Strasbourg in 1971), and still others were never performed at all. Some composers, in contrast, succeeded at foreign festivals (*De passione St. Adalberti martyrisi* by Marek Kopelent, Warsaw Autumn, 1981, Prague premiere only in 1991) or established cooperation with colleagues abroad (for example, Marek Kopelent and Sofia Gubajdulina and Paul-Heinz Dittrich on *Laudatio pacis* to the texts of Jan Amos Comenius in 1975).

Traditional spiritual works of music history were added to the repertoire most often thanks to occasional concerts of sacred music held in cities, which the regime tolerated as interesting, location-specific culture. Organ concerts and organ music festivals gained in popularity at that time. Convinced these events would help secularize churches, the Communists supported them, while the Church viewed concerts and festivals as activities that drew believers to church.

Sacred music was also only rarely reflected on by newspapers or music journals, not to mention the lack of professional musicological literature (see Smolka 1970).⁸ Recordings of spiritual music were not created at all, apart from organ music, which Communists supported due to its historical and cultural merits.

After 1989: the 1990s boom

The post-1989 changes in the political and social environment triggered a boom in sacred music in Czech music culture in all areas: production/composition, interpretation, reception, and reflection. Free religious self-determination and a person's right to their own worldview were symbolized by the visits from Pope John Paul II to Prague (1990), Olomouc (1995), and Hradec Králové (1997), as well as by regular celebrations of national patrons, such as St. Wenceslas, St. Adalbert, St. Ludmila, and St. Agnes, and the arrival of the Slav apostles of Sts. Cyril and Methodius to Great Moravia. Believing in God and public declaration of this belief came into fashion in the early 1990s, with religious manifestations only recovering standard levels over time.

As concerns liturgical music, new church choirs were established and, in contrast, many ensembles disintegrated or struggled with the outflow of young singers, who began to prefer other musical styles. A weekday liturgy was ultimately only ensured by an organist in the majority of churches. The organ was accompanied by soloists, choir, or schola on Sundays and holidays. While church choirs were focused on a traditional musical repertoire based on the sacred music of various stylistic epochs, the repertoire of scholas, usually accompanied by guitars or other rhythmic instruments, drew on the songbooks *Koinonia*, *Hosana*, *Taizé Songs*, and others. This repertoire and its interpretation were criticized by many believers and composers. Amateur church musicians were free to organize their own concerts and charity events in cooperation with other musicians.

Sacred music remained or became the focus of many composers at a time of newly acquired freedom. The work of Petr Eben drew the greatest attention both at home and abroad. He quickly responded to the Velvet Revolution by composing the celebratory hymn *Pražské Te Deum* (*Prague Te Deum*) (1989). As Eva Vítová has found, while sacred music accounted for 50% of his total compositions during totalitarianism, the number rose to 75% after the coup (see Vítová 2004: 153). Eben states the following about his focus on sacred music:

When going over my work, you might think I was a religious fanatic, someone best avoided. I believe this is due to the artificially created spiritual desert, which made me express over and over a desire to free us from the burdensome bonds of materialism. (Vondrovicová 1995: 424)

Eben is the composer of the opera *Jeremias* (1996–97) based on Stefan Zweig's drama, oratorios (for example, *Posvátná znamení* (*Sacred Symbols*), 1992–93; *Anno Domini*, 1999), a series of organ, choral, and chamber works drawing on psalms and liturgical texts, prayers and others.

Jan Hanuš composed, for example, Symphony No. 7 *Klíče království* (*The Keys of the Kingdom*) (1989–90) with

the text of *Te Deum*; *Requiem: Missa VIII–Pro defunctis* (1991–95); the proprium *Prošba Sv. Vojtěcha za jednotu světa* (*The Plea of St. Adalbert for World Harmony*) (1996) for wind orchestra; and the symphonic fresco *Věže babilonské* (*The Towers of Babylon*) (1999). In addition to the ordinary *Setkání* (*The Meeting*) (1995), Zdeněk Pololáník created several synthesizer chamber oratorios (*Popelka Nazaretská* (*Nazareth Cinderella*) (1991); *Napřed je třeba unést kříž* (*The First One Must Carry the Cross*) (1992), and *Bůh je láska* (*God Is Love*, 1993), *Te Deum* (1991–1992), choral psalms and pastoral songs (*Chválospevy* (*Hymns*) (1993), *Cantus laetitiae*, 1994), prayer songs, and organ compositions.

The following members of the older generation of Czech composers, born in the 1920s and 1930s, were involved with sacred music in the 1990s: Svatopluk Havelka (for example, *Parénéze*, a cycle of five chants based on Greek epistles for soprano solo, piano, two drummers, and a speaker, 1993, and the chamber cantata *Agapé je láska* (*Agape Is Love*) (1998), Zdeněk Lukáš (for example, *Requiem per coro miso*, 1992; and the oratory *Dies irae*, 1995), Jiří Laburda (for example, *Missa Sistina*, 1993; or *Missa Cum cantu populi*, 1992–94), Marek Kopelent (for example, St. Agnes oratory *Lux mirandae sanctitatis*, 1994) and Jaroslav Krček (b. 1939, for example, *Česká mše* (*The Czech Mass*) honoring Jan Amos Comenius, 1991).

The middle generation of composers with a strong focus on sacred music, those born in the 1940s, included František Gregor Emmert (for example, five spiritual symphonies and the oratorio *Ex aquam et Spiritus Sanctus*, 1995), Petr Fiala (b. 1943, three oratorios on the lives of St. Ludmila, St. Agnes, and Jan Sarkander, 1990–94), Ivan Kurz (for example, the tetralogy of oratorios on the apparitions of Virgin Mary and the spiritual opera *Večerní shromáždění* (*The Evening Assembly*) (1989–90), and Milan Slavický (two symphonies: *Porta coeli*, 1991, and *Dvě kapitoly z Apokalypsy* (*Two Chapters of the Apocalypse*, 1995). Composers born in the 1950s were represented by Jan Bernátek (b. 1950, for example, the oratorio *Písně Šalamounovy* (*Songs of Solomon*, 1991), Juraj Filas (b. 1955, *Krvavé Te Deum* (*Bloody Te Deum*, 1991), Jan Jirásek (b. 1955, for example, *Missa propria*, 1993), Pavel Zemek Novák (b. 1957, for example, Symphony No. 2 *Pašije podle sv. Jana* (*St. John's Passion*) for nine soloists, mixed choir, and orchestra, 1990–97), and Radek Rejšek (b. 1959, for example, *Missa brevis*, 1999). The youngest generation of composers was represented by Miloš Bok, who renounced the secular sphere to fully focus on celebrating God (for example, the oratory *Skřítkové z Křínického údolí* (*The Gnomes from the Valley of Křínice*) (1993), and the finale of another oratory *Svatá Zdislava* (*Saint Zdislava*), 1998).

A unique project celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II and honoring all its victims

was *Requiem der Verzeihung* (1994), which premiered on 16 August 1995. The collaborative work was written by a number of composers, including Marek Kopelent and other European figures such as Krzysztof Penderecki, Luciano Berio, or Alfred Schnittke.

The compositional language in their works was rich, building, as in the previous period, on a synthesis of traditionalism, modernism, the avant-garde, and postmodernism and introducing a range of blends. Folk-inspired classical music was composed by, for example, Jiří Pavlica (b. 1953, *Missa brevis*, 1999) and Pavel Helebrand (b. 1960, *Jeslíčky sv. Františka* (*Nativity Scene of Saint Francis*, 1997), while jazz penetrated sacred music in the work of Karel Růžička Sr. (1940–2016, *Celebration Jazz Mass*, 1991) and Ladislav Simon (1929–2011, *Requiem za zemřelé, pro které byla hudba životem* (*Requiem for the Dead, for Those Who Lived for Music*), 1994).

The premieres of contemporary works provided a boost to concert series of symphonic, chamber, and vocal ensembles, as well as numerous church concerts. Novel sacred music was also featured at renowned music festivals, such as Pražské jaro (Prague Spring) (1946), Olomoucké hudební jaro (Olomouc Music Spring) (1959), Moravský podzim (Moravian Autumn) (1966), and Janáčkův máj (Janáček's May) (1976), and as part of Dny soudobé hudby (Days of Contemporary Music) (1990), the Přítomnost (Now) association (1924 and 1990), and the festival of 13 cities Concentus Moraviae (1996).

A host of sacred music festivals cropped up. The year 1990 saw the birth of Forfest, mezinárodní festival soudobého umění s duchovním zaměřením (Forfest, International Festival of Contemporary Sacred Music and Art) in Kroměříž and Mezinárodní festival duchovní hudby v Nymburce (The Nymburk International Festival of Sacred Music). Three more festivals were established in 1992: Velikonoční festival duchovní hudby (Easter Festival of Sacred Music) in Brno, Svatováclavské slavnosti—mezinárodní festival duchovního umění (St. Wenceslas Festivities—International Festival of Sacred Arts) in Prague, and Mezinárodní festival adventní a vánoční hudby v Praze (The Prague International Festival of Advent and Christmas Music) of amateur ensembles. This was followed by the biennial Mezinárodní festival vokální duchovní hudby (International Festival of Vocal Sacred Music) in Šumperk in 1993, and in 1994 by Podzimní festival duchovní hudby (Autumn Festival of Sacred Music) in Olomouc, Festival duchovní hudby Odry (Odra Sacred Music Festival), and Musica Spiritualis Ecumenica. The year 1996 marked the beginning of Festival duchovní hudby v Brně—Musica sacra přes hranice (The Brno Festival of Sacred Music—Cross-Border Musica Sacra), a festival of amateur choirs held in South Moravian cities in cooperation with Austria. Other festivals included Milevské bienále duchovní hudby (The

Milevsko Biennial of Sacred Music) (1997), Trutnovský advent (The Trutnov Advent) (1998)—a display of regional sacred music, and Harmonia Moraviae (1999) held every other year in Zlín.

The repertoire of professional musical ensembles increasingly incorporated significant compositions of old sacred music. After Václav Havel was elected president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on 29 December 1989, for example, Dvořák's *Te Deum* was performed at St. Vitus Cathedral by the Czech Philharmonic and the Prague Philharmonic Choir, led by Libor Pešek. Czechoslovak, later Czech, Radio began to broadcast live services and programs on sacred music. Czechoslovak, later Czech, Television followed the same trend.⁹

Společnost pro duchovní hudbu (Society for Sacred Music) was reestablished (1942 and 1990),¹⁰ Jednota Musica Sacra (Musica Sacra Union) was founded in Brno (1993),¹¹ which provided church organist training, and new church conservatories were established in Kroměříž (1990; later moving to Olomouc) and Opava (1990).

Historical and contemporary Czech sacred music was recorded after 1989 mainly by Supraphon and Panton (until 1999), and since 1995 by Radioservis and a number of other private publishing and recording companies.

New art ensembles playing older music gained prominence in the 1990s, some attempting to authentically interpret early music. Their repertoire was naturally dominated by sacred music. Examples of the ensembles included Schola gregoriana pragensis (David Eben, 1987), Capella Regia Praha (Robert Hugo, 1992), Musica Florea (Marek Štryncl, 1992), En Arché Chamber Choir (Vojtěch Jouza, 1995), Collegium Marianum (Jana Semerádová, 1997), Schola Benedicta (Jiří Hodina, 1997), Gutta Musicae (Svatopluk Jányš, 1997), Czech Ensemble Baroque (Roman Válek, 1998) and Ensemble Inégal (Adam Viktora, 2000).

Sacred music was reflected in the context of Christian spiritual culture in newspapers and magazines; the journal *Varhaník* was founded in 1999.¹² The situation in sacred music was also covered by the specialized press.¹³ *Hudební rozhledy*¹⁴ published around forty articles on sacred music in the first ten years after 1989. *Harmonie*¹⁵ published around twenty articles a year on sacred music between 1993 and 2000. Sacred music was also covered by the Brno-based specialized revue *Opus musicum*¹⁶ and the science journal *Hudební věda*.¹⁷ Scientific and educational institutions encouraged the publication of studies and monographs on the subject (see Vyskočil 1993, Vondrovicová 1995, Buček 1999 and Sehnal 1999).

A review of articles and journals revealed that Petr Eben was, as expected, the most important composer of Czech sacred music in the 1990s. A brief quantitative survey of the composer was conducted to describe the general reception and impact of this composer on contemporary musical

culture. A total of 37 articles were published about him in the ten years under study, which means almost four articles per year on average. Eben's reception was studied with a focus on the year 1999, when he turned seventy. As Jaroslav Smolka reports (see Smolka 1999: 19), 37 authorial concerts were held in Prague and other cities, featuring the organ and other works; a number of church ensembles repeatedly performed *Truvéřská mše* (*Trouvere Mass*) and *Missa cum populo*; the National Theatre put on his opera *Jeremias* twice, and each participant in the Prague Spring organ competition performed one of the composer's works. Six of Eben's compositions were featured as part of the concerts of this festival. In addition, the composer's work was performed at many other concerts throughout the Czech Republic. Czech Television premiered *Čtyři biblické tance* (*Four Biblical Dances*) for organ and two dancers and produced the documentary *Tribute to Petr Eben* (directed by Petr Šamánek). Eben's music was played by Czech Radio and a host of concerts were held abroad. The Czech audience, in short, was presented with Petr Eben's music at least once a week, which is excellent for a contemporary composer of classical music.

2000–2020: stability

Any objective evaluation of sacred music in the Czech Republic over the past twenty years naturally requires a greater distance. We could, however, argue that the genre has been following the 1990s trend and has retained a stable position across all categories of music.

The initial euphoria following from political and social change has waned, and classical music in general has entered the realities of everyday life. Faced with the relentless laws of the market and supply and demand, it has had to respond to social liberalism and the consumerist lifestyle reflected in the crisis of traditional values. The Church has been confronted with similar threats. So what position does sacred music hold in the Czech society of the twenty-first century? Has the attitude of composers and audiences altered towards sacred music? Has it become less socially relevant?

It has become the norm in liturgical music that church choruses and choirs typically perform at Christmas (the most popular piece being Jakub Jan Ryba's pastoral *Česká mše vánoční* (*Czech Christmas Mass*) (1796) and Easter, and hold spiritual concerts on All Souls' Day (1 and 2 November, usually a requiem by one of the world's leading composers), on the Day of Saint Cecilia, the patron saint of music, and during Advent.

The trend of renting church spaces for secular music events has also grown, which has been, however, protested by a number of believers and clergy. The daily press was

witness, for example, to a widespread controversy between the Church and the professional public in 2005 spurred by the article "Církev nechce Mahlera v kostele" (*The Church Does Not Want Mahler in Churches*).¹⁸

As in the 1990s or before, composers continued to be driven by personal and professional reasons to compose sacred music. Their work thus responded to their personal lives, meditated on the meaning of life, sought objective order, and venerated God. Sacred music was for some composers the "depth of security" and "a terrain tested for centuries past," while others saw it as an escape from the pitfalls of the modern world and evil, or a cure for the sick society. A number of composers employed the form and text idioms of sacred music to strengthen national identity and integrity in this globalized world. Numerous works thus referred to Czech saints and thinkers, for example, Petr Eben's *Labyrint světa a ráj srdce* (*Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart*) based on the texts of Jan Amos Comenius (2002), Zdeněk Lukáš's *Kyrie eleison* for a large symphony wind orchestra to honor the memory of Saint Wenceslas (2003), Jaroslav Krček's cantata *Kředo Mistra Jana* (*The Credo of Jan Hus*) (2015), Jan Bernátek's choral work *Svatá Ludmila* (*Saint Ludmila*) (2019), Martin Kumžák's (b. 1966) oratorios *Svatý Václav* (*St Wenceslas*) (2015) and *Canticum St. Anges* (2019), or revisiting the origins of Christianity, like Jan Bernátek's oratorio *Nový Jeruzalém* (*New Jerusalem*) (2007), Silvie Bodorová's (b. 1954) oratorios *Juda Maccabeus* (2002) and *Mojžíš* (*Moses*) (2008), Juraj Filas's *Píseň Šalamounova* (*The Song of Songs*) (2011), and Jan Jirásek's *Píseň Davidova* (*The Song of David*) (2019). Certain composers mirrored events in the contemporary world, such as terrorist attacks (Juraj Filas's *Requiem "Oratio Spei,"* 2002, dedicated to the casualties of the September 11 attack) or religious diversity (Jan Jirásek's *Mondi paralleli*, 2009). For example, in *Mondi paralleli*—the seven-part choral cycle a cappella—the composer combines different cultures and religions. Jirásek uses the Latin texts of the Christian liturgy with Buddhist mantras, passages from the Koran, and Judaic ideas.

The most significant work of each composer's generation was as follows: Petr Eben was faithful to sacred music until his death in 2007, creating a number of organ and choral compositions, meditations, and prayers. Zdeněk Lukáš mainly wrote choruses (*Alleluia*, 2001, *Te Deum Laudamus*, 2001), Luboš Sluka (b. 1928) focused on sacred music, particularly after he fell ill in 2008 (for example, *Missa neratovensis*, 2010, and *Missa votiva*, 2013). Pavel Jurkovič (1933–2015) earned recognition with his *Missa de angelis* (2005). Zdeněk Pololáník composed *Missa solemnis* (2001) and the sacred opera *Noc plná světla* (*Night Full of Light*) (2013) inspired by Paul Claudel, while František Gregor Emmert wrote numerous small choruses and prayers as well as grand sacred symphonies. Petr Fiala composed the

oratorio *Regina Coeli* (2003), Ivan Kurz created several mass cycles and Symphony No. 4 *Ejble, Hospodin přijde* (*Behold, Our Lord Shall Come*) (2017), Vojtěch Mojžíš (b. 1947) *Missa solemnis* (2010), Milan Slavický *Requiem* (2000–2001), and Jan Grossman (b. 1949) *Žalmové kantáty I (Psalm Cantatas I)* and *II* (2005–2006). Otomar Kvěch wrote *Requiem temporalem* (1992–2007), Pavel Zemek Novák composed, for example, Symphony No. 6 *Chvála stvoření (In Praise of Creation)* (2017), Radek Rejšek create *Missa campanarum* (2016), Lukáš Hurník (b. 1967) wrote the oratorio *Křížová cesta* (*Stations of the Cross*) (2011), and Miloš Bok premiered the two-part oratorio *Apokalypsa* (*The Apocalypse*) (2015–17).

The youngest generation is represented by Slavomír Hořinka (b. 1980), who deals with spiritual themes in a number of orchestral, vocal-instrumental, and chamber compositions (for example, the symphonic movement for tenor and orchestra *Žalm (Psalm)* (2004–2005), and *Litaniae Sanctorum* (2013).

The compositional language used by Czech composers writing sacred music over the last twenty years can be divided into two types:

1) The first group includes composers who, despite being inspired by the modern techniques of the twentieth century, cling to tradition, the late Romantic style combined with Neo-classicism.

2) The other group are composers working with multiple styles, often combining Medieval choral and polyphonic music with minimalism and sonorism. The blend may also involve folk music (for example, Jiří Pavlica's oratorio *Smíření (Reconciliation)* (2005), and *Brána poutníků (Pilgrims' Gate)* (2011), Pavel Helebrand's *Evangelium podle houslí (The Gospel of Violin)* (2001), popular music and jazz (Emil Viklický's sacred opera *Oráč a Smrt (The Plowman and Death)* (2003), and the project *Apokalypsa—Zjevení sv. Jana (The Apocalypse—The Book of Revelation)* by the David Dorůžka Jazz Trio and the Tiburtina Ensemble.

The current situation in Czech sacred music is illustrated by the fact that Zdeněk Lukáš's choir *Pater Noster*, undoubtedly due to the composer's death, won the 2007 award of the OSA (Society of Composers) copyright protection association for the most frequently played live piece of classical music, or that Zdeněk Král's traditionalist *Missa brevis* won the 2019 OSA Best Composition award.

Sacred music has been featured at sacred music festivals, of which those held in major cities such as Prague, Brno, and Olomouc have survived. The Kroměříž and Šumperk festivals are an exception testifying to the unrelenting hard work and enthusiasm of the organizers. The Zlín festival *Harmonia Moraviae*, in contrast, has adjusted its concept and opened up to other musical genres to boost its attendance rates. New projects worthy of attention are the ambitious *Svatováclavský hudební festival* (St. Wenceslas

Music Festival) in Ostrava (2005), which held 59 concerts in Ostrava and its surroundings in 2018, and *Musica Figurata* (2010).

Sacred music naturally formed part of major music festivals, both traditional ones such as *Pražské jaro* (Prague Spring) and *Smetanova Litomyšl* (Smetana's Litomyšl) (1949), and new festivals such as *Letní slavnosti staré hudby* (Summer Festival of Early Music) (2000), *Hudební festival Znojmo* (Znojmo Music Festival) (2005), and *Dvořákova Praha* (Dvořák's Prague) (2008).

Sacred music was likewise featured at selected philharmonic concerts (for example, the Hradec Králové Philharmonic opened the 2013/14 season with Dvořák's *Requiem*; the following season the FOK Prague Symphony Orchestra concluded with Leoš Janáček's *Glagolská mše (Glagolitic Mass)*; and the same orchestra put on two spiritual concerts at its 2010 Easter festival and incorporated Dvořák's *Stabat Mater* in its production in 2018 and 2020) and by leading Czech choirs (for example, in 2012 the Prague Philharmonic Choir dedicated two concerts of its choir cycle to the spiritual compositions of Penderecki and Eben; the same year three of the six concerts of the Czech Philharmonic Choir were spiritual).

Theater followed suit. The National Theatre in Prague prepared, for example, Dvořák's *Stabat Mater* for the 2007/08 season. Two years later, the National Theatre in Brno produced *Svatá Ludmila (Saint Ludmila)* by the same composer and in 2013 the Prague Estate Theatre premiered Rossini's *Stabat Mater* on Good Friday.

The dramaturgy of all these events drew more on historically successful works than on new productions. The most frequently played Czech composer was Dvořák (*Requiem, Stabat Mater*), and audiences demanded Czech music of older styles, chiefly Baroque (Jan Dismas Zelenka in particular). Popular composers included the Classicists Mozart and Haydn; the Romantics Liszt, Brahms, and Bruckner; and in terms of the twentieth century, above all, Rachmaninov, Stravinsky, Poulenc, Penderecki, and Arvo Pärt.

The "boom" of so-called *Aufführungspraxis* in interpretation, which began in the 1990s, and the demand for an older musical repertoire related to the rediscovery of Czech Baroque and Classicism, along with the Medieval and Renaissance heritage, prompted the emergence of new music ensembles. Their repertoire was dominated by sacred music. Collegium 1704, Collegium Vocale 1704 (Václav Luks, 2005), Ensemble 18+ (Magdalena Malá, 2009), and *Harmonia delectabilis* (2010, Lukáš Vendl) earned the greatest respect in terms of artistic quality.

Czech Television and Czech Radio broadcast concert recordings and produced programs with sacred music. The non-commercial channel TV Noe (2006) and the Christian radio station Radio Proglas (1995) also play religious music. Recordings and sheet music have been mainly provided by

Radioservis, which launched its online store radioteka.cz in 2014, and by Supraphon.

Newspapers and journals also deliver information about spiritual music culture. All the magazines which were in circulation in the 1990s have survived until today. The Society for Sacred Music has been publishing the journal *Psalterium* since 2006.¹⁹ The volume of articles on sacred music has, however, decreased (*Hudební rozhledy* publishes an average of 10 articles per year, and *Harmonie* even fewer in its printed version). The journals most often focused on, in addition to reviews, the popularization of older Czech sacred music.²⁰ This could have been due to the activities of the numerous art ensembles concentrating on Czech (spiritual) music of older epochs. The Internet portals *Harmonie on-line*, *OperaPlus*, and *KlasikaPlus*, in contrast, have published a myriad of articles (reviews and interviews).

Sacred music is also addressed by scientific and educational institutions. The annual conference *Duchovní proudy v současném umění* (Spiritual Currents in Contemporary Art), held as part of Forfest Kroměříž, is commendable and inspiring.²¹ Although several monographs on leading Czech composers have been published (see Vítová 2004, Fiala 2010, Nouza, 2010) and Michal Nedělka's book is an outstanding contribution (see Nedělka 2005), no comprehensive monograph on the development of Czech spiritual music is available.

Conclusions

The synthesis demonstrates that sacred music turned into a multifunctional musical genre during the twentieth century. In addition to its primary religiosity, it is able to respond to the contemporary world. Sacred music was composed in the Czech Republic/Czechoslovakia, as in other Communist countries, using a rich variability of compositional approaches and forms. It worked with liturgical and non-liturgical texts and biblical and religious themes to revive traditional Christian values and also to reflect on the difficult life under a totalitarian regime. The value and role of sacred music was reconfirmed after 1989. It has since enjoyed strong support from composers, performers, organizers, and audiences.

Endnotes

¹ This paper is based on my presentation given at the 47th Baltic Musicological Conference on 11 September 2020, which was held by the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. The research of the years 2000 through 2020 was supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic and run by Palacký University Olomouc

(IGA_FF_2019_006). The text is also a summary of my previous research (see Vičarová 2013: 143–154, Vičarová, Janíčková 2019: 43–53 and Vičarová, Janíčková 2020: in print).

² Sacred music is an umbrella term or synonym for church music/sacred music/religious music, (German analogy: Kirchenmusik / geistliche Musik / religiöse Musik). The present text understands sacred music as religious music composed for a liturgy or concert. Liturgical music is, in contrast, composed exclusively for a mass or non-mass liturgy. For a detailed definition of Czech musicology terms, see Fukač 1997: 98–99, 170. See also Dyer 2001: 544–570 and Herbst 1997: 715–727.

³ For more on the Catholic Church until 1989, see Balík, Hanuš 2007. Almost 44 percent of the population professed faith in 1991, while ten years later it was 33 percent. Of these, eighty percent were Roman Catholics. The Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren and the Czechoslovak Hussite Church had about 100,000 active believers each at the turn of the millennium. The Orthodox Church had only about 10,000 believers (more see: *Czech Statistical Office*).

⁴ Particularly since 1989. A number of music events, for example, were ecumenical in nature (e.g. Vox Clamantis, an ecumenical Christian pop music festival held in Prague in 1992). The international festival Archaion Kallos (2010) is connected with the Orthodox musical culture; the festival Musica Iudaica was founded in 1992; and Vlastislav Matoušek's music was inspired by the Orient. For more on church music in evangelical churches, see Beneš, Estrelle 2006: 117–125.

⁵ See Gottwald 1969: 154–161 and Schuberth 1995.

⁶ The context has been explored by several research symposiums, for example, Musikgeschichte zwischen Ost- und Westeuropa: Kirchenmusik—geistliche Musik—religiöse Musik in Chemnitz 1999 (see *Musikgeschichte* 2002) or Kirchenmusik in sozialistischen Ländern vor und nach der Wende von 1989 in Graz 2003 (see *Kirchenmusik* 2003). Authors who point out the fact include Andraschke 1995: 125–137 and Green 1998: 2.

⁷ Czechoslovakia was founded in 1918 and comprised two separate countries. The two states have been separated since 1993. The text is only dedicated to the Czech lands.

⁸ The book naturally omits sacred works of contemporary composers.

⁹ *Pocta katedrále* (*Tribute to the Cathedral*) in 1994, eleven episodes of *To nejlepší z klasiky* (*The Best of Classical Music*), a series about sacred music from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century in 1997, *Hudba na českých kůrech* (*Czech Organ Loft Music*) in 1999, etc.

¹⁰ *Společnost pro duchovní hudbu*, accessed online.

¹¹ *Musica Sacra*, accessed online.

¹² The magazine offers practical advice to church organists, in particular tips on repertoire and accompaniments of mass songs.

¹³ The daily press dealt with sacred music only on rare occasions. It was not possible, due to time limitations, to research all dailies and their regional versions. A few articles about sacred music were in the weekly *Katolický týdeník*.

¹⁴ A popular-science magazine with a primary focus on classical music performed in the Czech Republic. Founded in 1948, a monthly.

¹⁵ A popular-science magazine about classical music, world music, and jazz. Founded in 1993, a monthly.

¹⁶ A science journal, published six times a year in the 1990s, now a quarterly. Founded in 1969.

- ¹⁷ A science musicological medium, published quarterly since the 1990s. Founded in 1964.
- ¹⁸ Drchal 2006, accessed online.
- ¹⁹ This information and discussion bulletin of the society is printed four to six times a year. The society also has its own web portal and blog.
- ²⁰ For example, *Hudební rozhledy* presented the educational series *Co snad nevíte o starší české hudbě* (*What You Might Not Know About Older Czech Music*) in 2006, and a year later the series *Duchovní píseň v českých zemích* (*Sacred Song in the Czech Lands*).
- ²¹ The output is an anthology of the texts presented.

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Santrauka

Komunistinės Čekoslovakijos (nuo 1948 m. iki 1989 m.) atmosfera įvairiais būdais darė įtaką sakralinės muzikos raidai. Liturginę muziką atlikdavo tik vargonininkai ar bažnytiniai chorai, veikę sunkiomis sąlygomis. Sakralinė muzika atliepė politinius ir socialinius pokyčius. XX a. šeštajame dešimtmetyje, ateistinės propagandos metais, beveik neatsirado naujų sakralinės muzikos kūrinų. Dėl komunistų partijos renesanso ir septintojo dešimtmečio humanizavimo tendencijų ankstesniųjų stilių dvasinė muzika pradėjo pamažu patekti į masines medijas. Kompozitoriai jungė biblines istorijas ir liturginius tekstus su šiuolaikine poezija. Vatikano II susirinkimo išvados sukėlė liturginės veiklos pokyčius. Pagrindinis lūžis įvyko 1968 m. rugpjūčio 21 d., kai penkių Varšuvos pakto „draugiškų“ armijų kariai įžengė į Čekoslovakiją. Antiokupaciniai kūriniai, pelnę pripažinimą, buvo Petro Ebena (1929–2007) „Vox clamantis“ (1969) ir Miloslavo Kabeláčo (1908–1979) Simfonija Nr. 8 „Antifonija“ (1970).

Aštuntajame dešimtmetyje gyvenimas ėmė stabilizuotis. Dauguma sakralinės muzikos autorių buvo priversti atsiskyti valstybinių pareigų. Komunistinė diktatūra pradėjo silpti tik devintajame dešimtmetyje. Egzistavo nemažai sakralinės muzikos kūrinų, tačiau jie nebuvo skambėję jau daugelį metų, o kai kurie apskritai niekada nebuvo atlikti. Apie sakralinę muziką retai rašyta laikraščiuose ar muzikos žurnaluose, trūko profesionalios muzikologinės literatūros šia tema. Tarp svarbiausių XX a. antrosios pusės (iki 1989-ųjų) čekų sakralinės muzikos kompozitorių minėtinas Janas Hanušas (1915–2004) bei Petras Ebenas Prahėje ir Zdenėkas Pololánikas (g. 1935) Brno.

Politinės ir socialinės aplinkos pokyčiai po 1989-ųjų Čekijos muzikos kultūroje jau per pirmąjį laisvės dešimtmetį sukėlė sakralinės muzikos suklestėjimą, apėmusį visas muzikines sferas: kūrimą, interpretaciją, recepciją ir refleksiją. Liturgijoje giedojo bažnytinių mokyklų mokiniai pakaitomis su choralais. Šiuolaikinių kūrinų premjeros paskatino simfoninių, kamerinių ir vokaliųjų ansamblių koncertų ciklus bei gausius bažnytinius koncertus. Buvo surengta trylika naujų sakralinės muzikos festivalių. Atgaivinta Sakralinės muzikos draugija (1942 ir 1990); Brno įsteigta

„Musica Sacra Union“ (1993), teikianti bažnyčios vargonininkų kvalifikaciją; naujos bažnytinės konservatorijos buvo atidarytos Kromeržyže (1990; vėliau persikėlė į Olomoučą) ir Opavoje (1990). Padaryta daugybė įrašų, sakralinė muzika aptarinėta laikraščiuose, žurnaluose ir monografijose. Didžiausio dėmesio tiek namuose, tiek užsienyje sulaukė Petro Ebena kūryba.

Šios tendencijos išliko liturginėje bei sakralinėje muzikoje ir 2000–2020 m. Kompozitoriai naudojo sakralinės muzikos formų ir tekstų idiomias, siekdami sustiprinti nacionalinę tapatybę ir vienybę šiuolaikiniame globalizuotame pasaulyje, atsigręždami į čekų šventuosius ir mąstytojus, grįždami prie krikščionybės šaknų ir apmąstydami šiuolaikinio pasaulio reiškinius, tokius kaip teroristiniai išpuoliai

ar religinė įvairovė. Tarp pagrindinių kompozitorių paminėtini Ivanas Kurzas (g. 1947), Jurajus Filas (g. 1955), Janas Jirásekas (g. 1955), Pavelas Zemekas Novákas (g. 1957) ir Milošas Bokas (g. 1968).

Sakralinės muzikos festivaliai vyksta ir toliau, kūriniai atliekami tradicinės muzikos festivaliuose ir rinktiniuose filharmonijos ansamblių, žymių čekų chorų bei teatrų koncertuose. Dramaturgija dažniau remiasi istoriškai sėkmingais nei naujaisiais kūriniais. Vienas iš populiariausių kompozitorių yra Antonínas Dvořákas. Sakralinės muzikos kūrinius transliuoja Čekijos televizija ir radijas, taip pat „TV Noe“ ir krikščioniška radijo stotis „Radio Proglas“. Pristatymas profesionaliojoje spaudoje yra pakankamas.

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Jānis KUDIŅŠ

The Rock Opera *Lāčplēsis* (*Bearslayer*, 1988): Symbolic Meaning in the Historical Change Process and the Cultural Memory of Latvia*

Roko opera „Lačplēsis“ („Lāčplēsis“; „Lokiazudys“, 1988):

simbolinē reikšmē istorinīju įvykių procese ir Latvijos kultūrinėje atmintyje

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Abstract

The focus of this article is the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* (*Bearslayer*, 1988, text by Māra Zālīte, music by Zigmaris Liepiņš), which at the end of the 1980s in Latvia gained both significant artistic as well as political resonance; such significance is still reflected in the cultural memory of society. The article offers the opportunity to gain a deeper familiarity with *Lāčplēsis* as a symbolic hero in Latvian culture prior to the premiere of the rock opera in 1988 and provides an analysis of *Lāčplēsis*'s creation, the characteristics of the text and music stylistics, its socio-political resonance, and its place in the historical renewal of state independence and democracy. The article also highlights the reception of *Lāčplēsis* as an historically significant event in Latvian society's cultural memory of the last 30 years. This study uses multiple research methods: the clarification of past events through primary sources, periodicals and witness testimony, and comparison and overall generalization of facts and interpretations.

Keywords: *Lāčplēsis* (*Bearslayer*), Latvian history of culture, rock opera, Zigmaris Liepiņš, Māra Zālīte, 1988, historical change, cultural memory.

Anotacija

Straipsnio tema - roko opera „Lačplēsis“ („Lāčplēsis“ / „Lokiazudys“, 1988, Māros Zālītės tekstas, Zigmaro Liepiņio muzika), kuri devintojo dešimtmečio pabaigoje Latvijoje įgavo reikšmingą ne tik meninį, bet ir politinį rezonansą, vis dar saugomą kultūrinėje visuomenės atmintyje. Siūloma galimybė geriau susipažinti su Lačplėsiu, simboliniu latvių kultūros herojumi dar prieš roko operos premjerą 1988 metais, pateikiama roko operos „Lačplėsis“ sukūrimo ir teksto bei muzikos stilistikos analizė, apibūdinamas socialinis ir politinis operos rezonansas, taip pat vieta istorinių pokyčių procese, atkuriant valstybės nepriklausomybę ir demokratiją. Roko operos „Lačplėsis“ recepcija pristatoma kaip vienas iš reikšmingiausių istorinių įvykių Latvijos visuomenės kultūrinėje atmintyje per pastaruosius 30 metų. Straipsnyje naudojami tyrimo metodai: praeities įvykių aiškinimas pirminių šaltinių, periodinių leidinių ir liudininkų parodymų pagrindu, faktų ir interpretacijų lyginimas ir apibendrinimas.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: „Lačplėsis“ („Lāčplėsis“ / „Lokiazudys“), Latvijos kultūros istorija, roko opera, Zigmaras Liepinis, Mara Zalītė, 1988-iejį, istorinės permainos, kultūrinė atmintis.

Introduction

When considering historical changes that began in the Baltic States in 1990 (this year is considered a symbolic point on the renewal of independence), the question about how music (music culture) participated in, formed, and reflected this process can be answered from various angles. These include both trends and changes in musical life, the events that influenced them, and the disappearance or transformation and rebirth of old structures. These are

music creation processes in varied genres and the reception of this process in music criticism and other sources. There are also the single musical works, which, in eras of social and political change, gain symbolic meaning, become significant testimonies of the time of their creation, and later obtain particular meaning for society's cultural memory. The focus of this study is the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* (*Bearslayer*), which at the end of the 1980s in Latvia gained both significant artistic and political resonance; such significance is still reflected in the cultural memory of society.

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It should be noted that *Lāčplēsis* is, through varied texts and other works of art, a broadly known hero in Latvian national culture. However, the question as to why, in the 1980s, a time of historical changes, it was specifically the image of *Lāčplēsis* that was realized in a rock opera that, today, is considered historically significant, even today has not been fully researched. This might possibly be because, over the course of time, many objective (contextually broader and more general) views of the symbolic meaning of this rock opera in the recent decades have only lately formed. That is why, in this article, when we consider the historical change in Latvia before and after 1990, in this article the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* will be characterized from varied aspects of local cultural-historical experience. The first section of the article offers the opportunity to gain a deeper familiarity with *Lāčplēsis* as a symbolic “hero” in Latvian culture prior to the premiere of the rock opera in 1988.

Lāčplēsis as a hero and symbol in the Latvian history of culture and art

In 1888, the epic *Lāčplēsis* by Latvian poet Andrejs Pumpurs (1841–1902) was first published in Riga (Pumpurs 1888). In the second half of the nineteenth century, in the context of Romantic nationalism, national epics and the mythology represented within them were characteristic confirmation of self-consciousness for many nations in Europe. Pumpurs’s *Lāčplēsis* organically fit into this process and is called the first great Latvian national epic (Zelče 2018: 372, 373). This title and the related significance in Latvian history of culture was preserved and confirmed in the twentieth century, and the epic is characterized today as a national cultural treasure in official cultural memory (Kencis 2019: 681–684; Lāms 2008).¹

Additionally, the symbolic meaning of the character of *Lāčplēsis* in Latvia is associated with another significant literary text. It is the play (symbolic drama) *Fire and Night* (*Uguns un Nakts*) by distinguished Latvian poet Rainis (real name Jānis Pliekšāns, 1865–1929), first performed in 1911 in Riga (Uzula-Petrovska 2020).²

Based on the Pumpurs’s epic, Rainis wrote *Fire and Night*, which gives the character of *Lāčplēsis* a new, philosophically dialectical message dimension. Rainis accented the need for synthesis of power and mind (intellect) in *Lāčplēsis*’s battle with the Dark Knight and highlighted the character of Spidola as an ally of *Lāčplēsis* in fighting evil.³ The character of *Lāčplēsis* in the play *Fire and Night* provides a dialogical link between two significant cultural texts by Pumpurs and Rainis. Both texts, calling for the

formation of the Latvian nation in the twentieth century, stimulated links and the broad representation of the image of *Lāčplēsis* in the creation of multiple forms of art and cultural treasures.

After historically significant battles in Riga in the autumn of 1919, when the army of the Republic of Latvia, proclaimed one year earlier, battled against the Bermondts forces (armies from surplus parts of the German Empire and the Russian Tsarist Empire) and was victorious, the 11th of November in Latvia was officially recognized as *Lāčplēsis* Day (*Lāčplēša diena*, an official holiday and memorial day for all those who fought for Latvian independence).⁴

In both literature and theater (and not only in works by Pumpurs and Rainis) as well as visual art,⁵ the character of *Lāčplēsis* has become an integral element of Latvian cultural history.

In turn, in music or in genres of art related to music, three compositions related to *Lāčplēsis* can be found prior to the premiere of the rock opera in 1988. In the spring (the first part of the dilogy) and autumn (the second part of the dilogy) of 1921, composer Jānis Mediņš’s (1890–1966) opera (dilogy) *Fire and Night* (*Uguns un Nakts*) premiered. Inspired by Rainis’s play, Mediņš’s opera *Fire and Night* is one of the two first operas in Latvian language that represent Latvian ethnographic elements and references to historical experience.⁶

Along with Rainis’s play, Mediņš’s opera is a culturally historically significant presentation of the character of *Lāčplēsis* in the opera genre. Continuing the late Romantic stylistic traditions of Wagner (a broadly developed musical leitmotif system for characters) and Richard Strauss (an extended symphony orchestra form and its specific sound), in his opera, Mediņš tells of *Lāčplēsis* and the development of his character in a very rich and expressive musical score. In its premiere in 1921, the first version of the opera *Fire and Night* was presented as two separate performances (parts). Even though there was a positive public interest and response, there were conflicting thoughts about the composition being made up of two performances. That is why, in 1924, the composer created an opera in one performance (removing one act and shortening the opera elsewhere). Still, the singers and music critics considered the overly loud orchestra sound a major flaw in the opera, as it drowned out the soloists.

In 1927, the composer created the final version of the opera, developing a new orchestral instrumentation for it. Still, for several reasons, the opera experienced no further performances until the Soviet occupation and the beginning of WW2 in Latvia in 1941 (Čeže [1] 2008). Today,

in Latvian music historiography, there is the opinion that, in this way, there was a lost opportunity to offer *Fire and Night* as a vivid musical and artistic treasure internationally, to stand beside the national operas of other nations that were created at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century (Čeže [2] 2008).

After WW2, the opera *Fire and Night* was staged three more times. Two stagings took place during the Soviet occupation, in 1966 and 1987. It is an interesting paradox that the performance of the opera in 1987 (during the beginning of historical change in Latvia) the staging of *Fire and Night* did not gain society's attention and experienced almost no resonance. *Lāčplēsis*, performed in classical opera style, did not form a metaphorical dialogue with the 1988 rock opera, which achieved phenomenal popularity, even though it would seem entirely possible in this situation. The main reason for this, which is confirmed by the critics' response to the performance of *Fire and Night* in 1987, was the weak and uninteresting stage version. "A grand style opera without grandness and style"—this was how the opera was critically regarded, and the reviews noted the pseudo traditionalism and ethnographicism in the scenography and direction (Zemzare 1989: 68). Along with that, a conclusion was formed—when taking on the vivid genre of classics representing national culture, to achieve a broader societal resonance, it is vital and important to have an entirely new artistic interpretation of all elements. There was no such novelty in the 1987 performance of *Fire and Night*. Only in 1995 was there a completely new view of this Latvian classic opera—an artistically provocative attempt to resolve the encoded questions of Latvian national identity and the symbolic image of Lāčplēsis. In other words, a time when the renewal of Latvian state independence was already to be found in a new historical situation. That is why we will return to this fact in the conclusion of the article.

Before the 1988 rock opera, we should note two more musical compositions—programmatic symphonies. Latvian composer Ādolfs Ābele⁷ (1889–1967) composed the symphonic poem *The Grave of Lāčplēsis* (*Lāčplēša kaps*) in 1933. The composer indicates that the poem was inspired by Pumpurs's epic. Additionally, a further source of inspiration is the place where, in accordance with Pumpurs's epic and Rainis's play, the final battle between Lāčplēsis and the Dark Knight took place. This place is inhabited and bears the ancient name of Lielvārde.⁸ Ābele's symphonic poem, being a miniature musical form, does not illustrate all the events of the epic, but sketches a situation in the musical mood or sound painting genre, with a look into the depths of the

Daugava, where, during the battle with the Dark Knight, Lāčplēsis fell in. The poem was performed multiple times in concerts in Riga in the 1930s. However, after the end of WW2, Ābele fled from his occupied homeland, and, for a long time, his music was officially forgotten. That is one of the reasons why *The Grave of Lāčplēsis* is not well known today in Latvian musical life.

During the Soviet occupation, a new symphonic image of Lāčplēsis was created by the distinguished Latvian symphonic music composer Jānis Ivanovs (1906–1983). In the 1950s, in the ideological socialist realism atmosphere of the post-war Stalinist regime, Ivanovs was still very stylistically reserved in his music, mainly basing his music on a foundation of a Classical-Romantic music language (Kudiņš 2015). In 1957 Ivanovs composed the poem *Lāčplēsis* in this musical stylistic, and in the musical expression realized a programmatic goal which reflects the poem (created in 1948) with the same title by Latvian poet Jānis Sudrabkalns (1894–1985).⁹ The composer's biographer, musicologist Ludvigs Kārklīšs, on Ivanovs's composition within the context of the Soviet occupation commented the following:

The symphonic portrayal was inspired by the poetry of Jānis Sudrabkalns, where the character of *Lāčplēsis* gained a humanistic generalization in the light of Soviet patriotism, and the happiness and friendliness of the peoples. (Kārklīšs 1973: 159)

In Ivanovs's symphonic work the portrayals of Lāčplēsis, Spīdola, the Dark Knight, and Laimdota are expressed in symbolical musical themes, developed, and finally repeated, highlighting the approach of the victory of Lāčplēsis in accordance with the principals of the classical sonata form in composition. This symphonic poem today is a lesser known opus of Ivanovs in the background of other symphonic works (mainly his symphonies).

Altogether, we can conclude that, until the premiere of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* in 1988, the symbolic image of the hero was already deeply rooted in Latvian cultural history. In accordance with the context of varied eras (the first period of Latvian independence in the 1920s and 30s, the period of Soviet occupation and being in a totalitarian political regime in 1940 and 1941, and from 1944 until 1991), the image of Lāčplēsis has been interpreted with varied ideological accents in Latvian culture and art, but at the same time it has always been recognizable and present. That is why, in the next section of this article, I review the motivation for the creation of the rock opera's libretto and music in the 1980s.

Characteristics of the creation and composition of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis*

The creation of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* reflects a story that illuminates many indications as to how, at the end of the 1980s, historical changes occurred in society and culture in Latvia. Today, from a retrospective viewpoint, it is important to not just restore facts and their sequence in the birth of the rock opera as a significant cultural and socio-political event in the reception of society. The testimonies of the creators of the rock opera regarding how a spotlight was shone on the symbolic *Lāčplēsis* image are also interesting.

The composer Zigmars Liepiņš (b. 1952) has actively worked as a composer in the field of popular music (Soviet Estrada art) since the 1970s.¹⁰ In an interview on Latvian television thirty years after the premiere of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis*, he noted that he first had the idea to compose a rock opera based on *Lāčplēsis* in 1981 and had considered that the libretto could be written by Latvian poet Viktors Kalniņš (brother of the famous Latvian popular, rock, and academic music composer Imants Kalniņš). At that time, however, considering his difficult relationship with the Ministry of Culture (the dissatisfaction of the regime with him), he realized that this plan was not possible. However, a few years later, the situation changed:

Strangely, I should thank Gorbachev. The so-call thaw—*perestroika*, declared in 1985 by Mikhail Gorbachev—was a time when we had a bit more freedom. I decided that I must return to this idea and I should begin again my search for someone to write the libretto.¹¹

Additionally, regarding the question about why he had the idea for a rock opera based on *Lāčplēsis*, Liepiņš commented:

I decided on *Lāčplēsis* since Latvians do not have any more epic or greater theme than the Bearslayer. Any opera requires a broad theme and scope. This idea was also influenced by the world-famous rock opera *Jesus Christ Superstar* (Lloyd Webber), which I had seen. I had also seen the epic Hungarian rock opera *István, a King* (*István, a király*). That was an impressive work involving many singers. And then I found poet Māra Zālīte's telephone number and address and knocked on her door.¹²

It is interesting that Māra Zālīte (b. 1952), the poet and rock opera libretto's author, initially was apprehensive about the composer's idea:

My first thought was—aren't you aiming a bit too high?! And the composer answered— either that or nothing!¹³

In that way, to the authors the libretto and the composer of the music, *Lāčplēsis* and his story were a self-explanatory symbol in Latvian cultural mythology. Was it possible then to even discuss another cultural hero or create a new hero in art in this period of historical changes? This question, based on information available today about recent events, was not raised publicly then. It is possible that it was the successful creative collaboration between Liepiņš and Zālīte that, in the late 1980s, during the cultural, social, and political changes occurring in Latvia, allowed the symbolic image of *Lāčplēsis* to be vividly updated and actualized. As Liepiņš said in the rock opera premiere booklet in 1988 and later in interviews:

It is our seriousness, our history, and our legend. It is our tragedy, it is our hope. (Liepiņš, Zālīte, 1988)

Liepiņš turned to Zālīte with the offer to write the libretto for the rock opera in 1986, and at that time, in the early *perestroika* era, the selection of Zālīte was due to the poet already being known in Latvia for her poetry, which reflected topical socio-political issues. Zālīte herself considered the idea to use Pumpurs's epic as a foundation for the rock opera libretto to be a great challenge. Using Pumpurs's epic as a starting point, Zālīte, from one angle, preserved the main points of the *Lāčplēsis* story, but from another angle, concentrated the development of the story, removing multiple characters and subplots. For example, the rock opera does not have a scene from the pantheon of the ancient gods, which is broadly developed in the first canto of Pumpurs's epic. The symbolic character of Spīdala (at the beginning she is a servant of evil forces who later regrets this) has also been removed from the rock opera. It should be mentioned here that, along with that both Pumpurs's epic as well as the rock opera's libretto, the main difference compared to the interpretation of the story of *Lāčplēsis* in Rainis's play *Uguns un Nakts*, is that Spīdola (a variation of the name Spīdala in the Pumpurs's epic, the personal name Spīdala/Spīdola is derived from the word *spīdēt*—"shine") is a significant symbol of a person's intellectual development. Zālīte commented on this aspect in the staging process of the rock opera in an interview in 1988 following:

I do not want to explain everything. For example, I would like for people to think about why Spīdala is not there. I do not want to reveal it fully now, but I will note a few aspects: in Rainis's play, *Lāčplēsis* is a symbol of physical strength, the strength of matter [...] But to be able to deeply resolve these problems of the spiritual world, Rainis needed to create Spīdola. To separate the spiritual world from the physical, so that, based on this character, he could deeply and dialectically resolve spiritual problems. In our work, Spīdala has not been

separated from Lāčplēsis. To us, he is not just an unconscious physical strength. His listening to this nation and the strength of his ears are not just in a physical sense. That is one of the motives. Another—in the epic, Spīdala does not have the same significance as in Rainis's work. I still focus on the epic. Overall, Spīdala's absence here (in the rock opera libretto) is conceptual. (Priedīte 1988: 7)

It should be noted that the absence of the character of Spīdala/Spīdola aroused interest in Latvian society at that time. In an interview, Zālīte mentioned letters that both she and literature and cultural periodicals received from readers, expressing confusion about this decision. Immediately after the premiere of the rock opera, the poet commented:

The absence of Spīdala in this work can be considered conceptual, since, in the fight for survival, she often becomes secondary. Even now, in my opinion, there is a situation, that, in all our cultural and social work Spīdala (Spīdola!) is missed. Unfortunately. (Zālīte, Liepiņš 1988)

An almost identical opinion was expressed in critics' discussion after the premiere of rock opera:

Let's call louder for Lāčplēsis! And, along with him, Spīdala-Spīdola too, since we miss her in both life and in the staging. (Sauciet mani skaļāk! 1988)¹⁴

Using Pumpurs's epic, Zālīte created her own version of the epic in modern Latvian language, with her own literary individuality.¹⁵ To preserve and stress the link to the primary source of the inspiration for the libretto, the conclusion of the libretto uses a direct quote from Pumpurs's epic (Pumpurs 1888):¹⁶

Laik' no laika laivnieki
Braukdami pa Daugavu,
Pusnaktī redz divus vīrus
Stāvā krastā cīkstoties.
Tas ir Lāčplēšs, kas še cīkstās
Vēl ar svešo naidnieku.

Un ar reizi nāks tas brīdis,
Kad viņš savu pretnieku
Vienu pašu lejā grūdis,
Noslīcinās atvarā. –
Tad zels tautai jauni laiki,
Tad būs viņa svabada!

From time to time boaters,
travelling the Daugava,
can see two men at midnight,
fighting on the steep shore.
It is Bearslayer that battles here,
with an unknown enemy.

And the moment comes,
when Bearslayer will push
his opponent down,
to drown him in the whirlpool. –
Then a new era will blossom for the people,
then will be them freedom!

Still, in contrast with the epic, after this quote from Pumpurs's epic, there is an addition to the text by Zālīte, which gives the tragic battle situation a notable balance. With this Zālīte text, which can be considered a stylization of or allusion to Latvian folk song lyrics, the rock opera begins and ends, giving it a peculiar circular composition (Zālīte 1988):

Gauži raud saulīte
Ābeļu dārzā,
Ābelei nokrita
Zeltābolītis.
Neraudi, saulīte,
Dievs dara citu.
No vara, no zelta,
No sudrabiņa.

The sun cries bitterly,
in an apple grove,
a golden apple has fallen
from the apple tree.
Do not cry, the sun,
God will make another.
From copper, from gold,
from shining silver.

Also interesting is Zālīte's commentary about what new accents she searched for and found in the portrayal of Lāčplēsis:

I searched for a poetic form for the message. For the message, that poetic form was already ready. Still, the most important thing was for me to understand—why is Lāčplēsis' strength in his ears? None of the interpretations up until now had explained this. Also, Rainis did not explain this in his play *Fire and Night*. And then one evening it came to me and I understood—Lāčplēsis can hear! He can hear his country with his ears! He has perfect pitch for his homeland. Kangars understood this—that, if you cut off his ears, then an unknowing, unloving, unbelieving, deaf Lāčplēsis can be defeated.¹⁷

Zālīte's position reflects the unique symbolic significance of Lāčplēsis in Latvian culture and mythology over the course of the past century and in the historical changes of the 1980s. What stylistic characteristics can be found in the music score of the rock opera? Liepiņš, for whom this was the first large-scale work in the genre of musical

theater, referred to Andrew Lloyd Webber's (b. 1948) first work in this genre (*Jesus Christ Superstar*) and other well-known rock operas of the 1970s and 80s, and offered such comment in 1988:

Rock operas are united by historic, epic, serious, and even tragic themes. Rock music, which has evolved from dance, from brief songs, has always endeavored to go beyond its boundaries. And that is what happens. Ballads, cycles, serious theatrical programs, and finally operas appear. Rock operas. (Zālīte, Liepiņš 1988)¹⁸

An interwoven development principle in separate themes is realized in the musical dramaturgy. The musical theme of the prologue, with the text previously mentioned in this article "The sun cries bitterly in an apple grove" (in a video recording sung by Mirdza Zīvere, a well-known Latvian popular music singer and Liepiņš's wife) returns in Laimdota's arioso ("Come on, Sun" — "Teci, saulīt") in Act I and then as transformed, hymnal music in the episode of the Castle of Burtņieki's resurrection (as a metaphor for the significant image of the Castle of Light in Latvian culture).¹⁹ This theme also returns at the end of the rock opera, first in the culmination of the battle between Lāčplēšis and the Dark Knight, and afterward, in the epilogue, concluding the rock opera.

Another (second) leitmotif is found in Lāčplēšis's song with the words "I Hear My Fatherland" ("Es Tēvzemi dzirdu"), which is heard at the beginning and end of Act I, and then returns in the middle of Act II (a time of more rapid story development, and an increase in dramatic tension).

A third leitmotif in the rock opera score is the song "A Small Child at a Crossroads" ("Mazs bērniņš krustcelēs"), which has its own unique semantics in the libretto text, metaphorically telling the story of the Latvian people and their search for freedom with these words (Zālīte 1988):

Mazs bērniņš krustcelēs
Kā laiks tam smiltis
Tek caur pirkstiem.
Tā mūsu dzīvība.
Tā mūsu brīvība.
Uz krustcelēm mazs bērniņš.

A small child at a crossroads,
Time flows through his
fingers like sand,
that is our life,
that is our freedom.
The little child is at a crossroads.

In Act I, these lyrics are sung by Lāčplēšis's ally, Lielvārdis (the ruler of Lielvārde). In Act II, with an increase in tension in the story and with the approaching battle with the

Dark Knight, a choir sings these lyrics with Lielvārdis, while Lielvārdis, as a solo voice, sings symbolic lyrics about the approach of tragedy and the nation being under the influence of multiple powers (Zālīte 1988):

Latvju zeme vaļā stāv.
Tā kā dzīsla, pušu rauta.
Izteks asins, izteks spēks.
Latvju zeme vaļā stāv.
Vēji staigā iekšā, ārā.
Izplēš sēklu, izrauj saknes.
Latvju zeme vaļā stāv.
Krustaceļiem pienaglotā.
Krustavējiem caurvējotā.
Latvju zeme vaļā stāv.

The land of Latvians stands open.
It is like a vein, ripped open.
Blood and strength flow out.
The land of Latvians stands open.
Winds walk in and out.
They tear out seeds and roots.
The land of Latvians stands open.
It is open to the crossroads.
Winds walk in the crossroads.
The land of Latvians stands open.

At the conclusion, Lielvārdis's lyrics and melody from the finale of Act I are also sung by Lāčplēšis, supplementing them with words which are a request to never forget him and to fight for the nation's freedom (Zālīte 1988):

Sauc mani skaļāk, bērniņ, sauc!
Es dzirdu vēl.
Man vēl ir valoda un vārds.
Sauc mani, bērniņ!
Sauciet mani skaļāk!

Call me louder, children!
I still hear.
I still have my language and words.
Call me, children!
Call me louder!

In accordance with the stylistic characteristics of the genre, the opera score is dominated by the rock music stylistic, which offers both particularly rhythmic accents, a pulsating musical expression (for example, in the song "Atgriešanās" [The Return] from Act II, which is also, in its own way, a musically stylistic allusion to Webber's *Jesus Christ Superstar*), as well as vocal numbers with lyrical characteristics (for example, the Lāčplēšis and Laimdota duet in Act I), as well as the psychological exacerbation and the internal conflict of the characters, and the contradictory

portrayals (for example, the scene with Kangars's betrayal in Act II).

The opera also offers a very broad display of the varied stylistic layers of rock music, using both stylizations and allusions. For example, in an Act I scene, where, during their travels, Lāčplēsis and Kangars arrive at the Castle of Aizkrauklis, they are greeted by girls (witches), who invite them inside, and then tempt and attempt to seduce them, singing and dancing with boys in a stylized rock-and-roll music accompaniment. At the beginning of Act II, when Lāčplēsis finds himself in the presence of the mythical Ziemeļmeita (the deity the Northern Maiden), her solo song has the characteristics of a rhythm and blues (R&B) style.

Still, it is not just rock music (with a distinctive vivid, often even sticky melodic line, characteristic of pop music) that is a trait of the opera *Lāčplēsis*. The episodic involvement of the choir in the rock opera's music creates, to a certain degree, the presence of a static, classical chorale texture, for example, the song "That Is Time" — "Tas ir laiks" (in the Prologue and Epilogue of the rock opera):

Tas nav ūdens, kas Daugavā plūst,
Tas ir Laiks.
Tā nav asins, kas dzīslās tev tek,
Tas ir Laiks.
Tas nav vilnis, kas apskalo mūs,
Tas ir Laiks.
Tas nav atvars, kas gredzenu griež,
Tas ir Laiks.
Tas nav ūdens, kas Daugavā plūst,
Tas ir Laiks.

That is not the water flowing in the Daugava,
That is Time.
That is not the blood that flows in your veins,
That is Time.
That is not the wave that surrounds us,
That is Time.
That is not the maelstrom, that cuts the vortex,
That is Time.
That is not the water flowing in the Daugava,
That is Time.

Additionally, the stylization and quoting of folk music creates an interesting supplement to the dominating rock music style. The previously characterized prologue main theme is a melodically vivid example of a Latvian folk music stylization, creating an allusion to the well-known folk song *Pūt, vējiņi* (*Blow, Winds*), with a characteristic fifth interval highlighted in the initial motif. A compilation of stylized folklore texts and folk music is also a feature of *Lāčplēsis*'s and Laimdota's wedding scene in Act II. Additionally, with *Lāčplēsis*'s arrival at Castle of Burtņieki in Act I, an authentic

folk song recording—a performance by the famous Latvian folklore ensemble Skandinieki—was used in the first staging of the rock opera.

Altogether, in the rock opera *Lāčplēsis*, composer Zigmaris Liepiņš concentrated on using the popular musical trends which in the 1970s and 1980s were characteristic in Latvia both in his and other composers' and ensembles' work. These trends culminated in the second half of the decade with the beginning of historical change, or what is known as the Third Awakening in Latvia. Social and political protest songs were characteristic of that time; they were heard with a musical expression that could be harsh, lyrical, or full of romantic pathos (Gronow, Daugavietis 2020). It is possible that because of a more dominant romantic pathos in its musical expression and its corresponding stylistic form, the performance of the rock opera in 1988 became a significant event in both cultural as well as socio-political processes.

The socio-political resonance of the first staging of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* and its role in historical change in Latvia

The modern view in Latvia and the Baltics of the historical time of change in the second half of the 1980s—the achievement of freedom from the totalitarian Soviet occupation and the renewal of state independence—is, overall, primarily related to the most significant political events that took place during that era. That reflects a gradual achievement, in 1991, of the goal to be free of the occupation (when the three Baltic States gained their *de facto* independence). In Latvian historiography, this period is called the Third Awakening.²⁰ The many events of the Third Awakening caused fundamental changes. However, a unified and comprehensive breakdown of all the events by their corresponding significance has not yet been done. Usually, the most important events in the Third Awakening are considered the following, and this is, of course, not meant to be a comprehensive list (Dreifelds 1996; Eglitis Stukuls 2002):

- June 1, 1988—during the enlarged plenary session of the Latvian Writers' Union, the well-known publicist Mavriks Vulfsons publicly pronounced, that, in 1940, there had been no socialist revolution in Latvia, but an occupation.
- October 8, 1988—The congress of The People's Front of Latvia (Latvijas Tautas Fronte—LTF) was founded. At the time of its founding, it had already brought together more than 100,000 people. Ideas of Latvian democracy and self-determination were proposed.

- August 23, 1989—the Baltic Road event was staged. The event was organized to mark the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and created a 650-kilometer-long human chain that reached from Vilnius to Tallinn via Riga. 1.8 million people participated.
- May 4, 1990—The declaration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia, which established a transition period until the complete (factual) renewal of independence, was ratified.
- January 13–27, 1991—barricades were erected to protect important objects in Riga (as well as to protest the violence in Lithuania on the night of January 12, when Soviet military forces killed 14 and wounded 110 civilians).
- August 19–21, 1991 and later in the autumn—the *de facto* renewal of the independence of the Republic of Latvia.²¹

The presence of cultural processes in the disruption of the totalitarian system and the renewal of national independence is reflected broadly and in varied ways, and, if the question is raised about how music was integral to and helped influence historical change, then, of course, the main focus of research up until now has been the All Latvian Song Festival events as well as the folklore ensemble movement (Šmidchens 2013). One of the culmination points of these national cultural awakening ideas was the international festival *Baltica '88* in Riga.²²

In the context of the song festival tradition, the 19th All Latvian Song Festival in Riga in 1985 is considered one of the harbingers of the Third Awakening. During the concluding concert, to protest the decision by the Soviet occupation to remove from the joint choir concluding concert program the song “Castle of Light” (“Gaisms pils,” 1899, text by Auseklis, music by Jāzeps Vītols), thousands of choir singers and audience members requested the singing of this song and it was performed. That, in 1985, was in fact one of the first spontaneous expressions of cultural and political protest in Latvian society in the context of *perestroika*. Similarly, to protest the Soviet regime’s plans to build a gigantic hydroelectric plant on the Daugava River, which raised fears of serious ecological damage, two publicists published an article in the Latvian press in 1986, which can also be considered one of the earliest stimuli for historical change in Latvia. This event was also one of the reasons why a Latvian folk song, which references the nation and the culturally significant Daugava River titled “Blow, Winds” (“Pūt, Vējiņi”) became and, until 1991, was sung as, an unofficial national anthem in the various public gatherings with a political context (Kudiņš 2019).

And how did the staging of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* in 1988 fit into this process? When attempting to reconstruct the main points of the reception of this event, of interest are Zālīte’s and Liepiņš’s memories about the preparation for the premiere of the rock opera in Riga at the end of August 1988. In 1987, it was not just a matter of completing the libretto and music—just as important was the ability to properly formulate the request and convince the occupation government to accept the performance of the rock opera:

1988 was the best time. Those days you had to submit a request (to those in power). Luckily, it was the 100th anniversary of Andrejs Pumpurs’s epic and the (occupation) power confirmed (accepted) this (as a fact).²³

Liepiņš was able to come to an agreement about the staging and performance of the rock opera with the Culture Ministry and the Latvian Philharmonic (at that time, the State Concert Agency). Based on the composer’s recollections, we can conclude that, when Gorbachev’s *perestroika* allowed private entrepreneurship to be developed in the service field, the staging was realized as collaboration with the Latvian Philharmonic and Liepiņš’s own personal initiative. Zālīte has also strongly praised the composer’s abilities in the preparation process for the premiere:

That was Zigmars’s great managerial talent. We had a strategy—we could not allow any kind of political censorship from the regime that would potentially halt our work. For example, all theatre performances had an acceptance process, and that was political censorship. We succeeded in joining hands, like Paulo Coelho wrote, and we succeeded.²⁴

In the spring of 1988, at various events such as concerts and poetry readings, the poet and composer gradually began to introduce the public to excerpts from the libretto and music of the rock opera, in that way creating an informal marketing campaign. Liepiņš also recalls that, in accordance with events of that time, he had to get the approval of the Culture Ministry through an acceptance process. During this process, the composer himself sang the solo parts accompanied by a recording of the rock opera’s music in front of the commission. That succeeded, much like the idea to organize the premiere of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* on August 23 in Riga. Liepiņš has noted that one of the most significant events at the beginning of the time of socio-political changes was in 1987, when the political organization Helsinki-86, to remind everyone of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, organized the first unsanctioned political protest in Riga at the Freedom Monument, which resonated widely. He was able to convince the Latvian Philharmonic to accept this date for the premiere of the rock opera with this explanation:

My suggestion was to organize the premiere a week prior to the 1st of September (the traditional beginning of the school year in Latvia), when students still are free. When asked what the proposed date was, I replied—August 23rd. And everyone agreed. There were no further questions.²⁵

Tickets to the rock opera performances were sold out approximately six months ahead of time. To a certain degree, that guaranteed that the performances could not be cancelled. Additionally, before the premiere in Riga, a musical performance of the rock opera (without the stage performance) was organized outside of Riga, in the Burtnieki region. That was planned as a dress rehearsal for June 24. The premiere of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* took place on August 23, 1988, at the Sports Arena in Riga.²⁶ After the premiere, varied opinions were expressed by critics regarding the music, composition, and performance of the opera. Music and theater critics noted where ambiguity and uncertainty appeared in some solutions to showing mass gatherings of people. They also indicated the static scenography and direction, which illustrated the score (libretto and musical composition) of the rock opera, rather than offering original ideas and solutions for the stage events (*Sauciet mani skaļāk!* 1988). Additionally, there were differing opinions about the singers. The performances of the men's roles were considered more successful (*Lāčplēsis*, Kangars, Lielvārdis, and Likcepure, Ditrich), but the performance quality of the women's roles (Laimdota, Ziemeļmeita, and Staburadze) was considered musically (vocally) and artistically weaker (Mazvērsīte 1988).

According to the opinion of music and theater critics, this was a successful work of art. Still, there were many aspects that inspired discussion about the problems in the

dramaturgy and performance of the composition. Today, anyone can offer their own opinion by viewing the publicly available video recording of the 1988 performance of the rock opera. Still, disregarding certain critical comments about the varied aspects of the rock opera libretto and musical composition and the performance, the public reception at that time was dominated by an unprecedented level of interest.²⁷

The statistics of the rock opera's popularity confirms that society considered the rock opera to be an artistic manifestation of political ideas. The video recording of the 1988 performance allows us today to see and be certain that the story about the significant character of *Lāčplēsis*, which was realized in the rock opera, was metaphorically linked in Latvian national culture to the fundamental change processes, with a particular underlining of the performers' and the public's attitudes after each performance.²⁸ Overall, the performances of the rock opera and its reception reflects a clear link to future socio-political changes in Latvia. For example, at one of the most grandiose political manifestations of that time, on October 7, 1988 (one day prior to the founding congress of The People's Front of Latvia), Zālīte presented such a thesis in her speech:

I hope for a *Lāčplēsis* gene in our nation, but also see a Kangars gene. We will look for that in ourselves first.²⁹

In an attempt to schematically compile how varied significant historical change events chronologically integrate with and are supplemented by varied musical events, a possible place for, and role of, *Lāčplēsis* can be seen in this way in the socio-political and cultural processes in the second half of the 1980s:

July 15–25, 1985, XIX All Latvian Song Festival in Riga

The spontaneous singing of the choir song "Castle of Light" ("Gaismas pils") at the closing concert, protesting the decision by regime censors to remove this song from the joint choir concert repertoire. One of the first stimuli for the development of the idea of the Singing Revolution in Latvia

On October 17, 1986, the periodical *Literatūra un Māksla* publishes an article by poet and publicist Dainis Īvans (later the leader of the Latvian People's Front) and Artūrs Snips entitled "Thoughts on the Fate of the Daugava River" / "Par Daugavas likteni domājot" (Īvāns, Snips 1998). A broad socio-political resonance in society follows as well as spontaneous protests (petitions and letters) against the building of the new gigantic hydroelectric power plant.

On August 23, 1987, the informal human rights protection group Helsinki-86 organized a protest at the Freedom Monument in Riga to condemn the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The security forces of the occupying Soviet forces brutally assault and detain the participants.

June 1, 1988—the full plenum of the Latvian Writers' Union, during which the well-known publicist Mavriks Vulfsons publicly announces that, in 1940, there was no socialist revolution in Latvia, but an occupation by the Soviet Union.

From June 10 to 18, 1988, the international folklore festival Baltica '88 takes place in Riga, which highlights the significance of national culture and folklore during a time of historical change.

On August 23, 1988, the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* premieres at the Sports Arena of Riga. Twenty performances take place by the end of September, with a similar number of performances in May 1989. Total attendance is between 160,000 and 180,000. The reaction of society allows us to conclude that the message contained in this performance (the cultural text) is considered to also reflect current socio-political events and is an inspiration for their further manifestation.

October 8, 1988—the founding congress of The People’s Front of Latvia (LTF). At the time of its founding, the movement unites more than 100,000 people. Ideas of democracy and Latvian self-determination are raised.

August 23, 1989—the Baltic Road (Baltijas ceļš) event. Organized to remember the 50th anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, it forms a 650 km long human chain which reaches from Vilnius to Tallinn via Riga. 1.8 million people participate.

May 4, 1990—the ratification of the declaration of independence of the Republic of Latvia (with the majority of the votes of The People’s Front of Latvia deputies), which specifies a transition period until the full (de facto) renewal of independence.

June 30–July 8, 1990, The 20th All Latvian Song and 10th Dance Festival in Riga, which is a symbolic meeting of singers and dancers from both Latvia and the Latvian diaspora and has a record number of singers (20,000) in the closing joint-choir concert. The festival is dominated by an atmosphere hopeful for the renewal of independence and a national cultural manifestation of pathos.

January 13–27, 1991—the establishment of barricades to protect strategically important objects in Riga.

August 19–21, 1991 and autumn—the *de facto* renewal of the independence of the Republic of Latvia.

Of course, this schematic overview is not exhaustive and does not pretend to be an attempt to characterize all of the cultural (including musical) events that formed the atmosphere during this time of change, and which, publicly, was dominated by discourses about national freedom and ideas of self-determination. Still, the uniqueness of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* is the circumstance where one specific musical stage work included a message and gained great socio-political resonance. That differentiates this rock opera from the song and dance celebrations, which due to their format, were events that formed differently. Additionally, the resonance of the rock opera was slightly different than for many popular songs written during that time, which had different possibilities for representing themselves in the Latvian cultural historical experience—for example, in the song competition *Mikrofons*, organized by Latvian Radio (Gronow, Daugavietis 2020).

Conclusions

The culmination of the fundamental changes occurred in 1991, when Latvian state independence was renewed. Of course, as the changes continued, the 1990s clearly indicated a transition or post-totalitarian situation, where many new social institutions and traditions were formed (Dreifelds 1996). In turn, today it is interesting to analyze the changes

of the recent past as well as individual events and how they are reflected in society’s cultural memory.

The rock opera *Lāčplēsis* has regularly been actualized in Latvian society’s cultural memory, which is confirmed by new performances that took place in 1998, 2008, 2013, and 2018 in Riga as well as in 2008 as a concert performance in Burtņieki (where, in 1988, the dress rehearsal and concert performance took place) on the initiative of Zigmars Liepiņš (in 1998 there was also a DVD release of the 1988 recording). In 2013, at the Riga Congress Centre (Rīgas Kongresu Nams), there was a new staging of the rock opera (with many singers of the younger generation), but there were diverging critical opinions of this performance. In turn, for the 100th anniversary of the Latvian state, in 2018 there was again a new staging of the rock opera at the Riga Arena.

Altogether, over the course of the new staging of the rock opera, there was a gradual crystallization in the discourse that culminated in 2018. The title of a Latvian Radio broadcast and publication in 2017, a year prior to the most recent staging, clearly expresses a thesis that has had various formulations over the last 30 years: “The Rock Opera *Lāčplēsis* (1988)—a Cultural Manifestation and a Socio-Political Statement.”³⁰ This allows the understanding of a reference to the formulation of the rock opera, which was expressed in 1988 by musicologist Inese Lūsiņa in a critics’ discussion after the historical world premiere:

The rock opera cannot simply be evaluated as a work of art. It must also be evaluated—and mainly in the current situation—as a social phenomenon. We must understand that *Lāčplēsis* is not just an artistic fact, but a fact of the nation's public life and an awakening of collective feelings. It is a real stimulus for a renaissance in spirituality, thought, and evaluation abilities. (Sauciet mani skaļāk! 1988)

The relation of this thesis with the performances of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* and public mentions of it stimulate a view of it from the angle of cultural memory. For instance, the well-known researchers Jan Assmann and Aleida Assmann have defined cultural memory as being marked by a distancing from the everyday. Memories of events in the past (including works of art and their reception) are maintained in texts and their purposeful distribution, ritual activities, and the maintenance and actualization of memorials. Additionally, the actualization of historical facts and communication about them are performed in varied ritual activities (for example, concerts for major anniversaries, special events, etc.) (Assmann 1995: 129–132).

The rock opera *Lāčplēsis*, after its first staging in 1988, was periodically performed again in the following three decades, and this has confirmed its conformance to the noted six traits in societal cultural memory. Additionally, discourse or public discussions in social media and print or online media and the theses regarding the rock opera with regards to the time of change in Latvia approximately thirty years ago has strengthened the belief that it is both a work of art as well as a testimony to historical events. Still, there is also the vital question about to what degree today does the dominating discourse reflect all the cultural-contextual aspects that characterize this testimony. Here we should mention the term *mnemohistory*.³¹

It is interesting that, today, when reflecting on the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* and its first staging in 1988, in public discussion (which, to a certain degree, has a certain orientation towards representation of mnemohistory), certain questions are still in the shadows, questions that indicate other aspects that characterize the cultural context—in what kind of recent past these works of art appeared. One of these aspects relates to the expressed retrospective view in the atmosphere of cultural and socio-political change at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s. That is directly noted in musicologist Daiga Mazvērsīte's review after the rock opera premiere:

Now we have great pride and satisfaction about the work we've done. A great and significant work. Analyzing, discussing and defending the essence of the evaluation remains unchanged. That is, it is not just a rock opera. It is a view over one's shoulder of the travelled road both in music and in all history. At the same time—it is freezing this present moment in time. Also,

at the same time—a realization that fate is relentless. That is amazing. (Mazvērsīte 1988)

The phrase “It is a view over one's shoulder of the travelled road both in music and in all history” signals that the realization of the image of *Lāčplēsis* in a new textual-musical composition could have been, at that time, one of the echoes of the overall atmosphere of a romanticized view of the idealized past of Latvia and its people in which historical changes took place. It could be said that the image of *Lāčplēsis* in the 1988 rock opera was mnemo-contextualized—its meaning in cultural history gained a new symbolic link to the change process, and at the same time, it accented an expressed retrospective view of the image.³² Attributing this moment to the entire era of the Third Awakening was an idea also postulated by academician Jānis Stradiņš (1933–2019), an intellectual authority in Latvia at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century:

Today [*the beginning of the 1990s—JK*] we live in an era of national romanticism. It is like we have returned to the era of the “new Latvians” like Auseklis, Pumpurs [*the second half of the nineteenth century—JK*]. We idealize the six happy years of Ulmanis [*1934–1940, six years before the Soviet occupation, when Latvia was ruled by the authoritarian political regime of Kārlis Ulmanis—JK*] [...]. That is also understandable, since the main goal of the era—*Förderung des Tages*—is centered on regaining independence, accenting national values. [...] But in terms of culture, there is also the nation's internal self-criticism. Its goal is to not only highlight its mission, to convince one's own people and outsiders about it, but also to sense dangers, to warn about those (Stradiņš 1992: 99).

It can be concluded that, a little more than thirty years ago, the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* and the message of the libretto and music organically integrated into the atmosphere of national romanticism of that time in Latvia. That is why it is naturally characteristic that the actualization of the symbolic image of *Lāčplēsis* expressed the almost literal return of the story of the past. Basically, Māra Zālīte's libretto repeated the story of the Andrejs Pumpurs epic, where at the conclusion, the hero battled with the Dark Knight and both fell into the Daugava River. The people (nation) can only wait (without an answer as to how long) for the hero to return. There was no new story of *Lāčplēsis* being the winner of the battle. On this topic, the cultural sociologist Sergejs Kruks expressed the sensitively resonating and polemic opinion, that as a result of the placing of the mythical hero *Lāčplēsis* in the foreground of the Pumpurs epic, in the end, the nation becomes passive, without the possibility or desire to demonstrate a collective action or take risks in difficult situations. In Kruks's view, this narrative represents

a metaphor for trauma that could not be overcome, which can also be attributed to the message in the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* in 1988:

Ernest Gellner claims that “nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness,” but the invention of “nations where they do not exist”. The ideology of nationalism has not succeeded in inventing solidarity and social cohesion. Though often considered as a natural phenomenon, in reality nationalism must always be created from scratch. In the Latvian case, Pumpurs and subsequent literary historians have ignored the social dimension of *Lāčplēsis*. Epic as a genre has been understood only as an artifact, as a compulsory attribute of a community and as that which makes it distinctive from other communities. In the 1880s as in the 1980s the discourse of ethnonationalism required compiling a checklist of cultural things, but it failed to realize the full implications of the cultural process of creating social meaning. Culture embodies a potential pattern of meanings inherited from the past, immediate or distant. As Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood contend in *The World of Goods*, culture is a canopy for the interpretative needs of the present. *Lāčplēsis* steers its readers toward understanding the present through the prism of failure, passivity, and self-victimization. [...]

Whenever Latvians read *Lāčplēsis* or see it performed or otherwise indexed, they are reminded that the hero perished without hope of fulfilling his duty. They are asked to wait for his return instead of concerning themselves with figuring out ways to assume responsibility and undertake redressive action themselves. Perhaps *Lāčplēsis* once provided relief for a nation subjugated to foreign power. Perhaps by inviting readers to accept the lack of freedom, the epic secured authoritarian political ideologies with a passe-partout cultural frame that downplayed civic activity. Today civic society requires a cultural frame that supports the imagination of an active, confident community. (Kruks 2004: 26, 28)

In contrast, Zālīte gave one comment about why, at the end of the 1980s, the actualization of the mythological story of *Lāčplēsis* did not consider the different accents of battle, growth, and finale:

I was asked—why cannot *Lāčplēsis* be victorious this one time? Of course, we could show that. But then, with that, everything would end—then it would no longer be necessary to anyone. The power of the epic is that it is (and remains) open.³³

Examining the varied cultural contextual aspects of the story of *Lāčplēsis* and their interpretation possibilities confirms that, from the premiere of the rock opera in Latvia in 1988 until today, in society’s cultural memory there is the potential for varied views. The rock opera also provokes such questions. Was it a unique case in Latvia that there was a dominating atmosphere of the idealization of the past and a romanticized view of it at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s? Or is it a characteristic situation

in periods of fundamental change elsewhere in the world? These questions remain open for further research, where the experience of periods of change in the cultural processes of varied nations can be compared.

A different question is about if the retrospective, mnemo-contextualized view of the symbolic image of *Lāčplēsis* at the end of the 1980s in Latvia significantly influenced the romanticized expression of the music of the rock opera. Was it possible that an image of fundamentally “new cultural hero” could have emerged in the atmosphere of the Singing Revolution? In that case, would there have been the stimuli to create a different, perhaps in terms of stylistic innovations, more radical rock opera music? Of course, those are rhetorical questions. Still, raising questions like these places more attention on the rock opera *Lāčplēsis*, which in the context of a specific cultural and socio-political process, became one of the most significant musical testimonies of a time of change in Latvia.

It is interesting that, in the opera genre, after the demonstration of romantic pathos that permeated the 1988 rock opera, the symbolic image of *Lāčplēsis* soon returned to the stage of the Latvian National Opera Theatre in the fifth staging of the Mediņš classical-style opera *Fire and Night* in 1995. The Mediņš opera, composed in a late Romanticist musical style, was staged in a different historical atmosphere—Latvian state independence had been reinstated and a democratic political regime had been once again established. At the same time, in this new situation in Latvia, society had already experienced the initial disappointment characterized by learning how to regularly express wishes for the development of the nation in elections as well as due to the consequences of the first economic crisis. The interpretation of the symbolic portrayal of *Lāčplēsis* in Rainis’s play in Mediņš’s opera gained a new cultural contextual resonance because it was the first representation of postmodern theater direction on the stage of the National Opera in thirty years.

Fire and Night was the first opera production by the internationally well-known theater and opera director Alvis Hermanis (b. 1965). Hermanis himself has expressed self-criticism about his first production in the opera genre:

Every specific piece of music has its own blood type and mentality which is determined by the spirit of the music. The visualization should not contradict the spirit of the music. It often happens that a director finds a very attractive and interesting approach to tell the story, to make it interesting, but often it is in clear contradiction with the spirit of the music. My suspicion is that, at the time, in the case of *Fire and Night*, I was not yet able to manage one or the other. I approached this only as I would to stage a theater performance, but the musical dimension was lost on me. The result might not have been bad, but that happened unconsciously. (Lūsiņa 2014)

Still, on the other hand, the director also stressed that, at that time, it was important to highlight new and innovative views of the well-known Latvian myth in Latvian cultural history:

Fire and Night can and should be staged in a modern way, updating both the content of the original and the questions regarding national identity. (Čeže [1] 2008)

Thanks to its direction, the story of Lāčplēsis in the opera *Fire and Night* reflected the idea that, through the encoded questions of national identity in Rainis's play and the libretto, it is possible to artistically interpret these analytically, also illuminating them with a bit of postmodern irony. In the video recording of the opera *Fire and Night* from 1995, we can see that in the visual aspect (scenography, costumes, the makeup of the main characters), there are varied references, allusions, and paraphrasing regarding the legendary staging of Rainis's play in the first half of the twentieth century. It is interesting that Spīdola's stylized costume, of a dark red, and the snow-white color of Lāčplēsis's and Laimdota's costumes are a reference to the arrangement of colors in the Latvian flag: red-white-red. There are other perceptible plays on other well-known symbols of Latvian ethnography in certain other stage solutions.

Discovering the need for a powerful, mythical strength to not only defeat enemies, but also to strive for growth in personality and intellect, Hermanis created a very provocative finale for the opera. The five main characters—Lāčplēsis, Laimdota (Lāčplēsis's wife), Spīdola (a symbol of intellectual growth and change, initially supports the dark powers, later becomes a supporter of Lāčplēsis), Kangars (eternal symbol of the betrayal gene), and the Dark Knight—deals with their interpersonal relationships and Lāčplēsis goes to battle with the Dark Knight. The choir, symbolizing the nation of Latvia, tears to pieces a large map of Latvia and remains in a passive waiting position, falling to their knees. With Spīdola's symbolic phrase "The battle is not over and will never be over! Spīdola will help you, Lāčplēsis!" (*Vēl cīņa nav galā un nebeigsies! Tev, Lāčplēsi, Spīdola palīgā ies!*), the opera concludes, and a message is displayed on the stage (a quote from the text of Rainis's play)— "Change [*the world*] and change upward yourself!" (*Maini un mainies pats uz augšu!*).³⁴

Still, in contrast with the rock opera by Māra Zālīte and Zigmaris Liepiņš, Jānis Medīņš's opera, specifically in the musical expression in conclusion, offers not a quiet resignation, but dynamic growth in C major. Together with Alvis Hermanis's innovative direction the expressiveness of music in the conclusion of the opera *Fire and Night* emphasizes the artistic (metaphorical) *view towards the future* (forming a

slight similarity with the orchestral postludium of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*). Thus, the symbolic image of Lāčplēsis is still open to many new artistic and research interpretations. In its turn, the version of the story about Lāčplēsis, implemented in the rock opera genre in 1988, still retains its lasting significance in the Latvian cultural memory.

Endnotes

¹ Lāčplēsis, the hero of Pumpurs's epic, is a powerful man of mystical origin, who is blessed with unbelievable strength. Referencing Latvian, as well as other cultures' myths, Lāčplēsis is found nursing on a mother bear's milk by the mythological Latvian king Lielvārdis, who raised Lāčplēsis as his own son. The vague origins of the main character of Lāčplēsis explain his fantastic strength and physical power, which are hidden in his bear's ears. Thanks to his strength, he is able to slay a bear. Altogether, the story of the epic reflects both folklore (myth and fable) motifs and references the beginning of the Christianization of the Baltic territories in the thirteenth century.

Over the course of the six parts (cantos), the epic tells how ancient gods selected Lāčplēsis to defend the Baltics and the Latvian people and how he, along with his defenders, battles enemies within his own people as well as invaders led by the monk Ditrich and the Dark Knight (indicating the entrance of German soldiers and the Christian Church into the Baltic territories in the thirteenth century). Lāčplēsis achieves many victories and frees Laimdota from evil forces, and she becomes his wife. However, the traitor Kangars reveals the source of Lāčplēsis's strength (his ears) to Ditrich. The Dark Knight (in Latvian *Tumsāis bruņinieks*) discovers this and challenges Lāčplēsis to a duel. During the battle, the Dark Knight cuts off one of Lāčplēsis's ears. Lāčplēsis strikes back and, as the battle continues, both fall into the Daugava River (the largest river in Latvia, which is broadly reflected in Latvian folklore and national mythology). In this way, there is no clear ending to the epic. Lāčplēsis's battle with evil remains unresolved and encourages us to wait for victory in the future, when "the time will come, and Lāčplēsis will drown all the evil in the river" (Pumpurs 1888).

Since its first publication in 1888, the *Lāčplēsis* epic has been published more than ten times, and retellings for children of the epic story have also been published. The epic has been translated and published in Russian (the first time in 1945), Lithuanian (1959), Estonian (1973), Finnish, English and German (1988), Danish (1991), Polish (2003), Armenian (2013), and Spanish (2017). The retelling of the epic has also been published in Japanese (1954) and, together with excerpts from the text, in 1987 was published in Czech (Kalnačs 2020).

² Rainis was not only a distinguished Latvian poet and author at the beginning of the twentieth century, but also an active politician (he was a sympathizer of the left or social democratic movement). Up until the foundation of the Latvian independent state in 1918, many of his literary works (including plays) manifest ideas of the right to Latvian political self-determination and Latvia's right to found its own independent state (Mawhood 2020).

³ The character of Spīdola abandons serving the dark powers and becomes Lāčplēsis's ally and vividly symbolizes change,

- eternal creativity, and the search for new ideas. Rainis's play, much like Pumpurs's epic, also concludes without a clear resolution—Lāčplēsis and the Dark Knight battle and fall into the Daugava. Spīdola utters the final phrase: "The battle is not over and will never be over! Spīdola will help you, Lāčplēsis!" [*Vēl cīņa nav gala un nebeigsies! Tec, Lāčplēsi, Spīdola palīgā ies!*] (Rainis, 2015).
- ⁴ In the Latvian capital of Rīga and other towns, some streets bear Lāčplēsis's name. It is interesting that, in 1930, the silent movie *Lāčplēsis* was filmed in Latvia (director Aleksandrs Rusteikis). The events take place in a mythical past and during the 1905 revolution as well as both in WWI and during the battles in defense of independent Latvia in 1919. In parallel, the love story between Lāčplēsis and Laimdota is developed. The movie *Lāčplēsis* is an interesting example of the fact that, since the founding of the Republic of Latvia in 1918, the character of Lāčplēsis has gained an even more visible meaning in Latvian cultural history.
- ⁵ In visual art, Lāčplēsis's image has long been reflected in paintings, drawings, stained glass, and other art, including comics. One of the most significant visual depictions of Lāčplēsis can be seen today on the Freedom Monument (*Brīvības piemineklis*) in the centre of Rīga. Sculptor Kārlis Zāle (1888–1942), who sculpted the Freedom Monument which was presented in 1935, includes references to varied Latvian motifs and images of Latvian folklore, mythology, and historical events. Among them, *Lāčplēsis* is also chiseled into the composition of the monument. The image of Lāčplēsis (1922, reconstructed in 2007) created by sculptor Rihards Maurs (1888–1966) in stone is also on the facade of the Latvian parliament (*Saeima*) historical building.
- ⁶ Besides the opera *Fire and Night* is the opera *Baņuta*, created by poet and architect Artūrs Krūmiņš (1879–1969) and composer Alfrēds Kalniņš (1879–1951). The historical world premiere of *Baņuta* took place in 1920, one year earlier than the premiere of the opera *Fire and Night*. Both Kalniņš's as well as Mediņš's operas were composed at approximately the same time and, today, both operas share the title of first national opera in Latvian music history (Kudiņš 2014: 14, 15).
- ⁷ Representing the "contemplative romantic" trend with "a turn to a music stylistic characteristic of impressionism," Ābele is notable in Latvian music history in varied genres with his refined lyrical musical expression.
- ⁸ In accordance with Pumpurs's epic and Rainis's drama, it was there where, prior to his final battle with the Dark Knight, Lāčplēsis had planned to live with Laimdota, and today we can find a massive and interesting stone form with the title *Lāčplēša gulta* (Lāčplēsis's Bed). Until 1938, Lāčplēsis's Bed was located slightly further away, but, after the building of a hydroelectric plant, the rock was brought to Lielvārde, and, in 1976, became an exhibit at the Andrejs Pumpurs Museum.
- ⁹ J. Ivanovs. Simfonija Nr. 17. Simfoniskā poēma *Lāčplēsis*. Latvijas PSR Valsts radio un televīzijas [Filharmonijas] simfoniskais orķestris [Latvian SSR Radio and Television [Philharmonic] Symphonic Orchestra]. Diriģents Vasilij Sinaiskis [Conductor Vasily Sinaisky]. *Melodija*. Rīgas skaņuplašu rūpnīca [Vinyl LP record factory of Riga], 1980. Mx/Ctr No. C10132634.
- ¹⁰ More detailed information on Zigmars Liepiņš can be found online at the webpage <https://www.lmic.lv/en/composers/zigmars-liepins-383#!/> [viewed on 20 09 2020].
- ¹¹ Latvian Television program *National Treasures* (*Nacionālie dārgumi*), November 11, 2018, <https://ltv.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/11.11.2018-nacionalie-dargumi.100-g-kulturas-rokopera-lacplesis.id143808/> [viewed on 23 09 2020].
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ A different interpretation of the character of the traitor Kangars, as compared to Pumpurs and Rainis, can be found in the rock opera libretto. If in the epic Kangars is more a rival for Lāčplēsis, then in the rock opera libretto, the two are friends, and the theme of the curse of betrayal is developed on that basis. Initially, Lāčplēsis and Kangars are best friends and work together. Still, Kangars turns out to be more easily manipulated and gives in to temptation for power and riches, which is why he agrees to betray Lāčplēsis, revealing the secret of Lāčplēsis's magic strength—his ears—to Ditrich, Likcepure (Skew Helmet), and the Dark Knight. It is interesting that Kangars, as an always threatening symbol of betrayal, is seen behind Lāčplēsis (having jumped on his back, both adorned in vivid white) on the placard for the premiere in 1988, as a visual metaphor for the main hero's possible alter ego.
- ¹⁵ The rock opera libretto has two acts, and the main lines of the story develop in the following way:
- ACT I: Lāčplēsis, along with his childhood friend Kangars, say goodbye to Lielvārdis and Lielvārde and travel to Burtnieki. At the same time, Ditrich arrives with his forces. On the way to Burtnieki, Lāčplēsis and Kangars spend the night in Aizkrauklis Castle. Lāčplēsis is enchanted, but Kangars is taken hostage by Likcepure (Skew Helmet) and his demons. Lāčplēsis is thrown into the whirlpool. He is rescued by the ancient god Staburadze. Arrival at Koknese. The heroes arrive at the Castle of Burtnieki. Lāčplēsis and Laimdota fall in love. Kangars also desires Laimdota. Lāčplēsis raises the sunken Burtnieki Castle. Kangars kidnaps Laimdota.
- ACT II: Lāčplēsis in Rīga. He travels to meet Ziemeļmeita (also known as the deity "the Northern Maiden"). Ziemeļmeita awakens his desire to return, but the demons do not allow this. Battle with the demons. Lāčplēsis awakens the people who were turned to stone. Lāčplēsis returns to his homeland. Likcepure (Skew Helmet) searches for the traitor Kangars. The meeting and wedding of Lāčplēsis and Laimdota. Lāčplēsis and his allies Lielvārdis and Koknesis begin the decisive battle with the invaders. Kangars betrays Lāčplēsis, telling Likcepure (Skew Helmet) about the strength found in Lāčplēsis' ears. The battle with the Dark Knight (in the rock opera libretto, the Dark Knight has a silent, wordless role).
- ¹⁶ A video record of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* (staging of 1988) is available via YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VUnXeJip62Y> [viewed on 25 09 2020].
- ¹⁷ Latvian Television program *National Treasures*...
- ¹⁸ Reflecting the main genre and stylistic characteristic elements of rock music, the foundation of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis*'s score is solo guitar, electric bass guitar, percussion, and keyboards, which, with characteristic rhythm figures, are interwoven with the vocal parts and choir. The opera is formed based on the principal of musical numbers (separate scenes), which are episodically supplemented by narration or linked by brief instrumental interludes. The composition of the score available today is made up of 31 musical numbers—soloist songs, ensembles, and choir either separate or together with soloist or soloists. Rock opera *Lāčplēsis* piano sheet music is available in print at the Latvian National Library, cat. no. N93-3/217; online at the composer's site: <http://www.zigmarsliepins.lv/rokopera-l257269pl275sis.html> [viewed on 23 09 2020].

¹⁹ Please see and listen to opera excerpts mentioned here and below in the text, on YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VUnXeJip62Y> [viewed on 25 09 2020].

²⁰ This is a symbolic reference to and continuation of the First Awakening, the name given to the national movement in Latvia from 1850 to 1880, when Latvia was still a part of the Czarist Russian Empire, as well as the Second Awakening, which, at the beginning of the twentieth century, resulted in the founding of the Republic of Latvia in 1918 and then the development of the nation up until 1940 (Blūzma 2008).

²¹ The listed historical events were characterized by grandiose national manifestations with the participation of hundreds of thousands. There were also counter-reactions from the Communist Party and its supporters, who created their own political movement The Workers' International Front (Darbaļaužu Internacionālā Fronte—Interfronte) and established their own parallel activities (meetings, popularization of their ideas in the press).

²² Of course, the song festivals in all three Baltic nations were one musical and, more broadly, cultural manifestation, which in the second half of the 1980s gained a particularly symbolic meaning and resonated in the time of change and gave the famous description to the revolution: “people were laughing and smiling, unanimous, with no malice, no hate (...)” (Valk 1988: 3; Brüggemann 2015: 221).

²³ Liepiņš's memories, Latvian Television program *National Treasures...*

²⁴ Zālīte's memories, *Ibid.*

²⁵ Zālīte's memories, *Ibid.*

²⁶ The stage performance included three well-known and popular Latvian rock groups—Opus, Remix, Jumprava—and many of the musicians of those groups also had stage roles. The performance included the folk dance ensemble Vektors and the youth choir Daugaviņa and included recordings by the folklore ensembles Skandinieki and Ilģi. The performance also involved scenographers, costume and metal artists, choreographers, light artists, and sound directors. The director of the performance was Valdis Lūriņš (1951), and the conductor (playing the electric keyboards) was Zigmars Liepiņš (Liepiņš, Zālīte 1988).

The main hero or lead role (Lāčplēsis) was played by singer Rodrigo Fomins (b. 1962), a rising star in the 1980s on the Latvian popular music scene. His involvement in the rock opera was one of the preconditions of his success—he was a young, charismatic pop music singer who had already achieved public recognition and singing the role of Lāčplēsis, which was important considering the symbolic significance of this character in Latvian culture. Additionally, one can clearly see in video recordings of the 1988 performance that the visual image (a vividly white costume) of Lāčplēsis (Igo) references the lead roles of Lloyd Webber's *Jesus Christ Superstar* and the popular Soviet Russian composer Alexey Ribnikov's (b. 1945) rock opera *Juno and Avos* (1981).

It is interesting that, together with many other popular music singers of that time (Maija Lūsēna as Laimdota, Imants Vanzovičs as Kangars, Žaneta Ondzule as Ziemeļmeita [the Northern Maiden], Aivars Brīze as Koknesis, Niks Matvejevs as Ditrich, Zigfrīds Muktupāvels as Likepure, and Daiga Blaua as Staburadze) participating in the rock opera *Lāčplēsis*, there was also the famous Latvian opera tenor Jānis Sprūģis in one of the roles (the ruler Lielvārdis—Lāčplēsis's main supporter and ally). The fascinating timbre of his voice and bel

canto performance style was a particularly successful aspect of the 1988 performance. To a certain degree, the participation of an opera singer resulted in an echo of “crossover” trends in the rock opera performance and, in this way, highlighted the meeting of popular and classical opera music and the synthesis of their elements.

²⁷ Much information can be found online about the phenomenal popularity of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* in 1988, 1989, and 1990. Still, over the course of the following thirty years, a few varied inaccuracies have appeared in the outline of the facts. For example, in Latvian social media, there is a statement that the rock opera was performed 45 times in 1988. However, on Māra Zālīte's website (in Latvian), there is contradictory information—it first mentions 43 and then 45 (!) performances. At the same time, in these and other sources, there are contradictory notes about how many people attended the rock opera's performances in the Sports Arena in Rīga—some sources say 160,000 attendees and others 180,000.

The contradictions and inaccuracies regarding the number of performances and attendees has resulted due to the fact that the production was a partly private business project (with Zigmars Liepiņš as the manager) and complete and accurate data and testimonies about all the performances have not been preserved. Additionally, as can be confirmed by the available information in the press, the performances of the rock opera took place in two periods of time—the first time from August 23 until the end of September in 1988, and the second in May, 1989. In an interview from the autumn of 1988, Liepiņš noted that in the first period there were 20 performances (Pujēna 1988). Additionally, based on published advertisements in the press, in the spring of 1989 there were an additional 20 performances, which confirms that the total number of performances may have been from 40 to 45 (according to the advertising in a newspaper *Padomju Jaunatne*, 1-4-1989).

In turn, when considering that, for example, at the beginning of the 1990s, the population of Latvia was 2.6 million and, in this numerical parameter, Latvia can be considered a “small nation”—in this context, the number of rock opera performances and number of attendees (from 160,000 to 180,000 over eight months) can be considered significant when evaluating its popularity. In addition, when, at the beginning of 1990, many thousands of copies of the Melodyia company's rock opera LP recording were released in Rīga and immediately sold out, this also confirms the rock opera's great popularity at that time. See more: *Lāčplēsis*. Rokopera. Z. Liepiņš, M. Zālīte (3 x Vinyl, LP). *Melodija*. Rīgas skaņuplašu rūpnīca [Vinyl LP record factory of Riga], 1990. Mx/Ctr No. C6029341009, C6029343009, C6029345009. It is possible to listen to the vinyl disc recording of the 1988 staging of the rock opera *Lāčplēsis* via YouTube.]

²⁸ In the video recording, we can see that after the show, all performers highlighted the placing of flowers based on the contours of the map of Latvia, which was an element of the performance's scenography, and often the arrangement of the colors of the flowers and costumes formed reference to the Latvian flag (red-white-red). Additionally, at the very end, the performers, together with the public, spontaneously began to sing the Latvian folk song “Pūt, vējiņi” (“Blow, Wind,”). The song's symbolic meaning in the historical change processes in the second half of the 1980s has already been mentioned.

²⁹ “Mežaparka Lielā estrāde”, 1988. gada 7. oktobris [“The Grand Stage of Mežaparks”, October 7, 1988], in: *Padomju Jaunatne*, No. 193, 1988.

³⁰ 2017 Latvian Radio broadcast available at <https://klasika.lsm.lv/lv/raksts/100-latvijas-pirmizrades/rokopera-lacplesis-1988--kulturas-manifestacija-un-sociali-polit.a95954/> [viewed on 27 09 2020].

³¹ Mnemohistory is not related to the past in a direct way, but with a past that is developed in the process of remembering. From this angle, as noted by Jan Assmann, a society's or its sub-section's modern beliefs are formed as a persecution of the past, while the past is modelled in the present—it is imagined and is made to correspond with today's beliefs. In this way, mnemohistory illuminates and analyzes the presently given meaning to the past and does not avoid the inclusion of mythical elements in the context of the analysis of specific traditions. Additionally, the goal of historical positivism (an objectively distanced approach to the outline and explanation of facts of the past) is to create a clear division between historical and mythical elements in the memory of society (Jan Assmann 1997: 8–10).

A. Assmann, working with the terms *inhabited* and *uninhabited* memory, indicates that an inhabited cultural memory is directly linked with its carrier: that can be a certain group in society, institutional structure, or a specific individual. That attempts to create a link or bridge between the past, present, and future. It is expressed selectively, with the assistance of remembering and forgetting to highlight certain values, which potentially can facilitate the formation of a specific identity (also identifications) as well as the associated norms (views) as a representation of mnemohistory (Aleida Assmann 2011: 122–123).

To be able to offer a broader illumination of a past fact or event aspect, one option is to use the approach of the twentieth-century sociologist and systems theoretician Niklas Luhmann. In a particular society or sub-group, objective analysis of leading narratives including self-references (to a certain topical, significant fact, event, or personality and identifying with it) requires a researcher to be a *second level observer*. This is a researcher who does not have a system's required *blindness* and disposition to the simple repetition of the leading self-reference message and who intentionally realizes the concept of distance, and will separate the analyzable information from a defined social system (Luhmann 1999: 439–440).

³² The term *mnemo-contextualization* is borrowed from Laura Ardava's doctoral dissertation *Media Discourse on the Social Memory and Commemoration of the Third Latvian National Awakening (1988–2014)*. According to Ardava:

The Awakening discourse in the media is also characterized by layering of current social, political, and economic situation on the perception of the past or *mnemocontextualisation*, the narrative of ‘paradise lost’ and minor emphasis on rational and institutional benefits of the independence period. (Ardava 2015: 4)

The actualization of *Lāčplēsis*' symbolic image in the rock opera also reflected a strong experience of the past, metaphorically applying it to the processes of the present.

³³ Māra Zālīte's and Zigmaris Liepiņš's memories, Latvian Television program *National Treasures...*

³⁴ Please see and listen to Jānis Medīņš's opera *Fire and Night* video record (staging of 1995) online: <https://replay.lsm.lv/lv/ieraksts/ltv/144592/uguns-un-nakts-1996gads> [viewed on 27 09 2020].

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Santrauka

Prisimenant istorinių pokyčių, prasidėjusių Baltijos šalyse 1990-aisiais (laikytiniais simboliniu nepriklausomybės ir demokratijos atgavimo laikotarpiu), į klausimą, kaip muzika (muzikinė kultūra) dalyvavo, formavo ir atspindėjo šį procesą, gali būti atsakoma žvelgiant iš įvairių perspektyvų. Jos apima tiek muzikinio gyvenimo tendencijas ir pokyčius, jiems įtaką dariusius įvykius, tiek senų struktūrų išnykimą ar transformaciją bei atgimimą. Tai įvairių žanrų muzikos kūrimo procesai ir šių procesų recepcija muzikos kritikoje ir kituose šaltiniuose. Esama taip pat muzikos kūrinių, kurie socialinių ir politinių pokyčių procese įgijo simbolinę prasmę, tapo reikšmingais jų sukūrimo laiko liudininkais, o vėliau įgijo ypatingą prasmę visuomenės kultūrinėje atmintyje.

Straipsnio tema – roko opera „Lāčplēsis“ („Lokiažudys“), kuri devintojo dešimtmečio pabaigoje Latvijoje įgavo reikšmingą ne tik meninį, bet ir politinį rezonansą, vis dar saugomą kultūrinėje visuomenės atmintyje. Pažymėtina, kad Lāčplēsis yra latvių nacionalinės kultūros herojus, puikiai žinomas iš įvairių literatūros tekstų ir kitų meno kūrinių. Tačiau klausimas, kodėl devintajame dešimtmetyje, istorinių pokyčių laikais, kaip tik Lāčplēsis įvaizdis buvo realizuotas roko operoje, šiandien laikomas istoriškai reikšmingu ir vis dar nėra iki galo iširtas. Taip gali būti dėl to, kad dauguma objektyvių (konteksto požiūriu platesnių ir bendresnių) nuomonių apie šios roko operos pastarųjų dešimtmečių simbolinę prasmę atsirado visai neseniai. Štai kodėl straipsnyje, nagrinėjant Latvijos istorinius pokyčius iki 1990-ųjų ir po jų, roko opera „Lāčplēsis“ apibūdinama įvairiais vietiniais kultūriniais-istoriniais patirties aspektais.

Latvių poeto Andrejo Pumpuro (1841–1902) epas „Lāčplēsis“ pirmą kartą išleistas Rygoje 1888 metais. XIX a. antrojoje pusėje romantinio nacionalizmo kontekste tautiniai epai ir juose reprezentuota mitologija tapo būdingu daugelio Europos tautų savimonės įtvirtinimu. Lāčplēsis, Pumpuro epo herojus, yra galingas mistinės kilmės žmogus, pasižymintis neįtikėtina jėga. Latviškajame mite, kaip ir analogiškuose kitų kultūrų mituose, Lāčplēšis, mintantį

motinos-lokės pienu, randa mitinis Latvijas karalius Lielvārdis, kuris imasi auginti Lačplēsi kaip savo sūnų. Neaiški pagrindinio „Lačplēsis“ herojaus veikėjo kilmė paaiškina jo fantastišką jėgą ir fizinę galią, slypinčias lokiškose ausyse. Dėl tos jėgos jis gali nugalėti (nužudyti) lokį. Eposo tema atspindi tautosakos (mito bei pasakėčios) motyvus, ji taip pat sietina su istorine Baltijos teritorijų atvertimo į krikščionybę pradžios XIII a. tema.

Pumpuro „Lačplēsis“ vadinamas pirmuoju didžiu Latvijos nacionaliniu epu ir, atsižvelgiant į įvairių epochų kontekstus (pirmasis Latvijos nepriklausomybės laikotarpis 1920–1930 m., sovietų okupacijos laikotarpis ir totalitarinis politinis režimas 1940 m. ir 1941 m. bei nuo 1944 m. iki 1991 m.), iki pat devintojo dešimtmečio Lačplēsis įvaizdis

Latvijos kultūroje ir mene interpretuotas su įvairiais ideologiniais akcentais; tuo pačiu metu jis buvo visada gyvas ir atpažįstamas.

Straipsnyje analizuojami roko operos libreto (garsi latvių poetė Māra Zālīte) ir muzikos (latvių kompozitorius Zigmars Liepiņš) kūrimo motyvai devintojo dešimtmečio pabaigoje. Apžvelgiama roko operos „Lačplēsis“ kūrimo istorija, teksto ir muzikos stilistiniai ypatumai, socialinis-politinis rezonansas ir vieta istorinių pokyčių procese, taip pat recepcija visuomenės kultūrinėje atmintyje per pastaruosius 30 metų. Straipsnyje naudojami tyrimo metodai: praeities įvykių aiškinimas pirminių šaltinių, periodinių leidinių ir liudininkų parodymų pagrindu, faktų ir interpretacijų lyginimas ir apibendrinimas.

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Ingrida ALONDERĖ

New Media in Choral Practice: Virtual Choir as a Prophet of the New Reality

Naujosios medijos ir chorinė praktika:

virtualus choras kaip naujosios realybės pranašas

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Abstract

Changes and developments in performance practices of the twenty-first-century choir require a novel angle of approach. This paper proposes an attempt to analyze one of the newest choir performance platforms, the virtual choir. Media and social networks, which are no longer just channels of communication but rather intermediaries of cultural networks, are among the most important tools for creating a cultural environment that encourages artists willing to create new, different images (or refine the old ones). Moreover, the phenomenon of the virtual choir has proved to offer valuable solutions in the context of the current pandemic situation. The aim of the present paper is to analyze the dimensions of technology's involvement in choir performance and to discuss the pros and cons of such endeavors.

Keywords: virtual choir, choral performance, media, technology, new reality.

Anotacija

XXI a. choro atlikimo praktiką ir pokyčius reikia vertinti nauju požiūriu. Šiame darbe siūloma pabandyti išanalizuoti vieną naujausių chorų atlikimo platformų – *virtualų chorą*. Šiuolaikinės medijos ir socialiniai tinklai, kuriuos galima laikyti ne vien tik komunikacijos kanalais, o veikiau kultūrinių tinklų tarpininkais, yra vieni iš svarbiausių įrankių kuriant kultūrinę aplinką, kuri skatina menininkus, norinčius kurti naujus, kitokius vaizdus (ar patobulinti senus). Be to, *virtualaus choro* fenomenas pasirodė esąs vertingas sprendimas dabartinės pandemijos situacijos kontekste. Šio straipsnio tikslas yra išanalizuoti technologijų įtraukimo į choro atlikimą aspektus ir aptarti jų privalumus bei trūkumus.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: virtualus choras, choro atlikimas, medija, technologija, naujoji realybė.

In the Middle Ages “mystery plays”, which brought together members of the community, used to take place in the churchyard of the Cathedral. Today, the situation is very similar. The difference is in that nowadays post-modern “mystery plays” are performed in electronic churches, that is, in video games, websites, dailies, accounts, forums and encyclopedias. Mysterious threads link representatives of various confessions (sexual orientation, sport, religion, science), which form sociology of future generations. (Maffesoli 2017: 40)

Global communication determines the fact that absolutely different phenomena constantly find themselves side by side and interact, which, in essence, changes our attitude to style, its integrity, polystylistics and the like. (Gaidamavičiūtė 2005: 348)

Introduction

Rapid technological progress in the twenty-first century contributed in part to the emergence of new musical forms and their use in of unusual performances. One of the latest inventions is the Internet, which is the medium of a new

reality offering many, most likely, yet undiscovered ways of performance and different accesses to the possibilities and variants of creation and performance. Today, a virtual space is made use of and included in creative processes ever more often, and occasionally it is encountered in the field of experimental art. Making use of the possibilities it offers, creators do not only undertake new things or discover unexpected ways to create, but also expand their understanding about unexplored resources such as the audience's involvement in the process, creative cooperation, virtual performance and the like. Virtuality opened the way to creating and investigating completely new practices.

In order to attract more public attention and the involvement of musicians, new creative media based on technology are being introduced. However, professional musicians are still often rather reluctant to let the audience into their creative work and performance, and are careful in choosing experimental methods and practices. This way of thinking has been particularly challenged in the last decade, and the internet may be considered the main icebreaker. Media and social networks, which are no longer just “channels of communication” but rather intermediaries

for cultural networks, are among the most important tools for creating a cultural environment that encourages artists willing to create new, different images (or refine old ones) to acquire special identities.

And indeed, creators undertake experimentation, projects that are specifically related to the Internet, and often bring together Internet communities, trying to involve professionals and amateurs or even people who have nothing to do with the field of music in their creative processes. Today, such projects as *The Virtual Choir*, *TransCoding*, *Walk That Sound*, *Stereopublic: Crowdsourcing the Quiet*, *Personal Soundscape Project*, *Blind Tapes*, and *Disquiet Junto* are well-known with certain Internet platforms created to implement them, and the initiators of the projects invite people from the outside to unite and to submit their comments, observations, and recordings of urban and nature sounds as well as recorded tracks of choruses singing, or to share their photographs or poetry. Later, the material collected is included in the process of creation or a musical composition; that material can also initiate change. All these projects are related to the culture of media in a virtual space, where different creative angles create partial changes.

The researcher Pamela Burnard says that:

A great number of ways of musical composition and radically changing forms that define the modern practice of composition require to review radically the concepts of creating music. (Burnard 2012: 114)

Hence, modern experiments of creative work in the Internet space, to my mind, are not fully understood, not carefully considered but are truly simply naturally chosen spaces by academicians as a space for creating and performing their compositions. However, this method adequately reflects what Burnard wanted to say—that the time has come to take a broader perspective on challenges and opportunities.

In the present report I am going to look into the most popular product of the Internet platform in the community of the choral world, namely, the virtual choir, which was first created by the American composer Eric Whitacre. The virtual choir is an assembly of geographically dispersed singers performing choral works led by a conductor. Individual singers post videos of themselves singing their parts, and technicians coordinate the audio into a single performance. The choir, which is both the genre and the performer, changes and acquires ever new features like all the present-day novelties. Technologies, installations and lights, media, unusual spaces, the Internet space—all these are important elements that have consistently become a part of performances of a modern choir and modern musical compositions. The emergence of the virtual choir encourages us to ask the following questions: what features

distinguish it from the performance of a traditional choir; what is its artistic value; what is the motivation behind audience participation; what is the socio-artistic result of the virtual choir; and can this platform become the main form of performance for a choir in the twenty-first century?

The role of the choir in today's world

Choirs have existed in the world for hundreds of years, and they still play an important role in different spheres of cultural, political, religious, or social life. On the one hand, choirs directly contribute to the dissemination of different kinds of music (folk, modern, pop, religious, etc.). On the other hand, choirs as a socio-cultural phenomenon can encourage a social or public activity, unite different groups of people, including minorities, form and develop sub-cultures (school, colleague ensembles, choirs), and create social relationships and personal and group achievements on the local, national, and international scale. A certain structure supporting their development and continuous activity is necessary to carry out this kind of activity. Therefore, choirs are no exception and a certain hierarchy exists there too.

Today, in various spaces, we can hear, in addition to live choir performances or those of flash mobs, the most famous examples of choral music in various media and public spaces (shops, public spaces, squares, supermarkets), such as Carl Orff's *O Fortuna* from the stage cantata *Carmina Burana* or the European Union's anthem *Ode to Joy*, from Symphony No. IX, composed by Ludwig van Beethoven in 1823. However, choral activity is no longer just a regular constant justification for its meaning. Today, this art encompasses many more meanings.

Following the general trends in the scientific circles of the world, it is noticeable that for several decades there has been a lot of discussion about conducting, pedagogy, historical periods, and choral singing techniques as well as about the performance and the performer. Research examining performers' experiments, the social aspects of performing arts, and the search for new directions in performing music in virtual reality are gaining ground. Choir art becomes an object of research¹ in the context of various social phenomena.

The researcher Jacques Launay supplements and extends this idea in his article,² in which he speaks about his joint research with Eiluned Pearce and Robin I. M. Dunbar:

The ice-breaker effect: singing mediates fast social bonding. (Launay 2015)

The researchers try to find out how the choir helps to rapidly create social relationships.

<...> singing in choirs is useful in various ways. Recently we have publicized the investigation which reveals that group singing does not only help establish social relationships but does it extremely fast being an excellent ice-breaker. We also showed that communal singing is effective in seeking to unite large groups of people therefore this activity is ideal when seeking to expand our social networks. (Launay 2015)

It goes without saying that choral activity encourages social relationships and creates networks of people. Individuals meet one another in such cultural organizations as a choir; they rehearse, put on concerts and, through music, establish social links, which often, with the passage of time, move beyond the boundaries of mutual communication.

It is important that researchers increasingly appear throughout the world as well as in Lithuania who are interested in the historical or geographical as well as the social position of performers and their role in society, which influence the formation and choices of music performers. Lina Navickaitė-Martinelli (Navickaitė-Martinelli 2013), researching contemporary socio-cultural aspects in the lives and activities of musicians, highlights important issues that help to deepen the understanding of the current situation of cultural performers in society:

Socio-cultural issues such as school and tradition concepts, styles and identities, repertoire selection, competitions, various media, marketing, image building, verbal communication part – all this forms a significant part of the phenomenon of music performance. (Navickaitė-Martinelli 2013)

To these words of the researcher, I would add one topic that is currently actively considered in books and articles—virtuality and the influence of technology.

It seems that in the twenty-first century, technology plays an especially important role in music.

Technology is omnipresent. Hence, it is hardly surprising that it has had a profound influence on the art of music in the 20th and 21st centuries. It has altered how music is transmitted, preserved, heard, performed, and composed. Less and less often do we hear musical sound that have not at some level been shaped by technology; technology is involved in the reinforcement of concert halls, the recording and broadcast of music, and the design and construction of musical instruments. (Online Pianist 2016)

The Internet, technology, and music are three words that, together, have become synonymous with present-day musical life.

New approaches, technologies, and movements are integrated into Lithuanian choral music concerts quite passively and slowly. The reasons for this slow integration may be the size and staticity of the choir, the over-traditional attitude of conductors and choirmasters towards choral activities, or even their hostility to innovation, the capacity of choirs, and

geography. However, today, emerging genres and forms of dissemination as well as technologies are changing the stage performance, the concept of the audience, and the practice of performing music. It should be noted that the concert performance of many Lithuanian choirs is still often simply static, based on a traditional approach and repertoire³ and maintained within the framework of ordinary interpretive decisions. It is rare to see innovation—especially in a strange, unknown space such as the virtual one. Choirs that experiment include innovation. Although this innovation is rarely discussed, they break with traditions and established stereotypes, create new performance traditions, and presuppose a new approach to the ensemble as a group of performers, and new fields of research will help to establish the modern concept of choir.

Nonetheless, even today, technology is not the main element in the traditional performance of a choir; it is only an additional element (if it is necessary). Usually, we can see a tablet from which singers read the musical notation, a telephone, that the conductor uses to prompt the tone, stage lighting, sound recording equipment, and other technological devices. In live concerts the main thing is the performance of the musical composition learned during the rehearsals, the conveyance of the interpretation, the relationship among the performers themselves, the relationship between the performers and the conductor, and the relationship between the performers and the audience. The moment “here and now” is the most important and passes irreversibly. Nevertheless, little by little, the choral performance also changes: the ideas of a choir, major challenges and the increased use of technologies and experimentation have an impact on the aesthetics of the performance and the established habits of a static choir. Moreover, general issues of social norms, society, and communities are ever more often reflected in the performance. Therefore, the image of the members of a choir, the conductor, and the concert atmosphere changes. All these factors in this new reality contribute markedly to choral art as the creation of a socio-cultural phenomenon of the twenty-first century and are of significance both on the modern stage and in virtual spaces.

What is a virtual choir, and what was the first one in Lithuania?

Eric Whitacre,⁴ who was the first to implement a virtual choir, defines the virtual choir as a universal phenomenon created by the singers of a choir that rallies people from all over the world who love music and are able to look at choral singing in a modern way (Whitacre 2020). *WhatIs* explains that the virtual choir is an assembly of geographically dispersed singers performing choral works. Individual singers post videos of themselves singing their parts (soprano, alto, tenor, and bass) (Rouse 2013). Although there are many



Virtual Choir: Lithuania.
Juozas Gudavičius, *Kur
giria žaliuoja* (2016)



Virtual choir:
Lithuania. *We Wish
You A Merry Christmas*
(2017)



Virtual Choir: Lithuania
[Vol. 2]: Václavas
Augustinas, *Sanctus*
(2018)



Virtual Choir: Lithuania
[Vol. 2]: Vincas Kudrika,
The National Anthem
(2018)

Figure 1. Virtual choirs in Lithuania 2016, 2017, 2018.

descriptions and they all are similar, we can unambiguously state that the essence of this project is people's involvement. Without their contribution, we would see only a video recording of the image of the conductor and would hear only silence. Therefore, the involvement of people in the creation of the concept of a musical composition and its performance, linked with the help of technologies, is the essential principle of the process.

The most famous virtual choirs created by Whitacre include Virtual Choir 1.0—*Lux Aurumque*, Virtual Choir 2.0—*Sleep*, Virtual Choir 3.0—*Water Night*, and Virtual Choir 4.0—*Fly To Paradise*. In the United States as well as in other countries, virtual choirs from all over the world have also been formed. The results illustrate that technologies can unite choir enthusiasts, both professional and amateur. How was it possible to form a choir when not a single rehearsal took place and members of the choir were often people who did not know one another?

The first virtual choir of this type in Lithuania was created in 2016. In 2017 a virtual ensemble was created. In 2018, a second and a third choir were formed (see: Figure 1). In 2020, during the time of the Covid-19 pandemic, at least six other virtual choirs were created.

The first virtual choir in Lithuania was created in 2016 as the applied part of Ingrida Alonderė's master's thesis. The main goals and objectives of the project were to promote and encourage choral singing in the country by non-traditional means; to perform a well-known and significant work by a Lithuanian composer, uniting as many patrons and fans of this art as possible; to include performers from different social backgrounds, of any age; to strive to promote the development and dissemination of choral art at the national level; and to create the first virtual choir in Lithuania.

The participants of the project perform Juozas Guda-vičius's (1863–1938) song *Kur giria žaliuoja* (Where the forest grows green) (lyrics by Ksaveras Sakalauskas—Vana-gėlis [1869–1946]).⁵ The virtual choir's *Kur giria žaliuoja* is an attempt to prove that it is possible to create such a medium in Lithuania. The target audience consisted of choral music lovers, professionals, and conductors from Lithuania. The main operating platforms were the website www.virtualuschoras.lt and a Facebook account. The most important things on the online platforms were to present the idea of a virtual choir, describe the whole work process in detail, including how the organizers prepare the performers and the most important things to pay attention to: clothing, lighting, absence of background noise, and the technical measures required for participation (computer, camcorder, microphone, remote choristers, and a virtual conductor).

Today, the virtual choir is a global phenomenon as well as a Lithuanian one—a living idea that is expanding and varying in different forms. Countries and nations sing a wide variety of songs chosen for the occasion, and instruments or

even an entire orchestra are added. With the help of technology, all inaccuracies are smoothed out, thus presenting the best option for listeners.

Social aspect and artistic value

The environment, social norms, society, communities, global issues, image of choristers and conductor, the concert atmosphere, and technology—all of these factors contribute significantly to the development of choral art as a socio-cultural phenomenon and are significant on the modern stage and in the virtual space. Choirs become participate in advertising and social networks because much attention is paid to attracting the viewer and listener, trying to draw attention by creating something special, untested, or attractive. The choir seems to accommodate so much in its activities that it is difficult to grasp the boundary where culture, social life, or community building begins and ends. It can be said that social identity is realized through cultural expression. Therefore, in the activities of the choir, sociality and culture cannot exist completely separately.

The characteristics of choral activity are accurately reflected in the definition in the Lithuanian dictionary, which says that its members are united by common aspirations and are related to each other “through productivity,” in this case common cultural relations and goals: “Community is a historically formed group of people related to each other; a team of common interests”; or “communal—belonging to the community, related to the community.” So the choir, we might say, is an integral part of something larger and swings like a pendulum between society and culture. Socio-cultural connections and interactions are the essential principles that create a community of singers. In recent years, one of the most interesting topics of research is how choruses perform in the virtual world to achieve a collective goal—fulfillment of artistic vision and the creation of a cultural product.

The table below represents the comparison between a traditional and virtual choir. The main differences between the two types of choirs are highlighted (see: Table 1).

It goes without saying that the major difference between a live concert's “here and now” and a virtual performance is that in a virtual performance, a video clip filmed and recorded by the conductor and singers is placed in a virtual space and created by video and audio artists in advance. With the help of technology, a choral performance becomes a part of the modern world in the Internet space. Having examined the differences presented in the table, it is possible to divide these differences into four categories in which different changes take place:

- 1) major differences;
- 2) the choir, the conductor—the audience;
- 3) the conductor—the choir;
- 4) the audience—the conductor.

Traditional choir performance	Virtual choir
<i>Main differences</i>	
Live performance	Performance recorded in advance
General rehearsals take place	Everybody rehearses separately
No possibility for anyone (a performer, the conductor) taking part in the performance to correct themselves	There is a possibility for everyone (a performer, the conductor) to correct themselves
Music collectively performed “here and now”	Everyone records video and audio tracks individually
Static performance (with the possibility to move, dance, etc.)	Video clips can be presented in various ways, with different aesthetics, using animation and other techniques.
Mutual cooperation (performers, the conductor)	No cooperation altogether, everyone performs the musical composition individually
The performance is given in the way it was rehearsed and planned	In a video clip it is possible to add technological effects to enliven the performance with a particular visual style and audio effects
<i>Choir, conductor – audience</i>	
Contact with the audience	No contact with the audience
The audience influences the performance	The audience has no influence over the performance
<i>Conductor – choir</i>	
General rehearsals—facilitation of work	Individual rehearsals—a more difficult task when the performer does not hear the entire choir
Not necessary to make use of technologies	It is necessary for the performer to learn to film themselves, to record the sound, and to look comfortable in front of the camera
The performance is presented in the way it was rehearsed prior to the concert	A video clip is created using technologies and presented virtually
The conductor sees and controls the choir singing in front of them	The conductor films themselves in advance as they imagine the choir in front of them
<i>Conductor – audience</i>	
The audience sees the back of the conductor	The audience sees the front of the conductor
The audience (almost) always sees the conductor	The conductor may be absent

Table 1. The main differences between traditional and virtual choral performance

The virtual choir differs from a traditional choir in all of these categories, breaks the traditional framework, and changes the general understanding of what choral performance is. Upon seeing the obvious differences, various questions arise: will the virtual choir prevail over the traditional choir at present/in the future? Which choir format is more valuable, and why? What is the artistic and social result of both types of choir? (See: Table 1)

The virtual choir is noted for its individualized performances. Each singer and the conductor must record and film themselves without any other members of the choir being present. However, they must understand (by viewing the conductor’s video recording) how to interpret the piece being performed. Without exception, video-audio

recordings with mistakes appear: mistakes are made in pronunciation of the words, in starting the song too soon or too late, a syllable is left off, the song is rushed, the performers do not watch the conductor throughout, everyone sings at their own pace, with incorrect dynamics, without the correct intonation, and so on. Therefore, in these cases it is possible to “improve” or “to clean up” the quality of the performance with the help of technologies, and to vary the ideas in creating the visuals and sound effects. The artistic result, which is possible to edit endlessly, becomes the final arrangement of the whole material.

The artistic value of the traditional performance is most often measured by the conceptuality of programs, the professionalism of the performance, interpretations, the

number of people in the concert halls, their impressions, and coverage in the mass media, on social networking sites, on television, and on the radio. Advertising and different media become an important component of both types of choirs, which today also become a social “persona.” The socio-cultural aspect strongly influences both forms of choral performance. The virtual choir is often “squeezed” into the social framework: singing nuns, children who never learned to sing, or the self-expression of religious minorities, for instance. This idea allows everyone, through the help of technology, to sing, express themselves, and create music even with limited resources. Therefore, under the influence of the new reality, traditional choirs change too—images and self-representation are reconsidered, the importance of social media and websites become of great importance to the formation of their image, and the need to take part in public practices and to express their own opinion on significant communal issues arises. The modern choir, which tries “to keep pace with the latest fashion,” finds the internal and external guidelines of its existence of immense importance, from the rehearsal space to the warm embrace backstage after the concert, or after the video is broadcast on the TV news.

The artistic activities of the choir are multifaceted. In addition to cultural activities, concerts, travel, and participation in festivals or competitions, members participating in choir activities have the opportunity to engage in various socially important events and social actions as well as build a community. The choir community creates and experiences an inner life, and its members choose to engage in such activities for various purposes. First, members desire to participate in cultural activities. People often join a chorus to become more socially active: they want to strengthen communication skills, to find like-minded people, and to feel like a member of the community. Although the word choir itself presupposes a cultural context first and foremost for many, the members of the ensemble spend most of their time as creators of communities and enjoy the relationships they build there. In any case, individuals in the choir experience a mix of social and cultural life. The choir, being an effective icebreaker, helps to forge social ties. Therefore, choral singing, I think, is a particularly valuable activity in today’s world, even when in a virtual format. The aspect of the internet medium with respect to a virtual choir, to a greater extent than a live performance, changes the face of the choir, which becomes more open. When we watch a video clip, we can see and hear the different stories behind the face and voice of each participant. Some participants struggle to cope with their emotions and technological challenges, others offer an intense emotional experience as a personal contribution, while still others demonstrate a great deal of diligence and perseverance. Huge efforts are seen and felt: to make the recordings sound better, members of the choirs

load their rooms with boxes, hang sheets on the walls, and use desk lamps to illuminate their faces.

Virtuality, as a real action, stimulates a play, encourages the exchange, a change, maintenance of relationships, that is, actually forms a society. And this is done with the help of two essential characteristics, [...] by establishing a communication relationship with others. (Maffesoli 2017: 30)

Michel Maffesoli is right in stating that virtual reality helps us establish contacts and communicate with others. This, however, takes place during a live performance too. Is either version of the choir more “real” and does one or the other make a better connection with the audience? Perhaps it is difficult to measure this factor because each mode reflects a certain type of link that is being built when a person listens to a live choir or watches a video clip created in advance. Every spectator feels the flow and meaning of music very differently. Therefore, it would be an exaggeration to claim that one type of choir has a greater advantage over the other. There is no doubt there are skeptics and biased opinions, especially with respect to technologies and virtual reality; however, globalization makes us reconsider many things anew and find ways to adapt ourselves when creating, performing, and listening to music.

Nevertheless, with regards to the artistic result, again it would be difficult to decide which is more “real” or more artistic. The virtual choir is still a rare phenomenon, and many conductors and members of choirs of the older generation do not recognize this “abnormal” performance as legitimate. This negation makes integration of virtuality into the activities of choirs more difficult. Therefore, the artistic result, when such performances are assessed, can be distorted. For example, when we review the performance of a virtual choir, many of us will see only animation, unsynchronized faces, and a video clip that seemingly does not fit into the world of choral art; therefore, the musical and verbal expression and value of the musical composition are often assessed secondarily. Even music critics and composers who assessed innovative choirs in Lithuania wrote primarily about the moments of video clips. As Raimonda Žiūkaitė wrote:

Image projections, which I would call a step forward from the childish, playful animated motifs of waves and trees of the first project, left an impression on me. (Žiūkaitė 2018)

And this is how Monika Sokaitė criticizes the choirs created during the time of the pandemic:

[...] when moving choral singing into a virtual space, a part of the visual aesthetics determines their success to a great extent. Chorų choras (The Choir of Choirs), which, seemingly, poses a challenge by its very title to other projects, still had to make an effort to do all of its “homework” because the visual quality left much to be desired. (Sokaitė 2020)

Motivation

I would like to touch briefly upon motivation. What encourages the performers to become involved with a virtual choir? What are the motivational differences between participating in a traditional vs. virtual performance? I represented only the major differences in Table 1; however, beyond doubt, many more could be identified.

Motivation is a very important component in performing any choral program, whether becoming engaged in the activities of a virtual or traditional choir. This theme should be analyzed more thoroughly. However, let us try to look at the essential motives a person may have for participating in a virtual choir. When we try to explain the motivating factors, we are primarily faced with different social circumstances, differences in the ages of participants, and the problem of professional training and employment. Moreover, invitations to take part in projects and broadcasting via different social media, on television, or on the radio create different degrees of involvement in the project for the performer, beginning with spontaneous, immediate reactions and strong experiences as well as concerns about the creative process.

Technologies used to facilitate remote singing require more discipline for learning choral parts than singing in a choir live. This factor motivates performers, because sometimes it can be difficult for singers to use new technology while simultaneously engaging with new material. Singers can experience a variety of technical issues, including

inappropriate hardware, incompatible software, and inability to use equipment properly. Such issues can lead to frustration and anxiety, resulting in loss of motivation. However, the choir singers' expectations of being part of an ensemble or being motivated by a personal challenge often help to overcome technical hurdles with the assistance of others and to be actively involved in the projects being created.

In the Table 2 I identify the certain points as motivations for participating in the performance of traditional or virtual choirs (see: Table 2).

In Lithuania, the participants of virtual choirs primarily wanted to identify the idea with this of a product of the twenty-first century that has encouraged experimental creation and the dissemination of choral music. The motivation behind the first virtual choir was to present songs that are regularly performed at choral festivals, at the most important choral events, and which are included in the repertoire of all Lithuanian choirs. The second time, two virtual choir performances were released in 2018: Vincas Kudirka's *National Anthem*, and a completely new work, never performed live by any choir, was created for the specific media of the virtual choir. *Sanctus* was created by composer Vaclovas Augustinas. This time, the developers of the project presented an innovation—the creation of a new work and its performance for the first time in a virtual space, an accomplishment that no one in the world had achieved at that point. The experiment was a great success, and the piece *Sanctus* is often included in the choir's repertoire.

Virtual choir	Traditional choir performance
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Admiration for the idea, concept, and technologies of the virtual choir. 2. Admiration for the composer of the musical composition being performed, its interpretation, and the conductor. 3. Active involvement on account of general ardor, the desire to become a part of the virtual choir. 4. Incidental involvement in the processes of the activity that an individual enjoys, due to the persuasion of their friends. 5. Involvement of the whole choir on account of the intense motivational activity of the leader or manager. 6. Involvement due to facilitated technical conditions when there is no need to deal with technology but only to arrive at the recording studio to perform a musical composition or to be filmed. 7. Contact with the organizer of the project. 8. Professional objectives. 9. The desire to be a part of the virtual community. 10. Inability to take part in the activities of a traditional choir. 11. A challenge for the singer to film themselves, to record an audio track. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Admiration for and interest in choral activities, the desire to give concerts with the team as a whole. 2. Interest in the results of the choral activities. 3. Interest in the work of the conductor of the choir, in interpretations. 4. Feelings of identity and fellowship that develop when belonging to a specific place, organization, or a social group. 5. Socio-cultural relations and interactions, the creation of relationships inside and outside the group. 6. Objectives of personal improvement. 7. General striving for artistic purpose. 8. Active involvement of separate individuals due to their friends' participation in the activities of the choir. 9. Professional objectives. 10. Trips, camps. 11. Family tradition of participating in collective activities of this nature.

Table 2. Motivation for traditional and virtual choir participation

During the pandemic, choir singers, choristers, and amateurs have little need to be motivated. The circumstances themselves have created an excellent environment for initiating and presenting new virtual choirs in Lithuania. The choral community has been forced to stop all rehearsals, concerts, festivals, and trips abroad, so it is important to utilize new, modern, technology-based ideas as soon as possible to enable as many people, both choirs and performers as possible to participate in projects created by professionals and amateurs. Therefore, the virtual choir is an almost ideal platform to provide the opportunities to implement such projects. Those who were interested in the novelty of this idea, as well as enthusiasts of choral music, became most strongly motivated.

Despite the initiative of the organizers of the Lithuanian virtual choirs project, there was a lack of advertising and dissemination of information to attract future participants, so in the beginning everything progressed slowly in the creation of each virtual choir. Over time, as the information spread more widely, more singers were expected to join, but the uptake was still very slow. I think some of the lack of popularity and motivation on the part of singers for this project was due to the problems of its technical implementation: most of the participants were often faced with technical challenges. For others, it may have seemed to difficult an undertaking and still others were afraid to sing alone in front of the camera.

And yet, many choir singers took an interest in the project and took on various technical and singing challenges to become part of the overall experimental choir. A large number of singers participated because they wanted to see their video recording in a general clip of the virtual choir. Another group consisted of the people who supported the creators of the project, their work, and their ideas.

Quarantine virtual choirs in Lithuania

Having mentioned the Lithuanian virtual choirs, let us move on straight to an exceptional period—the quarantine. The image shows several pictures of the latest virtual work of Lithuanian choirs (see: Figure 2).

During the pandemic, the choral community in Lithuania was forced to discontinue all live rehearsals, concerts, festivals, and tours abroad. Therefore, it was important to take up modern, technology-based ideas as soon as possible, which would enable as many people as possible to take part in these activities. In this simple, albeit compulsory manner, the choral world changed in the twinkling of an eye. Shortly after, new virtual choirs started to appear in the Internet space: Vilnius University choir (57 singers) performed the beautiful Lithuanian song *Lietuva brangi* (Lithuania dear), thus supporting stars of the Lithuanian pop scene

and physicians working during the pandemic, Chorų choras *Vakar ir visados* (The Choir of Choirs *Yesterday and Always*), the Vilnius City Municipal Choir Jauna muzika (Young Music) performed *Da Pacem, Domine*, Bjelle and the Virtual Kaišiadorys KC Chamber Choir Do# performed *Baltas paukštis* (The White Bird, words and music by Vytautas Kernagis), Choir Vilnius performed the song *Kokia nuostabi, Lietuva esi* (You are beautiful, Lithuania, by Kipras Mašanauskas, arranged by Vitalijus Neugasimovas), and the Kaunas School of Sacred Music Choir Improvises performed *When you believe* (see: Figure 2).

Each virtual choir created was unique in its purpose, for example to support medical staff, to sing for all the victims of Covid-19, or to prove to the public that even in such conditions a choir can sing. It is important to note that all the choirs that appeared in the virtual space were formed very quickly. This means that technical matters did not pose any particular difficulties for the choir community. The other side of the coin is that by engaging in virtual activities, many singers, managers, and conductors had the opportunity to work remotely. It also demonstrates how such creative groups are able to adapt and implement their ideas without gathering for rehearsals.

I would like to take a closer look at two virtual quarantine choral performances: Gintautas Venislovas's *Vakar ir visados* and Vaclovas Augustinas's *Da Pacem, Domine*. Both choirs were formed in about a month and a half. 152 singers sang *Vakar ir visados* and *Da Pacem, Domine* 24.

The musical composition *Vakar ir visados* for a mixed choir by the composer and choral conductor Gintautas Venislovas was performed by as many as 152 singers from 16 traditional choirs; that was why it was called the Chorų choras (The Choir of Choirs). The initiator of this virtual choir, Linas Balandis, notes that the text was highly relevant to the pandemic situation and hoped that soon it would be possible to get back to the state of “yesterday” and to return to life as it was before the quarantine. The above-mentioned Monika Sokaitė wrote about the visual side of this choir, which was not performed too satisfactorily. The interesting thing is that the choir was organized, created, and broadcasted extremely quickly, which testifies to the fact that the activity of a choir of this type requires only the creation of an Internet platform to exist, even without having met in the rehearsals.

The second virtual choral performance I want to mention is the musical composition *Da Pacem, Domine* created by the composer and choral conductor Vaclovas Augustinas specifically for a virtual platform during the pandemic. It was performed by the choir Jauna muzika (24 singers). Here we are faced with another important aspect—the speed at which choirs and choral conductors as well as composers able to join the virtual reality with their creative work can adapt themselves to it within a short time. The composer devoted the opus to all the victims of the pandemic.



Vilnius University choirs. Juozas Naujalis, *Lietuva brangi*



Choir Vilnius. Kipras Mašanauskas, *Kokia nuostabi, Lietuva esi*



Choir of Choirs. Gintautas Venislovas, *Vakar ir visados*



Kaišiadorys KC Chamber Choir Do#. Vytautas Kernagis, *Baltas paukštis*



Vilnius City Municipal Choir Jauna muzika. Vaclovas Augustinas, *Da Pacem, Domine*

Figure 2. Quarantine virtual choirs in Lithuania

After looking through the examples, it becomes clear that choirs differed considerably in their ideas, visual presentation, the number of singers, the singing, and technical quality of creating a video clip. The choir *Vakar ir visados*, though with significant singing and technical troubles, reflected a happy, cheerful mood and showcased well-known, historically outstanding Lithuanian personalities. An overburdened visual presentation was combined with good humor and even afforded the performers the opportunity not to dwell on the mistakes as images changed at a fast speed. In its turn, the choir *Da Pacem, Domine* reflected different

moods. A quiet prayer-like, professional performance was masterfully created by an image artist and presented as a good example of the virtual choir (quality, the contents, interpretation, visual presentation, mood, technologies).

Generally speaking, the pandemic period proved that choral communities are highly creative and readily adaptable. After the conditions had changed, all measures necessary were taken “in a speedy way” to ensure the existence of choirs so that they could sing, rehearse, and present their ideas, songs, and even online rehearsals. Owing to the Internet, all this became accessible with the easy click of a button. These different

examples of virtual choirs belie the belief that choirs cannot carry out their activities in a virtual space. Hence, it can be said that it has been proved that virtual choir performances have an opportunity to become of equal worth as traditional performances. Finally, in this case it is more important to stop denying what is obvious and to accept this platform as a new opportunity to develop, to learn, to experiment, to improve skills, to adapt to the twenty-first century, to combine tradition and technologies, to establish contacts all over the world, and to share cultural knowledge creatively.

Conclusions

After reviewing and analyzing the emergence and development of the virtual choir globally and in Lithuania, it becomes clear that this platform is being increasingly chosen among choirs. Choral groups want to keep pace with the twenty-first century, try new things, experiment, and apply various interdisciplinary techniques to the choir. The growth and modernization of the choir seems to be combined not only with performance traditions and innovations, but also with socio-cultural aspects. Today, the choir has become a public persona looking to integrate into community life and to express its views on various issues.

The purpose of this article was to try to predict whether a virtual choir could become a prophet of the new reality. When the hard times came (due to Covid-19), choir communities mobilized and tested their options, moving all their activities into virtual reality. Choirs' adaptability is proof that they can exist outside of traditional performance and practice venues.

Here are some more generalized conclusions that reveal the changing face and activities of the choir, given the circumstances of today:

- Thus far, the traditional performance has remained the most important form of choral expression, so perhaps it would be inaccurate to say it will become a rarity.
- The socio-artistic result of one choir is not necessarily better than that of another. It all depends on the chosen message, the idea, the tools, and the methods of conveying the message.
- The quarantine period proved that choral communities are highly creative and readily adaptable.
- It has been proved that the virtual space can become a platform for the self-expression of fully-fledged choral communities.
- Choral communities and composers are able to adapt themselves quickly to unexpected difficulties.
- Choirs often become social players in conveying important messages to the public.
- Choral video clips created with the help of technologies can both improve or worsen the aesthetics of a musical

work, can either help, or on the contrary, prevent the viewer from engaging deeply with the message being conveyed.

- A modern choir finds the internal and external guidelines of its existence very important, from the rehearsal space to the warm embrace backstage after the concert or the video is broadcast on the TV news.

Endnotes

- ¹ Recent research on the choir has different starting points. The first is theory and methodology developed in the cultural and social sciences. The second covers historical musicology. *Choir in Focus 2010* writes that current choral research combines traditional musicological disciplines based on the humanities, practice-based artistic research in the field of music, and social science-oriented research in music education. The authors of the study argue that the main scientific challenge now is the development of common approaches, combining theories, research traditions, and methodologies with different traditions at the forefront (Geisler, Johansson 2010: 13).

- ² See: *The Ice-Breaker Effect: Singing Mediates Fast Social Bonding* by Pearce, Launay and Dunbar (2015). Extract from the summary:

It was suggested that singing helps develop and facilitates establishing social relations. However, it is not clear whether these relations result from the features characteristic of singing or any social involvement can have a similar effect. In this semi-naturalistic research, in the course of seven months, we observed newly formed singing and non-singing (craft or creative writing) adult classes.

During the investigation it was proved that any social activity brings together certain groups of people acting jointly; however, the link between the individuals of a singing group was established much more quickly than individuals participating in the creative process. Access to the Internet: <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/full/10.1098/rsos.150221> [last checked 2020 09 29].

- ³ Repertoire is an integral part of the life of any global choir. In most ensembles it is formed in the course of concert activities. In Lithuania, a large part of the repertoire consists of choral opuses being performed globally, but Lithuanian identity necessarily "lives" in it as well. The so-called classical composers are sung most often, most of whom have created easy-to-remember, melodic songs and hymns, followed traditions, used classical harmony, aligned with the works of the Romantics, and rarely incorporated innovations in musical language. At the end of the twentieth century, however, bolder contemporary creations, often influenced by new global trends, began to flow into the treasure-chest of choral classics.

- ⁴ Eric Whitacre's choral music is some of the most popular and is performed around the world. He is a composer, conductor, innovator, orator, and a successful distributor of his records. Although his work is very diverse and multifaceted, Whitacre has mostly written for the choir. Whitacre has currently formed six virtual choirs. Each time, the number of singers from different parts of the world grew. The choir has changed to include new means of musical expression, eclectically mixing sounds and images in an even more expanded art form (more see: Alonderė 2016).

- ⁵ Juozas Gudavičius's *Kur giria žaliuoja* (Where the forest grows green) was chosen because of its importance for the choral life of Lithuania: it is regularly performed at song festivals, the most important choir events, and in the repertoire of almost all Lithuanian choirs. The reasons for the popularity of the song are the relevance and artistic attractiveness of its content: Ksaveras Sakalauskas—Vanagėlis composed words about the beauty of the homeland, the purity of folk morality and national feelings, and the invitation to unite. The most important feature of the chosen work is a Lithuanian song that has become a tradition and is well known to every choirmaster. Gudavičius's *Kur giria žaliuoja* was performed by 100 virtual choristers.

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Santrauka

Šiuolaikiniai kūrybos eksperimentai interneto erdvėje yra viena mokslininkų dar iki galo nesuprastų, neapmąstytų ir paprastai natūraliai nepasirenkamų erdvių kurti ir atlikti kūrinius. Ir vis dėlto naudodamiesi šiomis galimybėmis kūrėjai ne tik imasi naujų dalykų, atranda ir išranda netikėtus būdus kurti, bet ir plečia suvokimą apie neištirtus klodus, tokius kaip auditorijos įsitraukimas į procesą, kūrybiškas bendradarbiavimas, virtualus atlikimas ir pan. Ši technologija atvėrė kelią kurtis visiškai naujoms praktikoms ir jas tirti.

Choras – ir žanras, ir atlikėjas – kinta ir įgauna vis kitus bruožus. Technologijos, instaliacijos ir šviesos, medijos, neįprastos erdvės, interneto erdvė – visa tai yra svarbūs elementai, nuosekliai tapę šiuolaikinio choro pasirodymų ir kompozicijų atlikimo dalimi. Šiandien vienas populiariausių chorų pasaulio bendruomenėje internetinės platformos produktas – virtualus choras, kurį pirmasis sukūrė JAV kompozitoriui Ericas Whitacre'is. Ši naujovė leido pažvelgti į chorą, atlikimą, dirigentą, auditoriją dar mažai tyrinėtai aspektais.

Naujoji realybė skatina iš naujo apmąstyti vizijas, savęs pristatymą, atsiranda socialinių medijų ir interneto puslapių svarba įvaizdžio kūrimui, formuojasi poreikis dalyvauti visuomeninėse praktikose, reikšti savo nuomonę svarbiais bendruomeninei klausimais. Virtualaus choro atsiradimas verčia kelti klausimus: kokie bruožai jį skiria nuo tradicinio chorinio pasirodymo; kokia jo meninė vertė; ar ši platforma gali tapti pagrindine choro pasirodymo forma XXI amžiuje?

Charris EFTHIMIOU

Hans Werner Henze's "False" Echoes from his Oratorio *The Raft of the Medusa* (1968): A Music-Analytical Approach*

„Deformuoto aido“ komponavimo strategija Wernerio Henze'ės oratorijoje „Medūzos plaustas“ (1968): muzikinė-analitinė prieiga

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Abstract

The scandal of the failed premiere of Hans Werner Henze's oratorio *The Raft of Medusa* on December 9, 1968, was one of the most controversial moments of the German avant-garde during the late sixties. While a set of musicological papers deal with the historical, sociological, cultural, and aesthetic aspects of this oratorio, there is practically no treatise approaching this oratorio strictly from a music-analytical angle. This paper aims to analyze sections of this stage work in terms of the intervals the protagonists sing. The so-called "false" echoes of the fourth scene between Jean-Charles and La Mort serve as a starting point for investigating the composer's specific intervallic strategies. Henze was able to express unity (long-term tendencies regarding to the choice of the intervals) through diversity (each protagonist has their own intervals). This successful balance between counteracting processes can be found not only in the fourth scene of *The Raft of the Medusa* and in the entire oratorio, but also in his previous stage works and even in sections of his early vocal chamber music. Such processes can be found also in Stravinsky's opera-oratorio *Oedipus Rex*.

Keywords: Henze, *The Raft of the Medusa*, Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex*, structures of intervals, instrumentation.

Anotacija

Hanso Wernerio Henze'ės oratorijos „Medūzos plaustas“ nesėkmingos premjeros skandalas 1968 m. gruodžio 9 d. tapo vienu iš kontroversiškiausių momentų vokiškajame XX a. septintojo dešimtmecio avangarde. Nors muzikologų straipsniuose analizuojami istoriniai, sociologiniai, kultūriniai ir estetiniai šios oratorijos aspektai, nėra nė vienos studijos, kurioje į ją būtų pažvelgta muzikiniu-analitinio požiūriu. Straipsniu siekiama išanalizuoti šio sceninio kūrinio dalis pagal intervalus atlikėjų partijose. Vadinamasis „deformuotas aidas“ ketvirtosios scenos pokalbiuose tarp Jeano-Charleso ir La Mort (pranc. *mirtis*) tampa atspirties tašku tiriant kompozitoriaus intervalų naudojimo strategijas. Henze'ė sugebėjo išreikšti vienovę (ilgalaiikes intervalų pasirinkimo tendencijas) per įvairovę (kiekvienas veikėjas turi savuosius intervalus). Šią sėkmingą priešingų procesų – vienovės ir įvairovės – pusiausvyrą galima rasti ne tik „Medūzos plausto“ ketvirtojoje scenoje bei visoje oratorijoje, bet ir ankstesniuose jo sceniniuose kūrinuose ir net ankstyvojoje vokaliniėje kameriniėje muzikoje. Tokie procesai aptinkami ir Stravinskio operoje-oratorijoje „Edipas karalius“.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Hansas Werneris Henze'ė, „Medūzos plaustas“, Stravinskis, „Edipas karalius“, intervalų struktūros, instrumentuotė.

Introduction

Hans Werner Henze, one of the most significant German composers of the second half of twentieth century, decided on December 10, 1968, to get in his car and drive from Hamburg to his new home, the Italian city of Marino, without stopping. Disgusted by the political and cultural environment of his home country, his intention was not to return to Germany for a long period of time (Henze 1996: 303–305). The reasons lay chiefly in the events that took place the previous night, during the unsuccessful premiere of his oratorio *The Raft of the Medusa*.¹ After that night,

Henze was threatened by the German press, especially by its conservative faction, with an artistic embargo from German music institutions.² This scandal unfortunately overshadowed the undisputed quality of this extraordinary musical composition for decades.

The unsuccessful premiere and the polemic reaction of almost the entire German press neither prevented him from expressing his thoughts into musical pieces afterwards nor diminished his presence in global cultural life. On the contrary: his musical language developed massively. New means of expression emerged and many innovative playing techniques started to appear in his new compositions. These

* This article is an expanded version of my presentation given at the Baltic Musicological Conference in Vilnius (*Music & Change Before & After 1990*) on September 10, 2020, organized by the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre.

musical pieces were performed in Western Europe and the USA, and in countries with a communistic political background, such as Cuba. The year 1968, with all its cultural, political, and social changes, along with the incident of the premiere of his oratorio *The Raft of the Medusa*, marked a crucial turning point in the life and work of this composer.

The circumstances around this scandalous premiere are well documented by the press³ and several music researchers.⁴ Additionally, the composer himself⁵ and the librettist of the oratorio⁶ presented their personal view of the events of this shocking evening.

The vast majority of musicological articles written about this oratorio give a detailed overview of these scandalous circumstances and some of those (among others: Kirchwert 2000 and Petersen 2006) accurately describe the multiple layers of *The Raft of the Medusa*. Those are:

- the tragic events of the French frigate *Medusa* near the coast of Senegal between July 2 and July 17, 1816⁷
- the monumental painting *Le Radeau de la Méduse* by the French painter Jean-Louis André Théodore Géricault, finished only three years after the incident in Senegal⁸
- the turba chorus *Wir Haben einen Gesetz, und nach dem Gesetz soll er sterben* from J. S. Bach's *St John Passion*⁹
- Dante Alighieri's *Divina Comedia*¹⁰
- The role of the speaker in Igor Stravinsky's opera-oratorio *Oedipus Rex* (1927)¹¹
- The character of Orphée in Jean Cocteau's film *Orphée* (1950)¹²
- the assassination of the Argentinean guerilla leader Che Guevara on October 9, 1967¹³
- Ho-Chi-Minh and the Vietnam War¹⁴

Unfortunately, there exists neither a monograph on Henze's *The Raft of the Medusa* nor other musicological treatises tasked with analyzing the composition motivically, harmonically, and instrumentally or discussing how this composition marked a turning point in his musical language.¹⁵

The aim of this paper is to look deeply into motivic and instrumental processes that take place in this musical work. A further task will be to track their origin both in Henze's previous compositions as well as in musical compositions by Igor Stravinsky.¹⁶ The following analytical aspects will be presented: correlations between specific intervals and rhythms and the various characters of the oratorio as well as the doubling of the vocal part with several instruments. Concrete methodological tools will be used in order to obtain accurate research results. The results will be compared to Henze's opera in three acts *Elegy for Young Lovers* (1961) and *Kammermusik 1958* (1958) for tenor, guitar, and eight solo instruments. Furthermore, these three musical works by Henze will be compared to Igor Stravinsky's opera-oratorio in two acts *Oedipus Rex* (1927).

Hans Werner Henze: *The Raft of the Medusa*

No. 4 *Journal of the Passage*

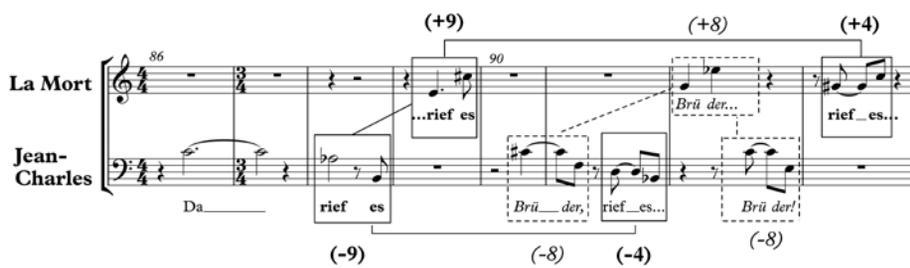
Peter Petersen, the most prolific researcher of Henze's music, gave twelve lectures at the University of Hamburg on the music of the composer in the spring term of 1986. His fifth lecture deals explicitly with this oratorio (Petersen 1988: 101–109). In it, he mentions that the echoes between Orfeo and Echo in Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607) show a resemblance to the echoes between La Mort and Jean-Charles during the fourth part of Henze's oratorio. This indication serves as a starting point in investigating how Henze structured those "false" echoes.

During bars 86–130, La Mort appears invisible to Jean-Charles. The dialog between the characters takes place before the shipwreck. As an immortal person, La Mort lives outside our perception of space-time. Therefore, she already knows that Jean-Charles will arrive to her kingdom when he dies. Jean-Charles, on the other hand, does not anticipate his fate. This leads to a situation where "false" echoes occur between the two characters (Petersen 1996: 106, Petersen 2006: 64).

Throughout the entire episode of the fourth part of the oratorio (bars 86–130), Henze uses various compositional strategies that aim to illustrate the gap that divides the two characters. Jean-Charles and La Mort sing at different intervals and rhythms as well as different notes of the twelve-tone row, and they have their own characteristic instruments, which double the vocal part in various ways. For the purposes of this paper, we will take a closer look at this intervallic aspect.

Regarding the usage of intervals, there are three overlapping processes: the direction of the singing intervals, their frequency of occurrence and their development during the scene. We will introduce graphical and statistical methods in order to compress the large amount of data and, subsequently, to reveal the composer's long-term strategies.

Example 1 shows the first 8 bars of the first dialog between Jean-Charles and La Mort. The intervals are presented in numbers. The smallest unit is the semitone. Ascending intervals get a plus sign and descending tones get a minus sign. Jean Charles sings in bar 88 *riefes* and La Mort echoes these two words. The interval (echo) of La Mort has the opposite direction (ascending instead of descending) and the same intervallic distance (+ 9 semitones instead of - 9). It is worth mentioning that Henze notates the two intervals in an enharmonic way, first as a diminished seventh and then as a major sixth. The second (*Brüder*: bars 90–91 correlate with bar 92) and third echo (*riefes*: bar 91 correlates with 93) overlap. These two echoes have the same intervallic distance, (- 8 with + 8 and - 4 with + 4) and they are also enharmonically represented. In bar 92, Jean-Charles echoes La Mort for the first time, but this time the echo



Example 1. Hans Werner Henze, *The Raft of the Medusa*, No. 4, bars 86–93 (“false” echoes), transformation of the singing intervals in numbers (smallest unit is a semitone)

from La Mort is not notated enharmonically (minor sixth). In other words, Jean-Charles sings only descending and La Mort only ascending intervals. Example 1 demonstrates the composer’s ability to create further musical layers, instead of only setting the text to music.

In order to investigate if such processes continue to take place, we will examine the entire scene (bars 86–130). To obtain tangible research results, it would be of fundamental importance to consider all intervals of the scene from an overarching perspective. This results in a huge amount of data, which in turn makes the overview of such processes extremely difficult. It is, therefore, necessary to develop a system that illustrates the course of such intervallic structures. The abstraction of the intervallic dispositions in graphical form has the advantage that they clearly display such structures. Such graphic tables can provide information about long-term trends that would otherwise remain hidden due to the size of the composition.¹⁷

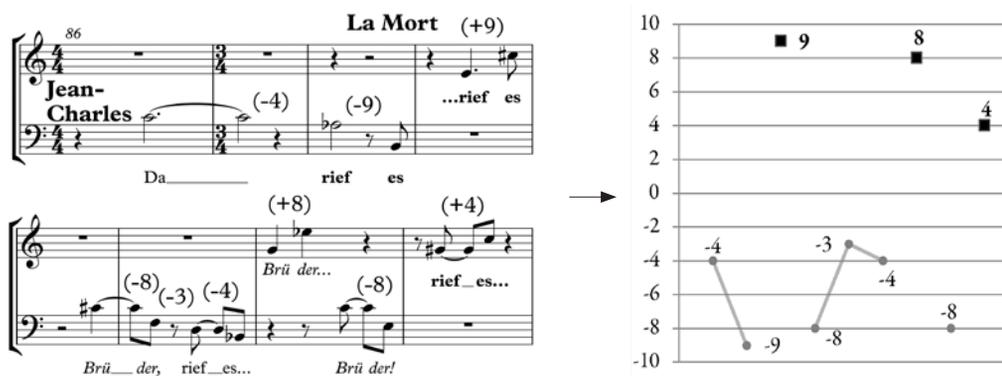
Example 2 shows a possible way of transforming intervallic distances to a graph. The left side of Example 2 transforms all intervals of bars 86–93 (not only those of Ex. 1) into numbers. On the right side of the example, the intervals will be displayed in a graphic. The musical phrases are illustrated as a line. During bars 86 to 92, Jean-Charles sings three musical phrases (bar 86–88, 90–91, and 92).

The first phase consists of two intervals; at the right side of Example 2 (lower left) a line with two points is then inserted. The second phrase consists of three intervals. In a similar manner, the line of the graphic representation will also have three points (lower middle), and so on. The grey lines represent Jean-Charles and the black ones La Mort.

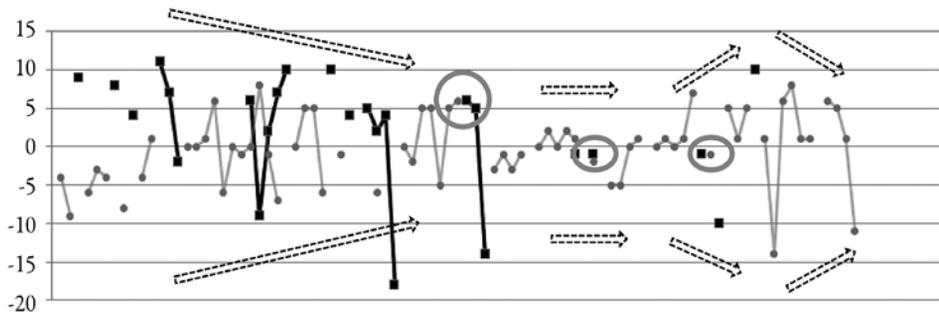
After taking a closer look at the right side of Example 2, we can clearly see Henze’s intention to separate the two characters in intervallic terms. All grey points and lines (Jean-Charles) are located in the lower part of the graph and have a big distance from the black points (La Mort).

Example 3 shows the graphical representation of the intervallic distances, this time for the entire scene. The time goes from left to right. By closer examination of Example 3, we get the following results:

- The separation of both characters takes place during the entire scene. There is usually a distance between the gray and black points.
- Unifications exist where only points of both colors are in extreme proximity. These moments are notated on the graph with gray circles and are very rare (bars 108–109, 116, 119–120).
- An entire scene composed with both protagonists singing constantly different intervals in random directions would have given the audience a chaotic impression.



Example 2. Hans Werner Henze, *The Raft of the Medusa*, No. 4, bars 86–93 (“false” echoes), transformation of the singing intervals in numbers (left side) and their graphic (right side) representation (gray: Jean-Charles/black: La Mort)



Example 3. Hans Werner Henze, *The Raft of the Medusa*, No. 4, bars 86–130 ("false" echoes), graphic representation of the intervals in numbers

This is not the case here. Example 3 shows a well-hidden compositional strategy. Even though Jean-Charles and La Mort almost never meet in terms of intervallic distance, they both follow a common secret path. In the first third of the scene they begin singing big intervals (ascending arrows down left and descending arrows up left), then they meet for a moment (first gray circle); subsequently, they settle down for a moment (where they meet again: second circle) until new tension occurs towards the last third of the scene. This shows how Henze was able to regulate a significant number of intervals in order to create waves of tension.

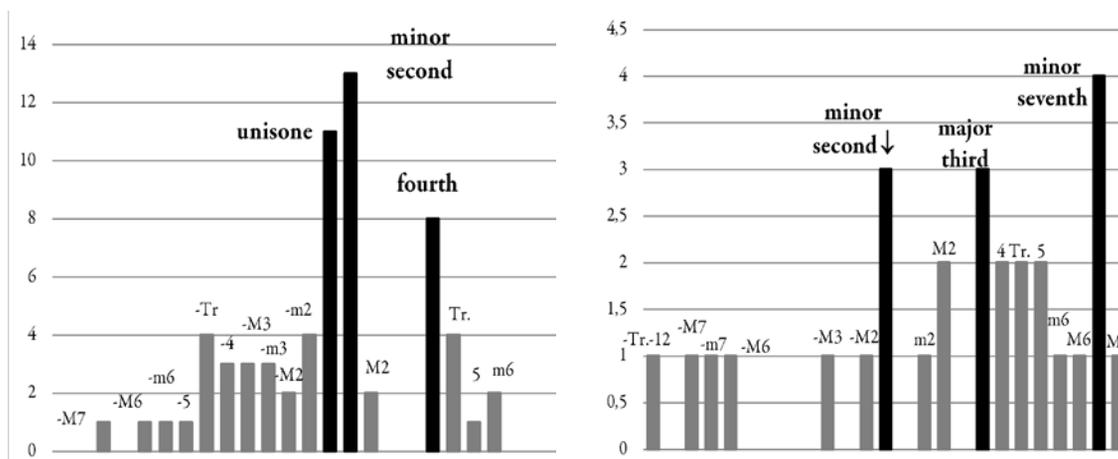
The aim of the previous example is to represent the singing intervals in the direction of the time. The research results show a clear separation of both characters in terms of the intervallic distances. Example 4 shows how often Jean-Charles and La Mort sing specific intervals. A statistical representation of the singing intervals of Jean-Charles can be seen on left side of the following example. On the right side, we see the frequency of occurrence of La Mort's singing intervals. The higher the vertical bar of a specific interval, the more often this interval was sung during the

scene. The intervals with lower frequency are gray, while those with the highest frequency are black.

After a close look at Example 4, a further compositional element of these "false" echoes is revealed. Henze mostly avoids using identical intervals when the two protagonists sing together (or even one after the other). Additionally, each character has their own intervals, in terms of their frequency of appearances. Jean-Charles sings mostly unisons, minor seconds, and fourths (all ascending), while La Mort sings descending minor seconds as well as ascending major thirds and ascending major sevenths. Neither character has common frequent intervals.

Considering Example 3 and Example 4 from an overarching perspective, we can now understand Henze's compositional intentions. There are two contradicting tendencies taking place simultaneously:

1. Both characters create common waves of higher and lower tension (arrows of Ex. 3).
2. Nevertheless, both experience different perceptions of space-time. According to Henze's beliefs and aesthetics, when text is set to music (Henze 1984: 255), music should always create new layers of expression additional



Example 4. Hans Werner Henze, *The Raft of the Medusa*, No. 4, bars 86–93 ("false" echoes) statistical representation of the intervals in numbers (left: Jean-Charles, right: La Mort)¹⁸

to those found in the text itself. Henze uses several strategies to accomplish that:

- La Mort sings statistically far more ascending and Jean-Charles far more descending intervals (Ex. 4).
- They meet in terms of intervallic distances very seldom (Ex. 3, gray circles).
- They do not share common intervals with a high degree of frequency (Ex. 4).

Such “false” echoes occur several times during the oratorio, not only between Jean-Charles and La Mort,¹⁹ but also between Jean-Charles and the choir.²⁰ They can also be located between members of the choir²¹ as well as between a protagonist and a specific instrument (Schnabel 1969: 34 and Petersen 2006: 62).²²

No. 10 *Instructions for the Second Day*

A further goal of this paper is to take a closer look at one of the most emotional moments of the entire oratorio (No. 10, Jean-Charles, bars 11–93), approaching it with the same analytical tools and comparing it with the “false” echoes of the fourth part of the oratorio, to determine similarities or differences.

The tenth part takes place at the beginning of the second day of the survivors’ traveling alone on the raft. Initially, the captain’s plan is to pull the raft with the rescue boats. During that same day, however, they abandon this plan and leave all survivors alone and hopeless. One day later (scene No. 10), it is clear to all survivors that without the support of rescue boats they will soon face agony and death. In this scene, Jean-Charles has a dual role; he informs the listeners about the precarious situation of the shipwrecks (acting as the speaker), while from time to time, he addresses his comrades using strong emotional words.

Example 5 shows the graphical representation of the complete intervals of the solo part of Jean-Charles (choir parts excluded). The following results are clear:

- Like in the fourth scene, Henze composes sections with intervals in different directions, followed by others with unisons and small intervals. Through these means, the

scene obtains unity, while it simultaneously possesses a diversified and well-structured sound.

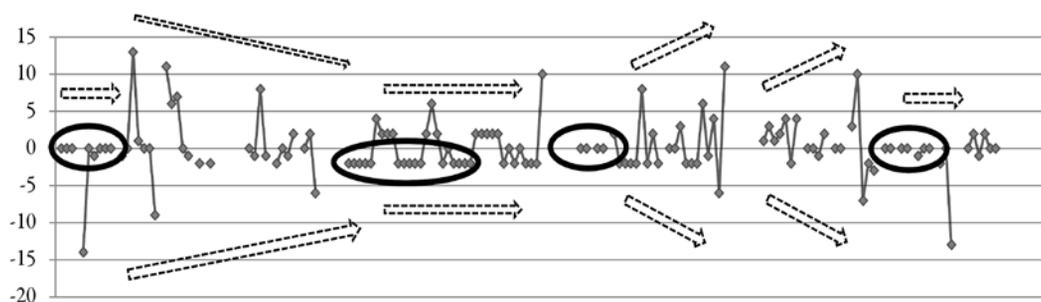
- Contrary to the “false” echoes of the fourth scene, we have a clear correlation between the choice of the intervals and the interpretation of the text. We assume that a vivid change of intervals in both directions is an indication for a higher level of density. Henze proves the opposite; the most intense moments of the scene are those where Jean-Charles turns to his companions and becomes extremely emotional. In almost all those moments²³ (marked in Ex. 3 with black circles), Jean-Charles sings unisons or minor seconds rather than large intervals.
- A common feature of Example 3 and Example 5 can be found in the first third of both scenes. Both begin in a vivid manner (descending and ascending arrows at the left side of both examples) and soon after, they settle down to smaller intervals.

In addition to the two scenes presented in this article, it is worth mentioning that such procedures take place in the entire oratorio, both between Jean-Charles and La Mort (No. 17: bars 28 – 49) as well as between him and the choir of the living (No. 7: bar: 1–17, Nr. 9: bar 25–113 and No. 16²⁴), between him and the choir of the dying (No. 15: bar 58–162), and between La Mort and the choir of the living (No. 8: bar 48–69).

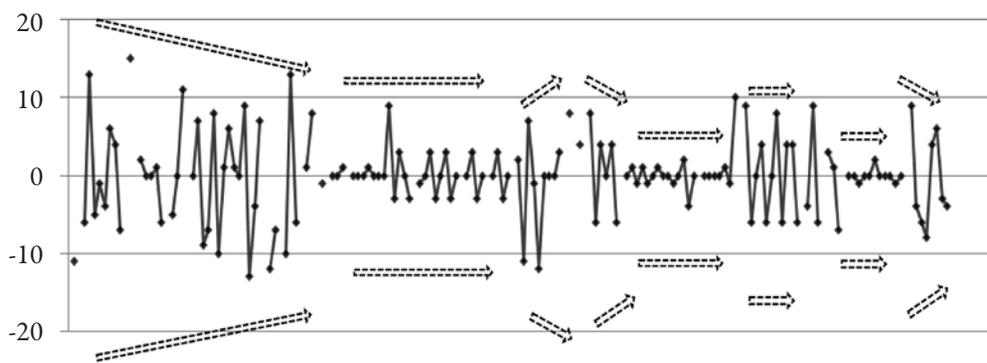
Hans Werner Henze: *Elegy for Young Lovers*

Scenes: No. 1 (Hilda) and No. 2 (Carolina and Dr. Reischmann)

After examining the two scenes of Henze’s *The Raft of the Medusa*, it is common ground that the personification of intervals (diversity factor), along with phases of alternating tension (uniformity factor), is a feature of this musical work. The location of those findings in other vocal compositions by Henze would have given those findings accuracy and significance. Henze’s immense compositional



Example 5. Hans Werner Henze, *The Raft of the Medusa*, No. 10, Jean-Charles, bars 11–93 (choir parts excluded), graphic representation of the intervals in numbers



Example 6. Hans Werner Henze, *Elegy for Young Lovers*, No. 1 (complete), Hilda, graphic representation of the intervals in numbers

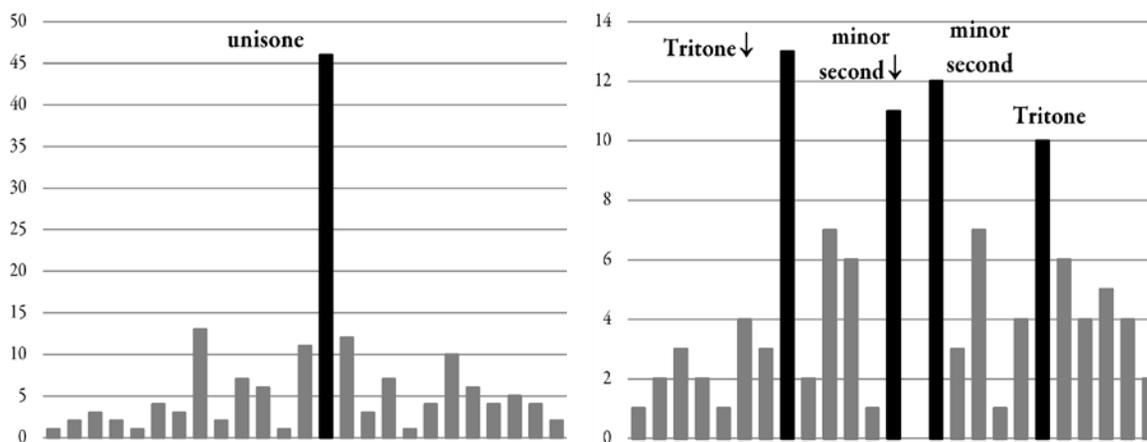
performance in the field of stage works until 1968 opens the field of comparison vastly. Therefore, several common musical characteristics must be found between *The Raft of the Medusa* and a further stage composition by Henze so that a music-analytical comparison will have meaning.

The opera *Elegy for Young Lovers*, composed in 1961, has striking similarities to the oratorio, with respect to the analytical features relevant to this article. In 1976 Henze published (Henze 1984: 82–86) a comprehensive introduction to the psychological background of the relationship between the protagonists of the opera,²⁵ giving indications (Henze 1984: 87), some of which are relevant to this article—among others, of the use of concrete intervals for different protagonists.²⁶ Henze speaks concretely about the opening scene of the opera and the “modern”²⁷ intervals that he uses when Hilda recalls the tragic loss of her groom forty years ago.²⁸

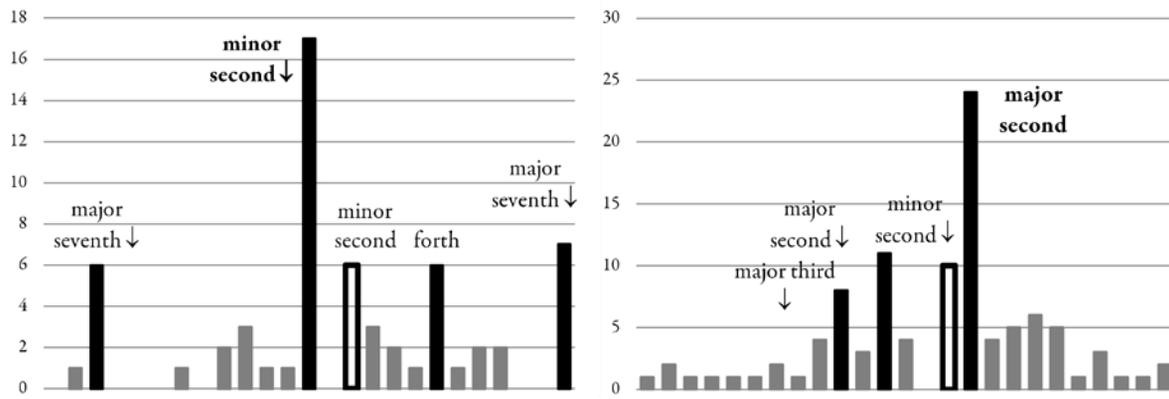
Example 6 graphically lists the complete singing intervals of the entire first scene of *Elegy for Young Lovers*. Considering Example 6 from an overarching perspective and comparing it with Example 3 (*Medusa*, No. 4) and Example 5 (*Medusa*, No. 10) the following surprising results can be deduced:

- In all three examples, the singer (or both singers in this case, Ex. 3) performs various intervals in different directions in the first third of the scene.
- During the first 10–15 intervals, there is almost no intervallic repetition.
- Later, the number of the intervals decreases significantly. Several tone repetitions occur.
- The entire scene consists of intense parts followed by less intense ones.
- In total, the descending and ascending intervals are equally distributed.
- The intervals in unison dominate (apart from Ex. 3)

After taking a closer look at the previous example (Ex. 6), it becomes clear that during the first scene small unisons occur extremely frequently. This can also be seen on the left side of Example 7 (statistical representation of the intervals of Example 6). The right side of Example 7 is identical to the left. The only difference is in the middle of the right diagram: the interval of unison is omitted. In this way, the number of appearances of the rest of the intervals can be seen more clearly. The right side of Example 7 reveals the extraordinary compositional strategy of the composer. There is an imaginary



Example 7. Hans Werner Henze, *Elegy for Young Lovers*, No. 1 (complete), Hilda, statistical representation of the intervals in numbers (left: with unisons, right: without unisons)



Example 8. Hans Werner Henze, *Elegy for Young Lovers*, No. 2, first part, bars 65–93 (left Carolina,³⁰ right: Dr. Reischmann³¹), statistical representation of the intervals in numbers (unisons excluded)

axis between the descending and ascending intervals; this is the interval of unison. The descending intervals with the highest frequency of occurrence are identical to those in the other direction (tritone downwards correlates with tritone upwards and minor second downwards correlates with minor second upwards). Those are the “modern” intervals mentioned by Henze. Example 7 shows that there is a further consideration in terms of the so-called “modern” intervals. Not only do these intervals occur more often than others do, but there is also a well-hidden hierarchy between them.

After Hilda’s vision (first scene), Dr. Reischmann, the Gregor Mittenhoffer’s doctor, and his secretary, Carolina, take over (second scene). In the first part of the second scene, Carolina reads aloud and comments on the reviews in the newspapers about Mittenhoffer’s latest works. Dr. Reischmann is a little concerned about Carolina’s health. The two scenes could not be textually more different from each other: While Hilda speaks emphatically about the past, changing her emotional condition several times (first scene), Carolina and Dr. Reischmann speak naturally about trivial things without significant emotional change (second scene).

Henze emphasizes the multiple layers of the libretto written by Wystan Hugh Auden, Chester Kallman,²⁹ and himself. He mentions in his introduction to *The Elegy of Young Lovers* his affinity for the Italian opera of the nineteenth century. At the same time, he lists all possible musical

features needed to reinvent his opera (*neu erfunden worden*). The personification of specific intervals was not mentioned (Henze 1984: 84–85).

Example 8 shows a statistical representation of the singing intervals (first part of the second scene) and demonstrates Henze’s conscious (or unconscious) decision to use different intervals for each protagonist. For the sake of improved clarity, the interval of unison was excluded from both diagrams.

Considering both characters together, there are eight intervals with a high frequency of appearance. From those, just one is common: the interval of the ascending minor second. In a similar fashion to the “false” echoes of *The Raft of The Medusa*, Henze again separates the two characters with respect to their singing intervals.

Example 9 tries to give an overarching perspective to the chosen main intervals for all the characters of the opera. As we see:

- The axis structure of Hilda (tritons and minor seconds in both directions) is also used by Carolina (major seventh and minor seconds in both directions). However, the interval of the ascending fourth breaks the symmetry.
- Dr. Reischmann also frequently sings an interval in both directions (major second).
- From all 10 intervals, only the tritone (sang by Hilda) is a dissonant one.

Interval:	M7↓	Tr.↓	M3↓	M2	m2↓	m2	M2	4	Tr.	M7
Hilda		■			■	■			■	
Carolina	■				■	■		■		■
Dr. Reischmann			■	■		■	■			

Example 9. Hans Werner Henze, *Elegy for Young Lovers*, main intervals (unisons excluded) of Hilda (No. 1), as well as Carolina and Dr. Reischmann (both: No. 2, first part, bars 65–193)

The singing style, the clever application of the harmonic material (twelve-tone row), the usage of the full-sound of each instrument, and the composer's ability to express all possible nuances of the libretto were mentioned by the press as reasons for the great success of this opera (Bachmann 1961: 384). The research results of the statistical analysis (Ex. 6 to Ex. 9) confirm the subjective impression of reviewers and researchers (Bernhart 1994: 233–246). This stage work of Henze must be characterized as well structured due to the reasons just mentioned by Bachmann and Bernhart as well as because of the clever usage of the intervals of the vocal line.

Hans Werne Henze: *Kammermusik 1958*

IV. *Innen aus Verschiedenem entsteht*

Before comparing Henze's *Medusa* and *Elegy* with Stravinsky's opera-oratorio *Oedipus Rex*, we should first pay close attention to his vocal chamber music compositions composed before 1968.³² Henze understood the genre of chamber music (both instrumental and vocal) as a terrain where all musicians possess leading characteristics (Petersen 1988: 155). The instrumentalists, especially in a vocal chamber music work, do not take the role of the accompaniment; on the contrary, they interact with the vocal part on an equal level and create exciting synergies with the vocalist.

The current state of the musicological research of Henze's early vocal chamber music is limited. There are papers dealing with aesthetic issues (Rathert: 2017:235–245) and the mythological aspects of the text (Andraschke: 1987: 255–269 and Lück 2006: 27–50) as well as those that try to put these works in the context of the complete oeuvre of the composer (Kellersmann: 2001: 139–154).

Analytical treatises are missing, let alone the aspects relevant to this paper.

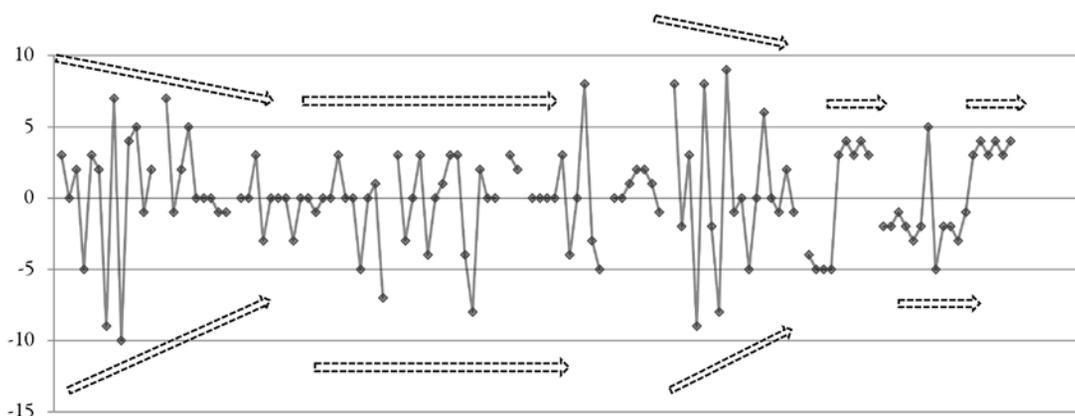
The following example (Ex. 10) tries to approach the fourth part of Henze's *Kammermusik 1958* for tenor, guitar, and eight instrumentalists (IV: *Innen aus Verschiedenem entsteht*) in the same manner as for the previous works. It is astounding that the graphic representation of the vocal line has the same shape and characteristics with all works analyzed until now. Even though the remaining movements of this composition with the participation of the tenor³³ do not create such diversified waves, it is remarkable that such procedures don't occur only in his oratorio and in operas of the 1960s, but also in his chamber music works.

In summary, the consideration of only one music-analytical aspect (structures of intervals) applied to several compositions of different genres (oratorio, opera, and chamber music) and instrumentation (*Medusa*: a big orchestra with soloists and choir, *Elegy*: a large instrumental ensemble with soloists and *Kammermusik 1958*: chamber music with tenor) creates a solid background for providing reliable research results. We can now state with a certain amount of confidence that this specific compositional strategy³⁴ is a common thread through Henze's oeuvre until 1968.

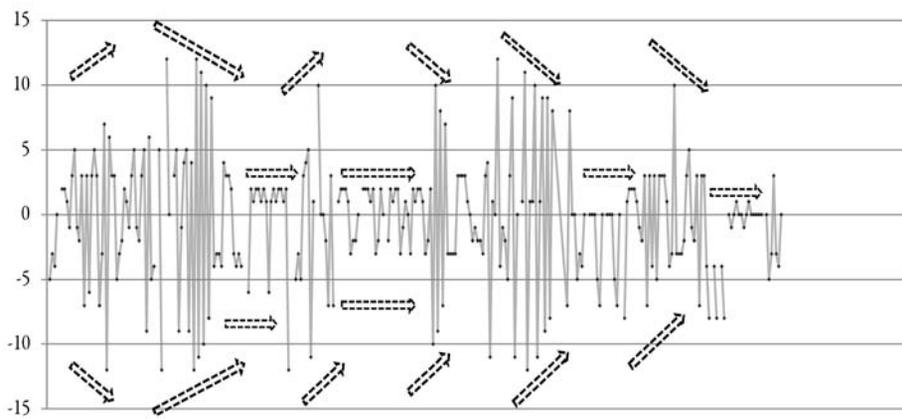
Igor Stravinsky: *Oedipus Rex*

Oedipus (rehearsal marks 16–26) and *Creon* (27–28)

The next logical step would be to apply these music-analytical methods to the stage works of other composers. At the same time, the comparative data shouldn't extend boundlessly. Therefore, we must choose a musical composition fulfilling criteria such as genre, time of composition,



Example 10. Hans Werner Henze, *Kammermusik 1958*, No. 4, bars 1–44 (only canto) graphic representation of the intervals in numbers



Example 11. Igor Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex*, rehearsal marks 16–26, Oedipus (choir parts excluded), graphic representation of the intervals in numbers

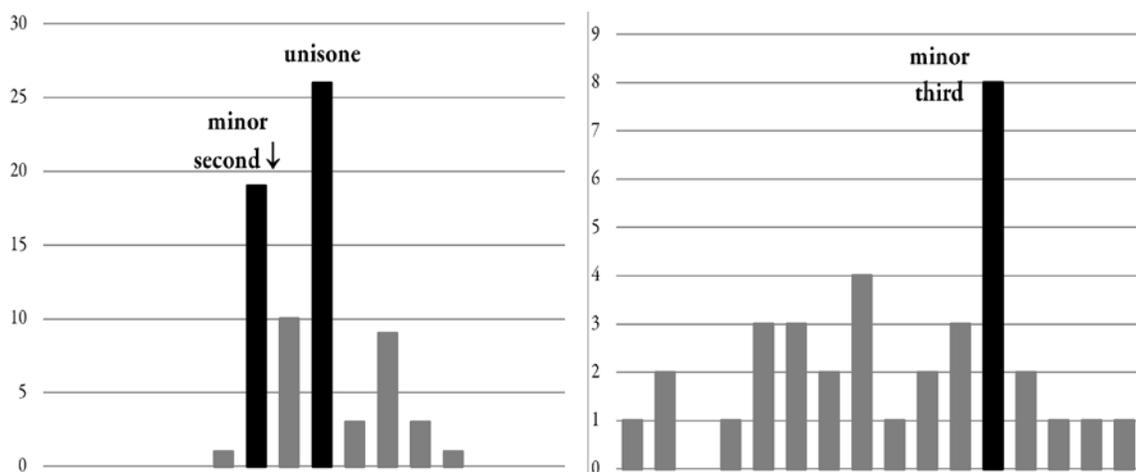
instrumentation, musical texture and a particular relevance to *The Raft of the Medusa*. Stravinsky's opera-oratorio *Oedipus Rex* is the perfect choice.³⁵

Example 11 shows the graphical representation of the intervals sung by Oedipus's first entrance (rehearsal marks 16–26). For the sake of simplicity, the inserted entrances of the choir (the citizens of Thebes) are omitted. During his solos, Oedipus assures the choir that he will relieve the city of Thebes from this terrible disease (rehearsal marks 16–19). Towards the end of his speech (22–24), he informs them about the arrival of his brother-in-law, Creon, who brings the oracle of the gods from Delphi.

As we can see from Example 11, Oedipus sings in a way similar to all works analyzed until now. We can now ask if Henze was really inspired by Stravinsky with respect to the organization of the singing intervals. Do those compositional strategies have their origin in Stravinsky? Unfortunately, there is no written evidence from the German composer about the details of these music-analytical issues regarding Stravinsky.³⁶

After an attentive reading of Jean Cocteau's libretto³⁷ of *Oedipus Rex*, several moments of tension on the textual level can be located.³⁸ One of those takes place between Oedipus and Creon (22–28). After the choir announces the entrance of Creon, the Oedipus's brother-in-law delivers the oracle of the gods to the citizens of Thebes. Example 12 lists all intervals sung by Oedipus as he announces the arrival of Creon (left side of the example) and those of the first part of Creon's solo (right side of the graph).

In addition to the two protagonists having their own personal intervals (Oedipus: descending second and unison/Creon: minor third), the number of different intervals vary in an extreme way. Oedipus sings only eight different intervals (from descending minor third to ascending major third), but Creon sings almost twice as many (15). It is also worth mentioning that Creon sings, in absolute numbers, less than half of the number of intervals compared to Oedipus. The tendencies are so striking that we must exclude the idea that this coincidence occurs by chance.



Example 12. Igor Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex*, left: rehearsal marks 22–24 (Oedipus), right: rehearsal marks 27–28 (Creon), statistical representation of the intervals in numbers

**Further correlations between Henze's
The Raft of Medusa and Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex***

After establishing concrete music-analytical correlations between Henze's *The Raft of the Medusa* and Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex*, the target of the final part of the paper is to present further connection points between the two stage works. Their similarities can be found in further aspects of musical language, like rhythm and instrumentation.

Example 13 shows a short score of the last part of Oedipus's first appearance (rehearsal mark 22–24) and the beginning of the first entrance of Creon (27–28), which was previously analyzed considering the intervals of the vocal line. The short score consists only of the vocal part and the instruments doubling the vocal part. Stravinsky separates both characters with respect to intervals (Ex. 12) and harmonically (Welsh: 39–42) as well as rhythmically. During almost half of his part, Oedipus sings (first stave: bars 3–5 and second stave: bars 1–3) thirty-second-notes full of ornaments, while Creon sings half-notes, quarter-notes and eighth-notes with very few ornaments. As we see, it is

not only the intervallic aspect (Oedipus sings mostly steps and Creon very often skips) that divides them, but also the rhythmical aspect.

A further division can be found in the field of instrumentation:

- Through the doubling of the vocal part with several instruments, the singing melody becomes richer in terms of tone color. The first violin and first horn enrich the vocal part of Oedipus. On the other hand, Creon is doubled by completely different instruments: clarinet in Eb, the first trumpet, the first trombone, the piano and the lower strings in tutti. The usage of different instruments also creates different tone colors.
- Both timbre and density are different. The end of the first phrase of Oedipus (first stave: bar 5) is doubled by only one cello. On the contrary, from rehearsal mark 28, Creon is doubled by the entire low section of the strings.

It is also worth noticing that Stravinsky doubles the vocal part in this short section five times. Four of these

The image displays a musical score for Igor Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex*, divided into two systems. The first system covers rehearsal marks 22 and 23, featuring Oedipus's vocal line and instrumental doublings by Horn 1 and Violin 1. The second system covers rehearsal marks 24, 27, and 28, featuring Creon's vocal line and instrumental doublings by Trumpet 1, Piano (right and left hands), and Trombone 1. The lyrics are in Latin.

Rehearsal Mark 22: Oedipus Rex. Lyrics: U xo ris fra ter mi ti tur, o ra cu lum con su lit, de o mi tti tur Cre o, o

Rehearsal Mark 24: ia cu lum con su lit, quid fa ki en dum con su lit, quid fa ki e ndum con su lit. Cre o ne o mno re tur.

Rehearsal Mark 27: Creon. Lyrics: Re spon dit de us: Lai um u ikis ki, u ikis ki, ske lus ul kis ki: Lai um Lai um u ikis ki,

Rehearsal Mark 28: Vc. + Kb. (tutti)

Example 13. Igor Stravinsky, *Oedipus Rex*, rehearsal marks 22–24 (Oedipus) and 27–28 (Creon), vocal part with instruments doubling the vocal part

La Mort **A** **B**

Kommt, wo die schif fe hin gehn: Kommt zu den Ster nen, die vom an dern Pol her ü ber ru fen.

Vla. 1-4 Vla. 1-4

Vla. 5-6

19. **C** **D** **E**

seht ihr sie hei ler schon und grö ßer wie der, schnel ler na hen, als die Vö gel flie gen Ü berm Glanz der Sec.

Vln. 1-6 Vln. 7-10 Vla. 1-4

Example 14. Hans Werner Henze, *The Raft of the Medusa*, No. 5: La Mort, bars 8–13 and 19–24, vocal part with instruments doubling the vocal line

five times, he uses different instruments for the doubling. The only tone color correlation can be found between the beginning of rehearsal mark 22 and the beginning of 23 (first horn). It is obvious that Stravinsky tries to achieve a variety of tone colors.

After taking a closer look at Example 13 we can state that the timing of the doubling the vocal part with other instruments varies significantly from one instance to another. An instrument can vary the vocal part:

- Throughout the entire phrase (last three bars of 24 and first two bars of 27)
- Only at the beginning of a phrase (last three bars of the first stave)
- Only at the end (last bar of 22, in the middle of 27 and the last two bars of the last stave)

The last two possibilities, in particular, occur very often in both *Oedipus Rex*³⁹ and *The Raft of the Medusa*.⁴⁰

Coming back to the main composition of the paper, Example 14 shows the short score of a section of the fifth scene of Henze's *Medusa*. In this scene, La Mort sings solo and is accompanied only by strings, played constantly in *divisi*.

Similarly to the previous example from *Oedipus Rex*, the following remarks emphasize the similarities between both stage works:

- Henze doubles the vocal part only at the end of the phrase (bar 9, 12–13, 20–21, and 23–24).

- Like Stravinsky, Henze also tries to avoid tone color repetitions. Despite the shortage of this music example (only 12 bars), five doublings can be observed (bar 9–10, 13–14, 19–20, 20–21, and 24). In this short example four out of five tone colour constellations are different (only bar 12–13 correlates with bar 24: Vla. 1–4).

Those instrumentational characteristics can be found in almost every scene of this oratorio. As a last example (Example 15), a short score of the middle section of the last scene of *Medusa* confirms the findings obtained by the examples 13 and 14:

- While La Mort calls Jean-Charles to her kingdom, singing mostly long-lasting notes (especially: bars 28–29, 41–42, and 45–47), Jean-Charles tries desperately to resist by singing many quarter-notes and even sometimes eighth-notes.
- No instrument doubles Jean-Charles, even though almost the entire orchestra participates. The only exception is bar 43. In this way, the word *Liebe* (love) is highlighted.
- On the other hand, La Mort's words are doubled. The timbral separation of the two protagonists takes place in terms of how often the doublings occur (La Mort: 10 from 12 bars, Jean-Charles: 1 from 14) and due to the different tone-color of the instruments (La Mort: strings, Jean-Charles: brass).

La Mort
28. Schau auf! Siehst du in mei nen Au gen nicht den Him mel? **Jean-Charles** Geh!...

35. Wend dich ab! Vor dei nen Au gen werd den wir un säg lich, daß je des Bild er lischt.

40. Ich sin ge von dem an de ren Lan de...
Der Stern, der Lie be trö stet, steigt aus der Ü ber näch tig keit...

Vla. 1
Vla. 2
Vla. 2
Vla. 1-8
Tbn. ten

Example 15. Hans Werner Henze, *The Raft of the Medusa*, No. 17: La Mort and Jean-Charles, vocal part with instruments doubling the vocal part, bars 28–48

Conclusions

The multilayered background of Henze's oratorio, combined with its spectacular history, magnetized musicologists who were dealing with this musical work, leading them only to historical, sociological, cultural, and aesthetic paths of research. The large number of such articles, all of them compiled with the highest musicological standards, is a testament to this. On the other hand, the music-analytical aspects were barely touched upon by the overwhelming majority of musicologists. Additionally, the new tendencies of an interdisciplinary approach to a musical piece made a pure analytical study unattractive.

The Raft of the Medusa experienced a renaissance of performances around the globe in the twenty-first century. The reasons lie chiefly in the new ending of the oratorio. In 1990, Henze replaced the famous *Ho-Ho-Ho-Chi-Minh* rhythm from the ending of the oratorio with the coda of *Tuba mirum* from his *Requiem* (Petersen 1988: 76–78). The entire composition itself should indeed possess an exceptional standard of structure, combined with a musical expression of the highest level, to explain such popularity.

This paper is the first musicological step to approaching this oratorio strictly from a music-analytical angle. Instead of giving an overview of several music-analytical aspects, the target was to emphasize a single one (the intervallic aspect).

The research results show that Henze was able to express unity (long-term tendencies regarding to the choice of the intervals) through diversity (each protagonist has their own intervals). This successful balance between counteracting processes can be found in the fourth scene of *The Raft of the Medusa* ("false" echoes) and throughout the entire oratorio as well as in his previous stage work, or even in sections of his early vocal chamber music. Such processes can also be found in Stravinsky's opera-oratorio *Oedipus Rex*.

Moreover, it is of great importance to investigate this balance in further stage works composed by Henze before 1968 as well as those he composed afterwards (for example: *Voices, We Come to the River*) and in further compositions by Stravinsky, such as *Symphony of Psalms* and *Mavra*. Furthermore, Example 13 and Example 15 have shown that similar differentiations can also be found in the field of rhythm and instrumentation. Different characters have their own rhythmical patters and their own instruments accompanying them. How often can we observe these rhythmical and timbral differentiations in *The Raft of the Medusa*? How do they develop over the course of time? Do those compositional strategies belong to Henze only, or can we find them in several other composers of the second half of the twentieth Century? This paper is a starting point for future music-analytical treatises with the aim of answering those questions.

Endnotes

- ¹ A red flag and a portrait of Che Guevara were hoisted on the day of the premiere in the *Planten-un-Blomen* concert hall sometime between the general rehearsal and the premiere by left-wing students. After that, soloists and members of the choir refused to participate in the premiere, since Henze (who was conducting that night) refused to take the portrait and the flag down. Shortly after, police appeared and began to violently arrest the students; they arrested the librettist of the oratorio as well. For more details, see also: Sonntag 1991: 50–64, Habakuk 2000: 35, Kirchwert 2000: 282 and Petersen 2006: 51.
- ² Henze himself refers to those threats in his autobiography (Henze 1996: 308). He even reached a point where he was believed to be involved in a conspiracy (Henze 1996: 301).
- ³ A huge compilation of German press articles about the incident of the premiere can be found in the archives of NDR (Northern German Broadcasting) under the following inscription: *Ordnungöffentl.-r. / NDR KlangkörperOrchester / Sinfonieorchester / Das Floß der Medusa / Schriftwechsel*. For further reading on Henze and the German press, see: Petersen 1988: 241 – 263.
- ⁴ Petersen's articles on *The Raft of the Medusa* (Petersen 1988: 101–109 and especially Petersen 2006: 51–79) form the most significant part of music-historical and music-analytical research concerning this oratorio. They give a detailed overview of the incidents of December 9, 1968 as well as the compositional background of the piece. Further articles on this oratorio include Hopf 1986: 44–54, Sonntag 1991: 50–64, Habakuk 2000: 34–41, Kirchwert 2000: 264–285, and Schürmer 2016: 279–302.
- ⁵ In a discussion with J. A. Makowsky in 1969 (published seven years later [Henze 1984: 136–143], Henze gives only a detailed description of the evening of December 9 but points out the excessive usage of brutality by the German police and the biased coverage in state media (Henze 1984: 137). For further reading, see also: Henze 1996: 301–309.
- ⁶ The librettist of *The Raft of the Medusa*, Ernst Schnabel (1913–1969), attended the premiere and was arrested by the police with excessive force. That same year he published his experiences in the form of a report (Schnabel 1969).
- ⁷ The French frigate *Medusa*, the corvette *Écho*, the brig *Argus*, and the store ship *Loire* departed in June 1816 from the French harbor of Rochefort towards Senegal. Due to the incompetence of Captain Viscount Hugues Duroy, the frigate ran aground on a sandbank near Mauritania. The captain and the vast majority of the officers of the frigate used the rescue boats, leaving over 146 passengers behind, with no other option for them than constructing a provisional raft. During the next 13 days, alone in the ocean, they faced unspeakable misery: sun stroke, hunger, thirst, knife attacks during riots, attacks by sharks, and cannibalism. On July 17, 1816, the brig *Argus* rescued the 15 remaining passengers. Only a couple of these managed to survive and return to France. They made their story public, which created a huge scandal. Two passengers published their memoirs in French, and soon after an English translation followed (Savigny and Corréard: 1818). Henze and Schnabel (Henze 1996: 282) were inspired by the memoirs of Savigny and Corréard for the construction of the libretto, in particular for the part of the speaker (Charon).
- ⁸ Géricault's monumental painting (4.91m x 7.16m) was the end product of a series of sketches and preparatory paintings (Fiore 1988: 14–19 and Snell 2017: 151–16). Henze highlights (Henze 1996: 283) the importance of the survivor in the upper right part of the painting, who flies a red cloth, as the brig *Argus* appears in the horizon. This cloth symbolizes the hope of the oppressed masses (Henze 1984: 234) against capitalism. See also: footnote 14.
- ⁹ All musicological sources, as well as Henze himself (Henze 1996: 283), mention the influence of Bach's turba chor *Wir Haben einen Gesetz, und nach dem Gesetz soll er sterben*. The choir in St. John's Passion symbolizes the gathered mass, requiring the death of Jesus. In *The Raft of the Medusa* the choir (the last survivors of the frigate) expresses its apathy when Jean-Charles points out their brutality and lawlessness as well as their lack of dignity and morals.
- ¹⁰ According to the wish of the composer, the choir (the passengers of the frigate) stands (from the perspective of the audience) on the left side of the concert stage. The members of the choir, who "die" in agony during the performance, move from the left to the right side of the stage. The choir members who are still "alive" sing in German. The dead ones continue to sing, but this time in Latin. The song verses are derived from Dante Alighieri's *Divina Comedia*. For an overview of the song verses and their exact citation in the oratorio, see: Kirchert 2000: 273–276 and Petersen 2006: 56.
- ¹¹ Igor Stravinsky's compositional oeuvre influenced Henze significantly. From Henze's study years (Henze 1996: 33 and 77, as well as: Petersen 2016: 2016), over their first meeting after a performance of Henze's opera *Boulevard Solitude* (Henze 1996: 161–163) and until his wish to attend Stravinsky's funeral (Henze 1996: 370), it is remarkable how constant the influence of the older master was on him. Furthermore, Henze often needed to defend Stravinsky's compositional decisions, considering the works of Stravinsky's neoclassical period, from the attacks of some avant-garde composers (Henze 1984: 12). Henze mentions in his autobiography (Henze 1996: 285) the direct influence of Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* and especially the function of the speaker.
- ¹² Immediately after Henze mentioned Stravinsky's speaker from the opera-oratorio *Oedipus Rex* (see footnote 12), he gives the next clue: the figure of La Mort from *The Raft of the Medusa* derives directly from Jean Cocteau's film *Orphée* (Henze 1996: 285).
- ¹³ Henze first points out the significant influence of Che Guevara's revolutionary actions and second the incidents that led to his assassination by CIA agents in Bolivia as a major inspiration for the composition of the oratorio (Schürmer 2016: 289–391 and Henze 1996: 283). There are three overlapping historical layers in *The Raft of the Medusa*; 1) Jean Charles against La Mort, 2) the passenger who flies the red cloth against death and 3) Che Guevara against his capitalist enemies. It is worth mentioning that Henze dedicated the oratorio to the memory of Che Guevara.
- ¹⁴ The oratorio finishes with a striking rhythm (half-note, half-note, quarter-note, quarter-note and half-note) repeated over 27 times. This is the rhythmical figure used by the communists

- in the Vietnam War (Schnabel 1969: 79 and Petersen 2006: 75–76).
- ¹⁵ An exception is the second, seventh, and eight lecture in Peterson's series of twelve lectures (Petersen 1988: 29–55, 131–154, and 154–176).
- ¹⁶ For reasons of comparison considering Stravinsky's compositions, see footnote 12.
- ¹⁷ For further applications of the methodological tools operated in this paper see also (Efthimiou 2017: 310–333).
- ¹⁸ Abbreviation of the intervals: -Tr.-12 = Tritone plus octave downwards, -8 = octave downwards, -M7 = major seventh downwards, -m7 = minor seventh downwards, -M6 = major sixth downwards, -m6 = minor sixth downwards, -5 = fifth downwards, -Tr. = tritone downwards, -4 = fourth downwards, -M3 = major third downwards, -m3 = minor third downwards, -M2 = major second downwards, -m2 = minor second downwards, m2 = minor second upwards, M2 = major second upwards, m3 = minor third upwards, M3 = major third upwards, 4 = fourth, Tr. = tritone, 5 = fifth, m6 = minor sixth upwards, M6 = major sixth upwards, m7 = minor seventh upwards and M7 = major seventh upwards.
- ¹⁹ No. 16: bars 76–79.
- ²⁰ No. 3: bars 159–163 (Jean-Charles and choir with children), No. 15: bars 174–177 (Jean-Charles and the dying).
- ²¹ No. 11: bars 12–17 ("dead" members of the choir and "living" ones), No. 13: bars 32–34 compared with 43–44 (first alive altos and first dying altos), bars 137–138 (dead tutti and first dying), No. 14: bars 71–72 (Charon and the dying).
- ²² No. 3: bars 54–55 (Jean-Charles and 1. harp), No. 9: bars 111–112 (Jean-Charles and oboe with oboe d'amore and English horn), No. 13: bars 5–9 (dead children and violins with violas), No. 13: bars 111–114, 120–122 (La Mort and strings).
- ²³ Bars 11–12, 27–30, 66–67, and 87.
- ²⁴ Here Henze musically expresses the fight between Jean-Charles and the last survivors in the form of a fugue, inspired by Bach's St. John Passion, both in terms of the text (Bach's turba chor: wir haben *ein* Gesetz... / Henze's Scene No. 16: Wir haben *kein* Gesetz...) and the musical texture (both fugues are similarly composed). There are several moments in the oratorio that start in a fugato manner, preparing the listeners for this striking moment of the penultimate scene (No. 3: bars 15–22, No. 6: bars 39–42, and 59–61, No. 8: bars 40–48, No. 10: bars 43–49 and 135–138, No. 12: bars 42–45 and 92–95). Those fugato moments of the oratorio remained unnoticed in the musicological research until now. The constellation of the intervals plays a significant role in most of those sections.
- ²⁵ For further reading about the compositional process and the relationship between the *Elegy for Young Lovers* and the Vau-deville *La Cubana*, see respectively (Henze 1996: 202–207, 210–214, and Petersen 1988: 29–54).
- ²⁶ Both stage works are characterized by the following timbral disposition; all protagonists of those two compositions are accompanied from the beginning until the end by a specific instrument (or a group of instruments). This is a common feature of Henze's compositional aesthetic. Nevertheless, *Medusa* and *Elegy* are extreme examples of his stage compositions in terms of instrumentation. His arrangement of Monteverdi's opera *Il Ritorno d' Ulisse in Patria* (1981) is a further example, but it was composed twelve years after *The Raft of the Medusa*.
- ²⁷ The choice of the word "modern" has an ironic intention. The recipients of this irony should be found in the avant-garde composers, who neglect the tradition of the Western music of the past centuries (Henze 1984: 12).
- ²⁸ The story takes place in an Austrian inn called *Der Schwarze Adler* in 1910. All protagonists of this opera have the goal of pleasing and inspiring the great poet Gregor Mittenhofer, who must write the perfect poem by the end of the drama. Two of those protagonists are the secretary Carolina and Mittenhofer's doctor Dr. Reischmann. Their first duet will be analyzed in terms of intervallic distances. Hilda, on the other hand, doesn't directly follow the aim of serving the great master. Hilda lost her husband 40 years earlier on a mountain tour. Since then she has refused to abandon the inn. From that moment on, she has had visions, which are very inspiring for Mittenhofer.
- ²⁹ Auden and Kallman also wrote the libretto for Stravinsky's *The Rake's Progress*. This is a further connection between Henze and Stravinsky. Henze was excited to cooperate with both of them (Henze 1996: 202 and 205) and praised their ability to understand the creative process of setting text to music. (Henze 1984: 84). Auden and Kallman also wrote the libretto of Henze's opera *The Bassarids* (1966).
- ³⁰ Bars 74–75, 85–89, 111–113, 128–129, 161–166, 177–178, 180–186, and 188–193.
- ³¹ Bars 81–84, 94–110, 115–146, 170–177, and 186–189.
- ³² *Whispers From Heavenly Death* (1948), cantata for high voice and eight instrumentalists / *Apollo and Hyacinthus* (1949), Improvisations for alto, cembalo and eight instrumentalists / *Kammermusik 1958* (1958) for tenor, guitar and eight instrumentalists / *Being Beauteous* (1963), cantata for coloratura-soprano, harp and four violoncellos.
- ³³ II. *In lieblicher Bläue*, VI. *Gibt es auf Erden*, VIII. *Möchte ich ein Komet sein?*, X. *Wenn einer in den Spiegel sieht* and XII. *Wie Bäche das Ende von Etwas mich dahin*.
- ³⁴ Creation of balance between diversity (each protagonist has his own main intervals) and unity (waves of density alternated by others without).
- ³⁵ See also footnote 12.
- ³⁶ Henze mentions in an interview with Wolf-Eberhard von Lewinski that he learned from Stravinsky what he needed to learn (Henze 1976: 126).
- ³⁷ For further reading concerning the origin of the text, the transformation of the ancient myth to a modern libretto, and the collaboration between Stravinsky and Cocteau see: Walsh 1993: 6–21.
- ³⁸ Between Oedipus and Creon (rehearsal marks 22–30), Oedipus and Tiresias (69–73, 78–90), Oedipus and Iokaste (121–127), the messenger and the choir (178–201).
- ³⁹ Rehearsal marks 4, 7, 10, and 14 (Choir), 18 and 22–24 (Oedipus), 27–29, 32, 38, 40, and 42 (Creon), 67 and 68 (Choir), 71–73 (Tiresias), 86–87 and 89 (Oedipus), 90 (Choir), 97, 99–101, 103–104, 121–123, and 131 (Iokaste), 133 (Messenger), 137 (Choir with Messenger), 141 (Messenger), 148 and 151 (Shepherd), and 152 (Oedipus).
- ⁴⁰ The occasional doubling of the vocal part with instruments shouldn't be mixed up with the *colla-parte*-technique used

by composers of previous centuries. This technique was used especially in sacral works and its main feature was to enrich extended passages of the vocal part through the doubling of instruments belonging to the same range (f.e.: flute for the soprano-part, lower strings for the bass-part, etc.). Exactly the opposite can be found here in *Medusa* and *Oedipus Rex*; only small phrases or fragments of phrases are doubled by instruments, which very often do not belong to the same range (f.e.: Trumpet for the bass-part).

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Santrauka

Hanso Wernerio Henze'ės oratorijos „Medūzos plauostas“ premjera buvo atšaukta dėl kelių priežasčių, įskaitant kairiųjų pažiūrų studentų protestą, komunistinių simbolių iškabinimą scenoje ir policijos smurtą. Skandalas lydėjo šį muzikos kūrinį ištisus dešimtmečius. Daugiasluoksnius Henze'ės oratorijos fonas kartu su įspūdinga istorija kaip magnetas traukė muzikologus, analizavusius kūrinį įvairiais aspektais – istoriniu, sociologiniu, kultūriniu ir estetiniu. Tačiau didžioji dauguma muzikologų beveik neanalizavo muzikinių-analitinių aspektų.

Straipsnio tikslas – aptarti šio muzikos kūrinio motyvus ir instrumentinius procesus. Analizuojami tokie analitiniai aspektai: konkrečių intervalų bei ritmų ir įvairių oratorijos personažų sąsajos, taip pat vokalinės linijos dubliavimas keliais instrumentais.

Vadinamasis „deformuotas aidas“ ketvirtosios scenos pokalbiuose tarp Jeano-Charleso ir La Mort tampa atspirties tašku tiriant konkrečias kompozitoriaus intervalų naudojimo strategijas. Siekiant išsiaiškinti, ar panašūs procesai vyksta ir toliau, buvo analizuojama visa scena. Gautas didžiulis duomenų kiekis ypač komplikavo šių procesų apžvalgą. Todėl pasirodė būtina sukurti sistemą, iliustruojančią tokių intervalinių struktūrų srautus. Intervalų išdėstymo pateikimas grafine forma vertingas tuo, kad tokios struktūros tampa aiškiai matomos. Lentelės suteikia informacijos apie ilgalaikes tendencijas, kurios kitu atveju dėl didelio duomenų kiekio liktų sunkiai įžvelgiamos.

Aptariant intervalų naudojimą, reikia įvardyti tris iš dalies tapačius procesus: dainavimo intervalų kryptį, jų naudojimo dažnį ir raidą scenos metu. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad Henze'ė sugebėjo išreikšti vienovę (ilgalaikės intervalų pasirinkimo tendencijos) per įvairovę (kiekvienas veikėjas turi savo intervalus). Šią sėkmingą pusiausvyrą tarp neutralizuojančių procesų galima rasti ne tik „Medūzos plauosto“

ketvirtojoje scenoje, kur naudojama „deformuoto aido“ komponavimo strategija, bet ir visoje oratorijoje, taip pat ankstesniuose jo sceniniuose darbuose ar net ankstyvojoje vokalinėje kamerinėje muzikoje.

1961 m. sukurta opera „Elegija jauniems įsimylėjėliams“ turi ryškių panašumų į oratoriją, atsižvelgiant į šio straipsnio analitinį pobūdį. Statistinės analizės tyrimo rezultatai patvirtina subjektyvų apžvalgininkų ir tyrėjų išpūdį. Šį sceninį Henze'ės kūrinį galime pavadinti puikiai struktūruotu ne tik dėl suminėtų priešasčių, bet ir dėl sumanaus vokalinės

linijos intervalų naudojimo. Analitiniai aspektai lyginami su ankstyvuoju Henze'ės vokalinės-kamerinės muzikos kūriniu „Kamerinė muzika 1958“ („Kammermusik 1958“).

Be to, minėti muzikos kūriniai lyginami su Igorio Stravinskio „Edipu karaliumi“. Nustačius konkrečias muzikines-analitinės Henze'ės „Medūzos plausto“ ir Stravinskio „Edipo karaliaus“ sąsajas, paskutinėje straipsnio dalyje pateikiami ir kiti jų bendri bruožai. Abiejose dalyse galime rasti bendras intervalines struktūras; yra ritmų bei instrumentuočių panašumų.

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The Dialectics of Serial Rhetoric and Narrativity in the Masterpieces of the Darmstadt Classics

Serializmo retorikos ir naratyvumo dialektika Darmštato klasikų kūrinuose

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Abstract

The notion of “serial rhetoric” was introduced in the 1950s by Boulez. Apparently, the “rhetoric” in Boulez’s interpretation is synonymous with what is usually referred to as “poetics,” that is, in general terms, the correlation between language and its (poetic) usage. The rhetoric/poetics of elaborate serial writing presumes an unusually subtle differentiation of all the parameters of any element of musical tissue, as well as a special kind of stylistic purity preventing superficial associations and simple compositional solutions. A “mature” serial text, ideally, is a constellation of more or less autonomous and unique sound events or of their conglomerates. Such an approach to musical form is seemingly incompatible with the category of narrativity, suggesting the presence of such attributes as coherence, development and directionality. On the other hand, some key works by such major figures of the Darmstadt avant-garde of the 1950s as Boulez, Nono and Stockhausen, though impeccably ‘pure’ from the viewpoint of serial rhetoric, are not devoid of a peculiar narrativity, which enters in dialectic relations with the principles of serial writing. In the article, several notable cases representing this kind of dialectics—especially Stockhausen’s *Kontra-Punkte* and *Gruppen* and Boulez’s *Le marteau sans maître*—are discussed. In the context of serial rhetoric, the introduction of the element of narrativity can be important inasmuch as it helps to increase the degree of “comprehensibility” (in Schoenberg’s terms—*Faßlichkeit*) of a musical work.

Keywords: serialism, rhetoric, narrativity, memory, anticipation, Pierre Boulez, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Luigi Nono.

Anotacija

Serializmo retorikos sąvoką XX a. šeštajame dešimtmetyje įvedė Pierre’as Boulezas. Akivaizdu, kad „retorika“ Boulezo interpretacijoje yra reiškinių, paprastai vadinamo „poetika“, sinonimas, kitaip tariant, tarpusavio ryšys tarp kalbos ir jos (poetinio) vartojimo. Sudėtingos serialistinės muzikos retorika / poetika implikuoja ypač subtilią bet kurio muzikinio audinio elemento visų parametrų diferenciaciją bei ypatingą stilistinę grynumą, nesuderinamą su paviršutiniškomis asociacijomis ir paprastais kompoziciniais sprendimais. Idealiu atveju „brandus“ serialistinis tekstas yra daugiau ar mažiau autonomiškas ir unikalių garso įvykių ar jų junginių žvaigždynas. Toks požiūris į muzikinę formą atrodo nederantis su naratyvumo kategorija, apibūdinama rišlumo, plėtotės ir kryptingumo požymiais. Kita vertus, kai kurie pagrindiniai ryškiausių šeštojo dešimtmečio Darmštato avangardo atstovų, tokių kaip Boulezas, Luigi Nono ir Karlheinzas Stockhausenas, kūriniai, nors nepriekaištingai „gryni“ serializmo retorikos požiūriu, pasižymi ir savotišku naratyvumu, kuris reiškiasi jį dialektiškai siejant su serializmo principais. Straipsnyje aptariami keli žinomi tokio pobūdžio dialektikos atvejai, ypač išskiriant Stockhauseno „Kontrapunktus“ („Kontra-Punkte“) bei „Grupės“ („Gruppen“) ir Boulezo „Plaktuką be šeimininko“ („Le marteau sans maître“). Serializmo retorikos kontekste naratyvumo elementas svarbus tiek, kiek jis padeda padidinti muzikinio kūrinio „suprantamumą“ (Schoenbergo vadinamo *Faßlichkeit*) laipsnį.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: serializmas, retorika, naratyvumas, atmintis, anticipacija, Pierre’as Boulezas, Karlheinzas Stockhausenas, Luigi Nono.

“Time without a story is dead, as if it did not exist at all.”

Olga Tokarczuk

The toponym in the title, not necessarily implying works composed for or premiered at Darmstadt, has virtually become synonymous with the heroic avant-garde of the 1950s, animated by the Utopian idea of transforming the aesthetic landscape of new music on the basis of the so-called multi-parameter (integral or total) serialism. The question of whether the collective impulse of the young adepts of the Darmstadt school brought about a real revolution in music aesthetics remains open. According to Jonathan Harvey, a well-known composer representing the next generation of avant-garde:

[...] in the Darmstadt School, total serialism led to some things of value, but not entirely the expected ones. (Harvey 1975: 57)

As regards another word used in the title, the term “narrativity” has given rise to a large body of scholarly literature. Let us, however, do without references to the existing theories and define the concept of narrativity in music on the basis of the most general and, perhaps, most obvious considerations. The quality of narrativity is derived from the method of presenting the music material and is inherent in a musical work structured after the model of story—for the most part an abstract one (that is, lacking a plot that could be verbalized) but like any coherent narration, having a certain line of development formed by events of different importance. Such events include reminders of what has already happened and gestures hinting at the directional (teleological) nature of the process, and possibly also unexpected turns, sudden shifts, and other extraordinary happenings.

The essence of narrativity can also be characterized *a contrario*, proceeding from Philip Glass's statement about his "music of repetitive structures" (he prefers the latter term to the more popular "minimalism"). According to Glass, the mode of listening to such a fundamentally non-narrative music is:

[...] one in which neither memory nor anticipation (the usual psychological devices of programmatic music whether Baroque, Classical, Romantic, or Modernistic) have a place. (Fink 2005: 33)

Memory is not needed, for repetitive minimalism does not evoke any significant associations with anything in the listener's thesaurus; anticipations are cut off, for nothing really new and extraordinary is happening. To be sure, unexpected things sometimes also occur in the music of Glass and his "minimalist" colleagues (in particular, due to so-called phase shifts), but in any case, the element of narrativity is reduced to a minimum. On the other hand, if in the structure of a non-programmatic wordless piece a tendency to galvanize the contents of the listener's memory and to form a certain complex of the listener's anticipations is perceived, this creates a palpable aura of narrativity around such piece.

The "anti-narrative" quality, implying the suppression of both memory and anticipation, is inherent also in the stylistic antipode of repetitive minimalism, namely the music based on serial technique in its radical versions, beginning with Webern's. As is well known, Webern described his approach to serial writing with the help of a maxim borrowed from Goethe: "Always the same in a multitude of different guises." In Goethe, this maxim applies to the development of a living organism through the metamorphoses of some "primordial phenomenon" (*Urphänomen*); in Webern's musical "organisms," the function of *Urphänomen* is performed by a tone row or by its excerpt (usually a three- or four-note fragment of a twelve-tone series), treated in the spirit of natural philosophy.

It seems that the leaders of the young post-war avant-garde were not especially interested in the maxim's natural-philosophical aspect, but they certainly found attractive the idea of the new wholeness behind it. To characterize it, Boulez introduced the term "serial rhetoric." In his articles of 1951–52, "Moment de Jean-Sébastien Bach" and "Schönberg est mort," he criticized the pioneer of dodecaphony for his inability to overcome the contradiction between the new (serial) language and the old "rhetoric," which might be labeled as "narrative" (he could apply the same critique to himself as the author of the Second Piano Sonata of 1948, in which the serial idiom is combined with the standard four-movement Beethovenian scheme); on the other hand, he complimented Webern, who could raise the serial writing to the "rhetoric" plane (Boulez 1966: 17, 271).

Apparently, Boulez employs the term rhetoric as a synonym to what is commonly referred to as "poetics"—that is, in the most general sense, the relation between language and the mode of its use in a work of art. Remaining faithful to Boulez's usage, let us bear in mind that it has nothing to do with the term's more habitual meaning, related to rhetorical figures and rhetorical disposition.

The rhetoric/poetics of serial writing in the new, post-Webern stage of its development presumes an unusually subtle differentiation of all the parameters of any element of musical tissue. Any 'mature' serial music text is a constellation of autonomous and unique events or their conglomerates. Though the presence of one or several series brings order to this constellation, it only partly neutralizes the fragmented nature of a finished work; the rhetoric of serial writing highlights discontinuity (cf. Brelet 1968), since well-developed serial thinking is essentially incompatible with such paramount attributes of narrativity as coherence and directionality or purposefulness.

Another Darmstadt classic, Karlheinz Stockhausen, characterizes the anti-narrative rhetoric, derived from serial technique, using the following words:

The musical events do not take a fixed course between a determined beginning and an inevitable ending, and the moments are not merely consequents of what precedes them and antecedents of what follows; rather the concentration on the NOW—on every NOW—as if it were a vertical slice dominating over any horizontal conception of time and reaching into timelessness, which I call eternity: an eternity which does not begin at the end of time, but is attainable at every *Moment*. (Stockhausen 1963: 250; quoted after Smalley 1974: 25–26)¹

Examples of strict serial rhetoric, eliminating virtually any element of narrativity, can be found in the mature oeuvre of Webern beginning with the String Trio, Op. 20. Especially notable is the Concerto for Nine Instruments, Op. 24 (1934), in which elements of the serial approach are also perceived in the organization of rhythm, articulation, and timbre; as a result, the musical tissue appears more fragmentary than in any earlier and not so radical serial work (it should be said here that some of Webern's later works, perhaps, are less "pointillistic" and "anti-narrative"; the evolution of Webern's style, however, is not our subject matter). As is well known, at the earlier stages of the formation of a new rhetoric Webern limited himself to the most concentrated and laconic musical statements, and only in his last opuses felt free enough to extend their timing. The idea of multi-parameter serialism, outlined in Webern, found its development in some relatively large-scale early scores by Boulez, who later virtually disavowed them, obviously due to their purely experimental and schematic nature (Jameux 1974: 34–35; Boulez 1986: 200–201²). The best

known among them is the first book of *Structures* for two pianos (1951–52), which has become a favorite object for analysis in some of the late 20th century composition manuals; the analysis of such a work, however, is inevitably limited to the description of surface relationships.³ The statement of the well-known composer and outstanding analyst Bogusław Schäffer, concerning Webern's mature serialism, could with even more reason be applied to Boulez's *Structures* and other works of similar kind: the results of their analysis "are relatively scanty, being confined to the corroboration of general conclusions, which could be made already upon the first acquaintance with the work" (Schäffer 1969: 241).⁴ Essentially the same was said by another authoritative theorist:

Perhaps the real death-blow to serialism in its narrow [...] definition was the systematic exposition of its total resources. Suddenly, everything was there; you could no longer discover, only select. (Toop 2009: 97)

In the same year, 1952, when Boulez's *Structures* were completed, Stockhausen made a step, the historical importance of which can hardly be overestimated: in his *Kontra-Punkte* for 10 instruments he employed elements of multi-parameter serialism to create a musical microcosm, based on serial ideology and at the same time undergoing a qualitative evolution. The initial exposition of 'what is there' is followed by discoveries, leading to a clearly outlined purpose. The *Kontra-Punkte* mark a deviation from the essentially "anti-teleological" ideology of late Webern and the multi-parameter serialism in its earliest versions. At the same time the teleology of the *Kontra-Punkte* is closely related to the fundamental principle of serialism, namely to the treatment of sound events as "points" (the *Punkte* of the title) dispersed through space and time, but, in contrast to the points of Euclidean geometry, having an identity of their own.

The instruments of the ensemble represent six types of tone color: (1) flute–bassoon, (2) clarinet–bass clarinet, (3) trumpet–trombone, (4) piano, (5) harp, and (6) violin–cello. The piece, lasting around 14 minutes, consists of 530 bars, each in 3/8 time (any traces of regular meter are absent; the bars are made equal for the players' and the conductor's convenience). The bars are grouped in 46 sections of varying duration, each provided with one of the following seven metronome marks: 1/4 = 120, 126, 136, 152, 168, 184 and 200. The tempo 1/4 = 120 prevails throughout the piece, while the number of sections performed in more rapid tempi fluctuates from three to five. In his instructions to performers the composer indicates that "the tempi should be conducted with flexibility" (Stockhausen 1958: I)—in other words, the tempi, despite the presence of exact metronome marks, can be treated in a relatively free manner.

According to the author's preface to the score:

[...] what, in a true sense, are counter-pointed in this work, are the dimensions of the sound, also known as "parameters": [...] lengths (durations), heights (frequencies), volume (loudnesses) and form of vibrations (timbres). (Stockhausen 1958: I)

Each of these parameters is represented by a discrete scale of values, for the most part scattered about without repeats (or with minimum repeats)—just as the pitch classes in the serial music. Any sound event having a particular set of parameters is essentially unique: "no repetition, no variation, no development, no contrast", only "a series of the most clandestine [...] transformations and renewals [...] one never hears the same thing" (Stockhausen 1958: I).

To illustrate the idea of the counterpoint of parameters treated as independent aspects of a particular event (an individual sound or a sound constellation) let us cite the beginning of the piece—example 1. The twelve-tone row expounded in bars 1–5 is [*C-sharp-F-sharp-G-E-flat-E-A-D-B-C-F-B-flat-A-flat*] (NB: here and further, the "abstract" pitch classes, in contrast to particular pitches, are designated by notes in square brackets). No less explicit is the row of loudnesses, forming in the first three bars a sequence with only one repeating element: *p-mp-ppp-f-pp-p-mf*. Rows of timbres and durations are not so evident, but there is a general impression that these parameters, too, are arranged serially: each instrument enters with a "point" of its own, each point's rhythmic value being unique.

In the course of the piece it becomes clear that the sets of pitch classes and timbres as well as the scales of durations and dynamic nuances, consist of limited numbers of values—in particular, the whole array of dynamic marks is reduced to the mentioned six plus *sfz*, which is a synonym of *f*. At the same time, the principle of the classical dodecaphony, "one work—one row," is not observed. Even as regards the parameter of pitch, there is no question of a single tone row engendering the wealth of derivative pitch structures: the second twelve-tone row, which begins in bar 6, is [*C-F-E-F-sharp-D-B-C-sharp-E-flat-A-flat-B-flat-G-A*], while the third, remaining outside our music example, is [*E-F-F-sharp-B-C-sharp-G-E-flat-D-A-flat-C-B-flat-A*]. These rows, obviously, are not related to each other or to the piece's initial row as regards their intervallic structure (though, possibly, each next row is derived from the previous one due to some arcane algorithmic procedures). However, though the wealth of empirically detectable combinations cannot be formally reduced to a single configuration, the presence of a fundamental integrating principle is quite unambiguous. The principle in question is the very idea of multi-parameter serialism, which negates any lasting periodicity, affirms the self-sufficiency of discrete elements, and favors rarefied textures

Example 1. Stockhausen's *Kontra-Punkte*, beginning. © 1958 by Universal Edition (London) Ltd., London

consisting of isolated “points” and “blotches”—it was just after the *Kontra-Punkte* when such type of texture was called “pointillistic” (or *style ponctuel*, as in one of Boulez’s texts of 1954, quoted after Boulez 1966: 29). Integration is arrived at due to an extreme degree of differentiation. The listener is invited to experience a kaleidoscopic variety of “figures in the same all-penetrating light” (Stockhausen 1958: I), which is radically different from the reproduction of “the same figures in a changing light” (Stockhausen 1958: I). We might conjecture that Stockhausen’s “all-penetrating light” is the generalized serial principle of organization, which is common for all the fundamental parameters (though the basic series are not explicitly presented, the serial “flavor” is omnipresent), while “the same figures in a changing light” imply the routine practice of the tone-row technique in its obsolete or dogmatic versions, including Webern’s (“always the same in a multitude of different guises”).

On the first page of the score, in all the parts, indeed, only “points”—that is, isolated single attacks—are seen (only in the piano part, in the second half of bar 6, something like a “blotch” appears). Later, however, the share of events including larger numbers of attacks grows. Beginning with the second section (bar 23), the texture is enriched with arabesque-like quick passages. Such passages, though

sometimes extended up to several bars, are usually treated as single events: the differentiation of rhythm, dynamics, and articulation within them is minimized, due to which they appear as integral configurations—peculiar serial melodies with characteristically winding contours. An excerpt containing several “arabesques” of this kind is shown in example 2. Obviously, in the prescribed tempo $1/4=120$ the passages in demisemiquavers will sound as a quasi-heterophonic counterpoint to the single “points” and “blotches” marked *sfz*. This type of counterpoint—coherent lines against “points” or, to put it in more general terms, a relatively dense texture against a dispersed one—is no less important than the counterpoint of the four parameters mentioned by Stockhausen himself.

Beginning with bar 98, the instruments, one after another, become silent. Trumpet is the first to leave the game; it is followed by trombone (bar 216), bassoon (bar 244), violin (bar 333), bass clarinet (bar 393), harp (bar 437), clarinet (bar 453), cello (bar 477), and flute (bar 508). The last 22 bars belong entirely to the piano. As is seen from this listing, the relationship between the exits of particular instruments is expressed by the numerical row 98, 18 (= 216–98), 28 (= 244–216), 89, 60, 44, 16, 24, 31, 22: another sequence of scattered about, non-recurring values,

Example 2. Stockhausen's *Kontra-Punkte*, mm. 180–186. © 1958 by Universal Edition (London) Ltd., London

analogous to a tone row. The process of gradual reduction of the initial multitude of timbres is accompanied by a reduction in terms of other parameters. The concluding solo of the piano is performed *pp* and in a relatively even rhythm:

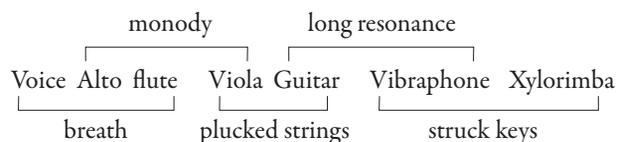
[...] in a many-faceted sound world [...] all oppositions are to be dissolved until a state is reached in which only what is unified and immutable is audible. (Stockhausen 1958: 1)

To return to integrity and immutability means to overcome counterpoints: in the piece's final four sections—in its “coda,” shown in example 3—neither of the types of counterpoint mentioned above appears, and the texture is neither too dense (not “arabesque”-like), nor too dispersed, with general pauses placed between sections rather than within them. The teleological effect is enhanced due to the gradual increase of tempo and the reduction of the number of notes with each new section. The final goal is achieved with the low B flat following a long fermata— almost as in Liszt's B minor Sonata.

Thus, the kaleidoscopic variety of “figures in the same all-penetrating light” gradually takes the shape of a peculiar narration with an explicit line of development directed towards an unambiguous closing gesture. The strict observance of “serial rhetoric” in every single instant of musical time is balanced by the element of narrativity coming to the fore in the course of the piece.

In the case of Boulez, the shift from the dogmatic serialism of the first *Structures* to a more complex and sophisticated technique, implying a flexible and variegated interaction of different parameters of sound, occurred in *Le marteau sans maître* for contralto, alto flute, xyloimba, vibraphone, percussion (17 instruments, one performer), guitar, and viola (1953–55). Boulez himself clarified some aspects of his technique in the theoretical treatise published later—“Conceiving Music Today” (Boulez 1963). Its theses, often expounded in a rather sketchy manner, found their development in the works of other analysts. The most large-scale essay of this kind was the book by Lev Koblyakov dedicated specially to the harmony of *Le marteau*; the notion of harmony is treated in this book both in its narrow sense, as pitch structure, and in the wider sense, as the general proportionality of the composition (Koblyakov 1990).

The most obvious compositional features of *Le marteau* are pointed to in the composer's preface to the score (Boulez s. a.: IVf). The solo voice and the instruments (apart from the unpitched percussion instruments) have similar tessitura and form a kind of continuum (Grondines 2000):



Example 3. Stockhausen's *Kontra-Punkte*, the end (mm. 507–530). © 1958 by Universal Edition (London) Ltd., London

The work consists of nine movements lasting around 35 minutes in all. The movements differ in terms of performing forces: the voice is heard only in movements 3, 5, 6, and 9; the full ensemble (including the whole body of percussion) is introduced only in the final movement, the longest of all (7–8 minutes of music). For the vocal movements, short poems by the surrealist poet René Char are used: *l'Artisanat furieux* (The Furious Craftsmanship, movement 3), *Bel édifice et les pressentiments* (Splendid Building and Presentiments, movements 5 and 9), and *Bourreaux de solitude* (Hangmen of Solitude, movement 6). The instrumental movements are conceived as “satellites” to vocal ones: movements 1 and 7 are titled “avant [before] ‘l’Artisanat furieux’” and “après [after] ‘l’Artisanat furieux,’” while each of the movements 2, 4, and 8 is labeled “Commentaire [I, II, III] de ‘Bourreaux de solitude.’” The sound atmosphere of “Bourreaux de solitude” and the “commentaries” to them is largely determined by the timbre of xyloimba and small wooden and metallic percussion instruments imparting to the music an oriental color (associated with the Indonesian gamelan). In “l’Artisanat furieux” and its “satellites,” these instruments are absent, while the role of flute is increased. The pieces “before” and especially “after” “l’Artisanat furieux” are short and rapid, while “Bourreaux de solitude” and the “commentaries” on it are relatively long and prevalently slow or moderate. The first version of “Bel édifice...” (movement 5) is opposed to the surrounding movements, while the second version (the whole work’s

finale) synthesizes the elements of all the preceding movements and contains an essentially new material.

Thus, movements 1, 3, and 7 form the cycle “l’Artisanat furieux,” movements 2, 4, 6, and 8—the cycle “Bourreaux de solitude,” while movements 5 and 9—the cycle “Bel édifice et les pressentiments.”

An important aspect of *Le marteau*, which can be seen even before any more or less close analysis of the score, is an unusually high coefficient of renewal of the music’s structural elements—itches, intervals, rhythmic units, simultaneities, melodic turns, dynamic nuances, and articulation marks. To be sure, the same is (or, at least, should be) peculiar to any music based on a highly developed serial technique, but attempts to discover a single series for any of the movements of *Le marteau* or for an excerpt of a movement, let alone for the whole work, do not lead to convincing results: sequences of 12 non-repeating pitch classes occur but very rarely; vertical complexes and rhythmic progressions for the most part also elude interpretation in serial terms. As in the case of *Kontra-Punkte*, here serialism is not so much of a technically obvious, as of a more profound—“rhetorical”—kind.

The tone row of *Le marteau* is a virtual configuration, which does not appear in the music text in its complete form. From it, at least theoretically, are derived particular pitch structures—lines (the horizontal dimension), simultaneities (the vertical dimension), and combinations of both (the “diagonal” dimension). In his treatise, without

mentioning the title of his work, Boulez hints at this tone row and presents it in the following version (Boulez 1963: 39):

$e\text{-flat}^1\text{-f}^1\text{-d}^1\text{-b}^1\text{-c-sharp}^2\text{-b-flat}^1\text{-a}^1\text{-c}^2\text{-a-flat}^1\text{-g}^1\text{-e}^1\text{-f-sharp}^1$

According to Koblyakov, the tone row of *Le marteau* is somewhat different (Koblyakov 1990):

$e\text{-flat}^1\text{-f}^1\text{-d}^1\text{-c-sharp}^2\text{-b-flat}^1\text{-b}^1\text{-a}^1\text{-c}^2\text{-g-sharp}^1\text{-e}^1\text{-g}^1\text{-f-sharp}^1$

Koblyakov gives no explanations concerning the origin of this row, or its differences from its prototype—the row from Boulez’s book. He merely points out that for *Le marteau* Boulez borrowed the tone row used earlier in the unpublished choral composition *Oubli, Signal, Lapidé* (“Oblivion, Call, Lapidated,” 1952) (Koblyakov 1990: 32n).

It makes no sense to describe here the sophisticated algorithms used by the composer to obtain derivative pitch structures. In each of the inner cycles of *Le marteau*, a special set of algorithms is employed; their description can be found in Koblyakov’s work. One does not need to be aware of their existence or to go into the details of arcane procedures based on them to recognize from the very first bars of the score (example 4) that the work’s “rhetoric” is rooted in the idea

of serialism with all its technical and aesthetic consequences. Taking a closer look at this music example, we will see that the pitch relations are organized here not so much with reference to the positions of individual notes within given twelve-tone rows, as in accordance with the considerations related to the necessity to ensure a relatively even level of euphony within the selected timbre and register area.

The concern about euphony is manifested primarily in the avoidance of minor seconds in both the vertical and the horizontal planes (not counting half-tone trills); the same applies to the remaining movements of *Le marteau* (a few exceptions do not affect the general picture). Thus, the sharpest interval is virtually excluded from the harmonic system, while its derivatives—minor ninths and major sevenths—are used sparingly and are always surrounded with intervals of a less dissonant quality. The intervallic make-up of simultaneities is varied with each new attack; this emphasizes the régime of smooth fluctuation of sound quality. In the horizontal plane, too, the alternation of intervals of different quality is encouraged, as well as the frequent changes of the direction of movement. As we can easily see, these peculiarities are derived from the structure of the tone row “discovered” by Koblyakov, where the sequence

Rapide (♩ = 168)

poco rit. - -

Example 4. Boulez’s *Le marteau sans maître*, 1st movement, beginning. © 1957 by Universal Edition (London) Ltd., London

of two intervals having the same direction occurs only once (c^2-g -sharp¹- e^1) and coincides with the only succession of identical intervals.⁵ The distribution of rhythmically active passages and moments of relative relaxation between parts and within each individual part is calculated in such a way as to ensure a balance between the characteristics of each instrument and the harmony of their combinations; as a result, the abundance of variegated events does not affect the music's light, soft and transparent character. The listener perceives a homogeneous line, though interrupted by a couple of short caesuras, but free of breaks and sudden shifts creating a substantially new quality.

Ignoring for a moment Boulez's and his commentators' explanations concerning the complex relations between all the three inner cycles of *Le marteau*, we may perceive its first movement ("avant 'l'Artisanat furieux") as a relatively simple introduction, intended to give the first and the most general impression of the work's sound world (in this respect it is analogous to the first pages of *Kontra-Punkte*). Although the fourth movement, "Commentaire II de 'Bourreaux de solitude,'" also purely instrumental, belongs to another inner cycle, its first section—the beginning of which is shown in example 5—has something in common with the first movement in terms of tempo and sound color (in both movements an important role is assigned to vibraphone, which is silent in movements 2 and 3). The same fourth movement is related to movement 2 ("Commentaire I de 'Bourreaux de solitude'") by a lack of irrational rhythms (hemiolas, etc.), as well as by the quasi-oriental flavor mentioned above. Hence, this excerpt can be understood as a reminder of what has been presented in a preliminary version and now appears in a more developed form.

Each of the five parts in this excerpt is structured as carefully as possible, up to the change of dynamic nuance at virtually every next note (this also hints at a serial or quasi-serial principle of organization of the dynamic parameter). Bearing in mind Boulez's well-known opposition of two types of musical time—"grooved" (temps strié: well-structured in terms of rhythm, divided into short segments) and "smooth" (temps lisse: rhythmically more amorphous, static) (Boulez 1963: 99f)—we can assert with certainty that each part is deployed in "grooved time." In the prescribed rapid tempo, however, the polyphony of "grooved" lines is easily transformed into an extended diffuse "blotch," associated not so much with the "grooved" as with the "smooth" type of musical time. The sequence of such sound 'blotches'—or, to use a more neutral term, conglomerates—forms a rhythmically organized (grooved) structure of higher order: each next conglomerate is isolated from the previous one by a fermata (the latter pertains to all the parts and is marked \frown), the duration of which can vary widely according to the conductor's choice (while the fermatas marked \sqcap , on the contrary, are uniformly short).

Thus, the time on a relatively large scale (that is, on the level of groups of bars rather than of single bars, and for the totality of parts rather than for individual parts) is structured by irregularly distributed fermatas of different durations. Since most of the instruments here—xyloimba, small finger cymbals, guitar, and viola *pizzicato*—have a very short resonance, during these fermatas only the slowly fading vibraphone is heard. The sounds of vibraphone function like an axis on which a number of conglomerates of different sizes are threaded. Within them "an ideal fluidity of musical matter" (Schäffer 1964: 208) is achieved, which, however, is a reverse side of the consistently observed principle of discreteness. A listener having no score before their eyes perceives an "ideally fluid" line interrupted from time to time by echoes of vibraphone. They differ in terms of pitch, loudness, and length; the anticipation of each next fermata, filled by the sound of vibraphone, creates an intrigue. In this way, a narration is taking shape, which is directed towards a denouement: shortly before the end of the section (already beyond our music example) several fermatas follow each other in short succession, leading to a culmination, after which the music's thematic profile and partly its color change—in the given context this is analogous to modulation.

Consequently, in this excerpt, lasting around two minutes, the unconditional observance of serial rhetoric (since all the components of the music material—stretches of an "ideally fluid" tissue between the fermatas, separate "points" within these stretches, and the fermatas themselves—are represented by rows of homogeneous elements differing in terms of pitch, rhythm, and dynamics) is supplemented by factors that activate the listeners' memory, configure their anticipations, and reward them with a denouement and a shift to something new, that is, encourage the perception of the piece as a kind of narration.

The presence of a teleologically directed line is a feature of the first section of the work's fourth movement, distinguishing it from the rest of *Le marteau*, and there is something of a narrative, with an intrigue resolved at the very end, in the work's composition as a whole. The author's labyrinth-like compositional design, with non-adjacent "satellites" and "comments" and other complicating aspects on which it is unnecessary to dwell here, does not detract from the fact that the ninth and final movement of *Le marteau* is conceived as a synthesizing apotheosis, traditionally concluding large-scale musical narratives. In the second half of the finale, the elements of all three inner cycles of *Le marteau*—from separate serial configurations, instrumental combinations and textures to more or less recognizable motivic turns—alternate in an intricate manner, and the ensemble is for the first time joined by low metallophones—two tam-tams and gong, and at the very end a big suspended cymbal. They complement the diapason

Rapide (♩ = 120)

Les points d'orgue et les points d'arrêt comme de brusques coupures dans le tempo, sauf indications contraires

Xylorimba
Vibraphone
m. droite
Cymbalettes
m. gauche
Guitare
Alto

pizz.
(poser l'archet)

Les liaisons qui se trouvent dans les parties de Xylophone et d'Alto en pizz. sont mises pour éviter, en indiquant la valeur réelle, une attaque trop brutale - non requise à ces endroits.

accelerando - - || **Moins rapide** *rit.* - - || **a tempo** (♩ = 108) (♩ = 72)

Xyl.
Vibr.
Cymb.
Guit.
Alto

ten.
ét.
rit.

N.B. Les points d'orgue \frown seront extrêmement variés de court à long; les points d'arrêt \square seront bref, uniformément.

pochissimo rit. **Rapide** (♩ = 120)

Xyl.
Vibr.
Cymb.
Guit.
Alto

pochissimo rit.
ten.
très sec

Example 5. Boulez's *Le marteau sans maître*, 4th movement, mm. 1–14. © 1957 by Universal Edition (London) Ltd., London

with low resonances which are beyond the reach of other instruments, and hence take to the logical conclusion the tendency to the enlargement of the range of frequencies and timbres, hinted at in some of the previous movements. One might say that the group of low metallophones, which is present on the stage from the very beginning, performs the function of the proverbial “Chekhov’s gun.” All the same, even this very specific set of instruments is used in accordance with the logic of serial writing: not only the duration of low sustained sounds, but also their coloration and loudness, as a rule, do not repeat until the exhaustion of a certain array of possibilities. To give an idea of this, let us show the last page of the finale (example 6).

Boulez’s monumental work composed several years later, *Pli selon pli* (Fold by Fold, 1st version 1958–1962) is structured in a no less sophisticated manner, but here too the labyrinth-like writing, imposed by the serial rhetoric and characterized by such features as irrational juxtapositions of rhythmic figures, sinuous melodic turns, sudden shifts of tempo and dynamics, and fast-changing articulation, is combined with the presence of a teleologically directed grand line. The work is scored for soprano and a large instrumental ensemble, and is subtitled “Portrait of Mallarmé”—the most refined and esoteric representative of French symbolist poetry. The title is taken from one of Mallarmé’s sonnets, in which the dissipating fog is compared to a shroud, gradually—“fold by fold”—falling from the old stones of a city and revealing them to a viewer; according to Boulez, his music also gradually, “fold by fold, as the five movements develop,” reveals Mallarmé’s image

to the listener (Boulez 1986: 176 – an essay on *Pli selon pli* first published 1970). This metaphorically formulated “program,” obviously, testifies to the composer’s intention to model a teleological process.

Pli selon pli consists of five movements: 1. “Don”; 2–4. “Improvisations sur Mallarmé” I–III; and 5. “Tombeau.” Movements 1 and 5 are prevalently instrumental, involving the whole orchestra; movements 2–4, where the voice comes to the fore, are orchestrated more sparsely. In the first movement, the soprano enters at the very beginning, after a *fortissimo* chord, with the first line of Mallarmé’s *Don du poème* (*The Gift of the Poem*). Later, in the middle section of the movement, the soloist delivers separate words from Mallarmé’s sonnets used in the subsequent three “Improvisations”; the material from the “Improvisations” is heard also in the instrumental parts of “Don.” Boulez calls this “glimpses to what is to come” (Boulez 1986: 174). Hence, “Don” functions as a large-scale introduction anticipating “what is to come”—exactly as Mallarmé’s *Don du poème* functions as a kind of a large-scale epigraph to his poem *Hérodiade*. The next three movements are settings of three sonnets by Mallarmé. Each subsequent “Improvisation” is longer than the previous one, more complex in terms of form, richer in terms of material and the variety of modes of vocal utterance—in short, each adds more new and diverse strokes to the poet’s portrait. In the finale, the vector of development is directed from sparse texture, soft sound and stillness to *fortissimo* and active motion in all layers of the orchestral tissue; by the end of the movement, having reached its culmination, the general flow pauses, and the

Modéré, sans rigueur (♩ = 84)

très libre

Fl. en sol

T. T. 1. sig.
Ug. gr.
T. T. prof.

Fl. en sol

T. T. 1. sig.
Ug. gr.
T. T. prof.

Fl. en sol

T. T. 1. sig.
Ug. gr.
T. T. prof.

Fl. en sol

T. T. 1. sig.
Ug. gr.
T. T. prof.

(ralenti)

Fl. en sol

T. T. 1. sig.
Ug. gr.
T. T. prof.

Fl. en sol

Grande Cymbale suspendue

avec le pouce, frotter la cymbale du bord au centre en tournant rapidement (comme sur un tambour de basque).

Example 6. Boulez's *Le marteau sans maître*, 9th (final) movement, end (mm. 164–190). © 1957 by Universal Edition (London) Ltd., London

voice (in a counterpoint with the French horn) utters the last line of Mallarmé's sonnet in memory of Paul Verlaine. The finale closes with the same *fortissimo* chord that opened the first movement.

As in *Le marteau*, the serial technique in all the movements of *Pli selon pli* does not merely organize the parameter of pitch, but also imposes the cardinal form-building principle based on the primacy of discreteness over continuity. On the other hand, the serial principle, in some respects analogous to the poetics of Mallarmé (whose unfinished "Book" was conceived as a multitude of autonomous and

at the same time interrelated units), in this case does not contradict the symphonic scope of the whole. Due to the distinct dramaturgic plan with a big *crescendo* in the finale, the "arch" associating the work's end to its beginning, and the presence of thematic links between movements, *Pli selon pli* as a whole can be compared to a traditional symphonic cycle. The latter is, perhaps, the most highly organized archetype of a big narrative form, the adequate reception of which presupposes an active involvement of the key attributes mentioned above— memory and anticipation.

It is appropriate to recall here another central work of the same period—Luigi Nono’s *Il canto sospeso* (“The Suspended Song,” 1955–56) for three solo voices, choir and orchestra to words from the farewell letters by sentenced European anti-Nazi resistance fighters. The nine-movement cantata (with different performing forces for each movement) is based on the so-called all-interval twelve-tone row:

A-B-flat-A-flat-B-G-C-G-flat-D-flat-F-D-E-E-flat

In some of the movements, the serial principle is also used for the organization of rhythm and dynamics (cf. Bailey 1992; Motz 1996; Feneyrou 2002; Nielinger 2006); this additionally emphasizes the primacy of discreteness over continuity. The structure, in which every note appears as a separate and largely autonomous event at the intersection of several serial orders, predisposes to “analytical” treatment of words—to their division into syllables, to the dispersion of syllables among different parts, to the dissection of lines with frequent pauses. As a result, the meaning of the text is “scattered,” as it were, losing its comprehensibility even for those listeners who are fluent in Italian. Yet, the dialectics discussed above functions even in this strictly serial work—though here the model of mass, especially the mass for the dead, is used to activate the listener’s memory and anticipation. Analogies between Nono’s cantata and the Requiem mass were suggested shortly after the première (Mila 1960). Indeed, the relatively soft, “neutral” orchestral introduction is a counterpart to *Kyrie*; movements 2 (a letter of a young Bulgarian teacher and journalist expressing his faith in victory) and 3 (letters of three Greek youths) can be regarded as counterparts to *Credo*; movement 5 and 7, both for solo voices with several instruments (letters of a Jewish boy from Poland and of Lyubov’ Shevtzova from the Soviet Young Guard underground organization, respectively) are equivalent to *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*—traditionally the most sublime sections of the Mass; the climactic movement 6, consisting of two contrasting sections, is comparable to *Dies irae*. Other parallels are also possible—for instance, between movement 9, with its serene ending, and *Lux aeterna*.

Especially noteworthy are the key words of movement 7 and, perhaps, of the cantata as a whole, repeated twice and needing no translation: “Addio, mamma.” In the context of our topic this touch is so eloquent that we can do without comment.

Another major monument of the Golden Age of serialism is Stockhausen’s *Gruppen* for three orchestras led by three conductors (1955–57). The piece, lasting around 24 minutes, consists of 174 units of different

length—“groups.” Each group is characterized by a certain set of features—tempo, dynamics, register, density, and sound color. The groups are distributed among the three orchestras in different ways: they can alternate, overlap, be arranged into strata; in the composer’s own words, they also draw close to one another, absorb each other, repulse or cling to each other, and so on.⁶ Sometimes the orchestras play synchronously, but for the most part they are independent from each other. The score contains an elaborate system of signs ensuring the interaction between the conductors and orchestras; the performing instructions are extremely detailed, no aleatorics are allowed.

Stockhausen’s *Gruppen*, as compared with *Kontra-Punkte* and some other works of the same period, represent a new step on the way to the serialization of different parameters of music. The work’s pitch structure is formally based on the all-interval twelve-tone row, where both halves correlate as transposed retrogrades (Harvey 1975: 56):⁷

G-D-sharp-G-sharp-F-E-F-sharp-C-A-sharp-B-D-A-C-sharp

No less important is the twelve-tempo row:

$1/4 = 120, 95, 127, 107, 101, 113.5, 80, 71, 75.5, 90, 67, 85$

The correlation of the metronome marks in the tempo row is isomorphous to that of the frequencies in the tone row.

In contrast to *Le marteau*, in *Gruppen* the principal row is real rather than virtual, though in a special way. The row itself is treated freely: for the most part, short segments are employed, while full sequences of twelve pitch classes are uncommon. Besides, the all-interval nature of the row and the prevailing multi-layer texture justify the appearance of almost any pitch class at almost any place, as well as the use of tone clusters which, in general, are rather incompatible with serial technique. Group 40, shown in example 7, is one of those excerpts in which the profile of the tone row is easily recognizable, at least on paper: the sequence [*E-flat-C-sharp-D-F-B-sharp*] in the part of harp correspond to tones 7–11 in both primary and retrograde versions, Violin V and violas sustain the residual tone *E*, which is later stressed by Violin IV. The remaining portion of the row, however, is not used in this group; only the mentioned six pitch classes, from [*C = B-sharp*] to [*F*], are reiterated, mainly in the same register. Due to the constancy of register and pitch structure, as well as a rapid tempo ($1/4 = 90$), this excerpt comes to resemble a quick and colorful “splash” of sound. At the same time, Orchestra II, represented here by a larger number of instruments (in our music example, this portion of the score is omitted), goes on performing Group 39—another “splash” of sound, though more extended horizontally. Like Group 40, it is formed by the juxtaposition of quick passages, which are similar to those of Group 40 in terms of their intervallic configuration and complement

The image shows a page of a musical score for Stockhausen's *Gruppen*, group 40. At the top left, there is a time signature of 6/4 and a circled metronome mark of 40. To the right, a box contains the dynamic marking $p+poco sfz$. The score is divided into two main sections: Trommeln (Percussion) and Violinen (Violins). The Violinen section is further divided into five staves (I-V) and Bratschen (Cellos/Double Basses). The notation includes various rhythmic values, dynamic markings (p, sfz, p+poco), and performance instructions like 'arco' and 'Flag.'. The score is presented in a complex, multi-staff format typical of Stockhausen's *Gruppen* works.

Example 7. Stockhausen's *Gruppen*, group 40. © 1963 by Universal Edition (London) Ltd., London

them as regards their pitch structure, containing only pitch classes from [*F-sharp*] to [*B*]. In this way Stockhausen makes use of the most conspicuous feature of his tone row: the division into two structurally isomorphous hexachords reciprocally complementing one another. Such a structure of the row makes it unnecessary to follow the twelve-tone discipline strictly: the work with hexachords (and in some groups with trichords) picked up from the row, allowing free permutations of pitch classes, serves as an adequate substitute for an accuracy “by all means” and makes the tone row largely speculative rather than palpable (on the details concerning Stockhausen’s manipulations with tone rows, cf., in particular, Misch 1998).

The presence of another row, that of tempi, is more palpable. Proceeding from Stockhausen’s own theses (summarized in Stockhausen 1959) and from the analysis realized by his colleague Gottfried Michael König, Jonathan Harvey showed that if we associate each single metronome mark with some particular pitch, the whole score of *Gruppen*, with the exception of several zones (“interludes”), in which certain fluctuations of tempo are allowed, can be presented as a sequence of rows derived from the principal one (Harvey 1975: 57–60). The note *g* of the small octave is associated with $1/4 = 60$; hence, the note *g sharp* corresponds to $1/4 = 63.5$, the note *a* – to $1/4 = 67$, the note *a-sharp* – to $1/4 = 71$, and so on until *g'* with the value of $1/4 = 60 \times 2 = 120$ and *g-sharp'* with the value of $1/4 = 63.5 \times 2 = 127$ (quicker tempi are untypical for *Gruppen*). The sequence of the tempo rows, visualized as tone rows, is shown in example 8 (reproduced after Harvey 1975: 58). As can be seen, not all the rows begin with the first note (its

place is marked every time by an opening bracket), but all of them, apart from the last one, are structurally identical to the principal row. To the left of each staff, the sequence number of the group is cited, beginning from which this row becomes the main organizing element.

Example 9 shows the detailed scheme of *Gruppen* (reproduced after Harvey 1975: 59–61). The bracket-like lines—as, for example, in Groups 12 or 28—point to the instances when different tempi are prescribed for the orchestras within a single group (not all of such instances are reflected in the scheme). In some places (particularly in Groups 39 and 40) the scheme deviates from the score. The tempo of Groups 50, 52, 61, 70, 95, 101, 112, 113, 137–138, 155–156 and 171, indicated in the scheme ($1/4 = 60$ or 63.5), is twice as slow as in the score (the marks $1/4 = 60$ and $1/4 = 120$ occur only in the interludes, which, as we will see, are special in some important respects). The same applies to Groups 169 and 170, in which the marks $1/4 = 151$ and 142 are used instead of $1/4 = 75.5$ and 71 indicated in the scheme.

The *glissando* lines in metronome-free Groups 7–8, 16–22, 71–77, and 114–122 suggest that here the alternation of discrete tempi is replaced with gradual accelerations and decelerations. According to Harvey, the “groups of groups” 16–22, 71–77, and 114–122, in which the tempi are not serialized, should be called “big interludes,” though “this term must not be taken to imply that they are less emphasized in the structure, for the contrary is the case” (Harvey 1975: 61). The first “interlude” is dominated by a solo violin line shared out between the leaders of the three orchestras, the atmosphere of the second one is dominated

Example 8. Stockhausen's *Gruppen*, sequence of the tempo rows visualized as tone rows (Harvey 1975: 58)

by plucked strings and percussion, while in the third one brass and percussion come to the fore. The latter interlude functions as the whole work's climax (see below).

Thus, in *Gruppen* the key parameters are serialized somewhat inconsistently, while the idea of serial rhetoric is implemented differently than in Boulez. It goes without saying that the serialization of tempi is an extremely sophisticated device, which can hardly be perceived by an average listener as a method of ordering the relations between the sections within such a large-scale piece. The serialization of tempi is important inasmuch as it emphasizes the principle of division of the whole into discrete units (groups), each of which possesses a distinctive "physiognomy." The distribution of groups is far from being chaotic: the relations between the groups that do not belong to the interludes are serialized not only in terms of tempo, but also in terms of length. The proportions between the groups are

calculated on the basis of figures reflecting the physical nature of intervals—see the first two lines below the staves in example 9: $g^1-d\text{-sharp}^1 = 10:8$, $d\text{-sharp}^1-g\text{-sharp}^1 = 3:4$, $g\text{-sharp}^1-f = 12:5$, $f-e^1 = 6:11$, and so on. In each of the groups, the number of conventional rhythmic units—see the last of the four lines below the staves in example 9—is equal to the first term of the corresponding proportion: the length of Group 1 is $3/2$, that of Group 2 is $3/2$, that of Group 3 is $12/2$, that of Group 4 is $6/1$, and so on. The exceptions from this rule are not numerous and do not affect the general picture. Harvey compares this method of working with numerical proportions with the "numerology" of Berg's *Lyric Suite* and of the most refined specimens of Renaissance polyphony, such as *Missa Sub Tuum Praesidium* by Jacob Obrecht (Harvey 1975: 63).

Thus, the serialization on the level of discrete formal units—the groups—is more or less demonstrable, while on

the level of pitches it is not so obvious. Let us point out once more that the range of frequencies, nuances, and tone colors within each single group is, as a rule, strictly limited (the choice of range for every group is, obviously, determined “numerologically” on the basis of the relations figuring in the scheme), and there is no imperative to use the whole collection of twelve pitch classes. The parameter of rhythm is treated similarly: in each group (probably also on the basis of some numerical calculations) a certain number of rhythmic figures is employed, which can reiterate if the group is sufficiently long. The set of features distinguishing each individual group (if it is not included in one of the interludes) from other groups is usually present from the very beginning and remains essentially stable. The changes that are possible within a group are for the most part restricted to entries of new instruments and to rarefaction of texture at the transition to the next group.

In some of the groups, there are local *cantus firmi*—segments of the principal tone row, which have to be articulated with special emphasis. There is also a peculiar *cantus firmus* functioning throughout the piece as a whole and consisting

of loud, strongly emphasized, for the most part two-note cues of the piccolo clarinet from Orchestra II. The first of these cues, $f^{\flat}-c\text{-sharp}^{\flat}$ —the first two notes of the tone row from [F]—appears in Group 24. Then, in Group 36, the same instrument returns with the leap from $c\text{-sharp}^{\flat}$ to $f\text{-sharp}^{\flat}$ (the second and third notes of the same row), in Group 46—from $f\text{-sharp}^{\flat}$ to $d\text{-sharp}^{\flat}$ (the third and the fourth notes), in Group 62—from $d\text{-sharp}^{\flat}$ to d^{\flat} (the fourth and the fifth notes) and so on, with some deviations from the regular order, until Group 168, in which the line of the piccolo clarinet ends with $b^{\flat}-f^{\flat}$, returning back to the beginning of the row. The question of how efficient such a dispersed twelve-tone row is as a *cantus firmus* supporting a large-scale construction remains open. Be that as it may, its presence can be interpreted as a kind of declaration of intention to impart an additional teleological aspect to the serially organized whole.

This intention is more vividly realized in the interludes, where the numerology organizing the rest of the material ceases to work. The groups within the interludes are on average longer than the groups of the “usual” kind; hence,

\uparrow = orch. 1 \circ = orch. 2
 \bullet = orch. 3 \downarrow = tutti
 Tempi expressed as pitch:

Interval ratios:
 Metronomic tempi: \downarrow =
 Type of unit or fundamental pulse:

Group: ① ② ③ ④ ⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨ ⑩
 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22
 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38
 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54
 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69

Violin solos
 written as 120
 ("wrong order")

10 : 8 : 12 : 5 : 7 : 2 : 2 : 7 :
 120 95 : 127 107 : 101 113.5 : 80 13 : 11 :
 5 : 12 : 8 : 10 : 9 : 10 :
 75.5 90 : 67 85 : 75.5 :
 4 : 7 : 10 : 3 : 2 : 5 : 5 : 2 : 7 : 12 : 6 : 11 : 7 : 5 : 11 : 3 :
 8 6 : 13 : 12 : 9 : 8 : 11 : 3 : 8 : 3 : 4 : 8 : 9 : 9 : 8 : 8 : 63.5 : 67 :
 107 95 : 101 120 : 90 113.5 : 80 63.5 : 85 71 : 95 90 : 101 71 : 8 : 63.5 : 67 :
 4 : 6 : 5 : 7 : 12 : 4 : 9 : 13 : 6 : 8 : 11 : 13 : 9 : 11 :
 80 120 : 75.5 107 : 85 113.5 : 95 67 : 107 71 : 60 113.5 : 63.5 90 : 2 : 10 :
 6 : 4 : 3 : 3 : 10 : 7 : 4 : 10 : 9 : 12 : 7 : 2 : 5 : 5 : 2 :
 85 : 101 : 75.5 : 71 : 120 : 113.5 : 6 11 : 8 : 90 : 6 : 13 : 4 : 3 : 8 : 8 : 5 : 11 :
 107 : 75.5 : 11 : 13 : 120 : 6 11 : 8 : 90 : 6 : 13 : 4 : 3 : 8 : 8 : 5 : 11 :

2
8
J-142

Flageoel
Hörner 1.2
Trompeten 1.2
Posaunen 1.2
Tuba
Almglocken
Tamtam
Holztrommel
Kleine Trommel mit Saiten

2
4
J-90

Bar. Saxophon
Hörner 1.2
Trompeten 1.2
Posaune
Barposaune
Almglocken
Tamtam
Holztrommel
Kleine Trommel mit Saiten
Klavier

2
4
J-90

Hörner 1.2
Trompeten
Posaunen 1.2
Kontrabass-Posaune
Almglocken
Tamtam
Holztrommel
Kleine Trommel mit Saiten

Example 10. Stockhausen's *Gruppen*, group 122, excerpt. © 1963 by Universal Edition (London) Ltd., London

the kaleidoscopic variety is replaced in the interludes by a more balanced mode of expounding the material, and the long *accelerandi* and *ritardandi* enhance the feeling of the music's directionality—even if only on a local scale. In the largest of the interludes—Groups 114–122—the teleological element is expressed especially clearly: there are several waves of *accelerando* and *crescendo*, and the second half of Group 122, the longest of all the 174 (30 bars in 4/4 time), is marked by an episode in which the three orchestras, finally, form a whole, playing together without any discrepancies as regards tempo, time, compass, and general sound color. The time signature ceases to be merely a conventional mark facilitating the work of the conductors, since each individual part acquires a regular rhythmic pulse. True, due to the lack of coincidence between the attacks in different parts the resulting rhythm is extremely dense, but its ostinato foundation is heard sufficiently clearly. The meaning of the effect is quite obvious: the previous events made sense largely because they prepared for the general culmination reached here, in the optimum point slightly to the right of the golden section. The last page of Group 122 is shown in example 10. There is no need to go into details (the more so as they are barely visible) to comprehend, how important are the typological differences between this excerpt and the rest of *Gruppen*.

Thus, in *Gruppen* two opposite forces are at work. One of them has its roots in the composer's commitment to serialism with its peculiar rhetoric. The other stems from the more traditional notion of musical form as a directional process. Where the influence of the first force prevails, the material is organized on the basis of sophisticated serial calculations, while in other places the element of serial rhetoric is manifested especially by such attributes as an extremely high amount of detail and the avoidance of repetitions in terms of any parameter until a certain set of possibilities is exhausted.

Let us quote once more the statement mentioned at the beginning of this article, referring just to *Gruppen*: "...in the Darmstadt School, total serialism led to some things of value, but not entirely the expected ones." When regarded from a certain distance, *Gruppen* appear as a very special phenomenon realizing the idea of "endless melody." Now, when the over-refined devices of multi-parameter serialism no longer arouse any serious interest, and the treatment of a large orchestra as an "ensemble of ensembles" has become a routine practice, it is easier for us to assess this grandiose composition from another point of view—as a continuous stream of sounds, replete with the most diverse events, directed from spontaneity to orderliness (the maximum of which is reached in the zone of the golden section) and then returning back. In short, *Gruppen* as a whole is modeled on one of the archetypical narrative schemes countless times reproduced in music and letters.

It would be wrong to exaggerate the importance of narrativity in the oeuvre of the Darmstadt greats. From the heyday of serialism also date such works as Boulez's *Livre pour quatuor*, Third Piano Sonata and *Domaines* for clarinet and six instrumental groups, Stockhausen's *Klavierstück XI* and *Carré* for four choirs and four orchestras, and Nono's *Varianti* for violin, strings and percussion. Elements of narrativity, conceived even in the broadest sense, are hardly detectable in these scores; the same applies to a number of other works by the mentioned masters and by their like-minded colleagues. This, however, does not imply that in such works the new rhetoric, rooted in the serial thinking, is observed more strictly than in the masterpieces discussed above. It would be more accurate to say that in some especially remarkable works their authors efficiently used the element of narrativity as a compensatory mechanism drawing closer to what Schoenberg had termed *Faßlichkeit*—"comprehensibility." Schoenberg's text of 1927, entitled "Old Forms in New Music," reads: "If comprehensibility is made difficult in one respect, it must be made easier in some other respect" (quoted after Lessem 1982: 538)—in other words, if in some respects the traditional expectations of the listeners are frustrated, in other respects they should be compensated by more listener-friendly approaches. The true masters of the great avant-garde, no less than artists of almost any other stylistic orientation, were interested in the comprehensibility of their artistic utterances, and the attributes of a traditional musical narrative, stimulating the listener's memory and shaping their anticipations, turned out to be an appropriate means to provide *Faßlichkeit* in the face of a complicated new technique, not fully comprehensible even to experienced music lovers.

Endnotes

- 1 Let us specify that "moment" or "event" theoretically can be quite lengthy—provided that it represents an integrated musical entity.
- 2 In his interview of 1974, Boulez makes it clear that his first essays in multi-parameter serialism are noteworthy as historically significant documents rather than as valuable artistic achievements.
- 3 Strictly speaking, this applies mainly to the first, and partly also to the third sections ("chapters") of the first book of *Structures*. In the second "chapter," composed later than the others, textures are more variegated, and serial technique is handled with more freedom (cf. Иванова 2000: 43–64).
- 4 Cf. also the comprehensive critical analysis of the first section of the first book of *Structures* (Ligeti 1960).
- 5 From this point of view, the "preliminary" variant of the tone row from Boulez's own treatise is less interesting. One could presume that just for this reason Boulez decided to modify it.

- ⁶ From the author's comment on the broadcast performance of *Gruppen* on 23 April 1958; quoted after the booklet attached to *Stockhausen—Gesamtausgabe / Complete Edition*, CD 5, 1992.
- ⁷ In Stockhausen 1959: 22, the same row's version beginning with [*C-sharp*] is cited.

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Santrauka

Serializmo retorikos sąvoką XX a. šeštajame dešimtmetyje įvedė Pierre'as Boulezas. Akivaizdu, kad „retorika“ Boulezo interpretacijoje yra reiškinio, paprastai vadinamo „poetika“, sinonimas, kitaip tariant, tarpusavio ryšys tarp kalbos ir jos (poetinio) vartojimo. Sudėtingos serialistinės muzikos retorika / poetika implikuoja ypač subtilią bet kurio muzikinio audinio elemento visų parametų diferenciaciją, taip pat ir ypatingą stilistinę grynumą, nesuderinamą su paviršutiniškomis asociacijomis ir paprastais kompoziciniais sprendimais. Idealiu atveju „brandus“ serialistinis tekstas yra daugiau ar mažiau autonomiškų ir unikalių garso įvykių ar jų junginių žvaigždynas.

Toks požiūris į muzikinę formą atrodo nesuderinamas su naratyvumo kategorija, apibūdinama rišlumo, plėtotės ir kryptingumo požymiais. Kita vertus, kai kurie pagrindiniai ryškiausių šeštojo dešimtmečio Darmštato avangardo atstovų, tokių kaip Boulezas, Luigi Nono ir Karlheinzas Stockhausenas, kūriniai, nors nepriekaištingai „gryni“ serializmo retorikos požiūriu, pasižymi ir savotišku naratyvumu, kuris reiškiasi jį dialektiškai siejant su serializmo principais. Straipsnyje aptariami keli ryškiausi šio pobūdžio dialektikos atvejai.

Vienas iš tokių kūrinių yra Stockhauseno „Kontrapunktai“ dešimčiai instrumentų (1952), kuriame daugiaparametrinio serializmo elementais kuriamas muzikinis mikrokosmosas, grindžiamas serializmo ideologija ir kartu demonstruojantis kokybinę evoliuciją. Pradinę „kas yra čia“ ekspoziciją lydi atradimai, vedantys į aiškiai apibrėžtą tikslą. „Kontrapunktai“ žymi nukrypimą nuo vėlyvojo Weberno iš esmės „antiteleologinės“ ideologijos ir daugiaparametrinio serializmo jo ankstyvosiose versijose. Kartu „Kontrapunktų“ teleologija yra glaudžiai susijusi su pagrindiniu serializmo principu – garso įvykių kaip „taškų“ traktavimu (plg. *Punkte* [taškai] pavadinime): „taškai“ išsiskleidę erdvėje ir laike, tačiau, priešingai nei Euklido geometrijos taškai, jie turi savo tapatybę.

Boulezo kamerinėje kantatoje „Plaktukas be šeimininko“ („Le marteau sans maître“, 1953–1955) naratyvumo elementas ypač ryškus ketvirtosios dalies pradžioje (*avant* „*L'Artisanat furieux*“), kuriai būdinga muzikinio laiko dviejų tipų (Boulezo vadinamų raižytu – *grooved* ir lygiu – *smooth*) dialektika. Visoje kūrinio kompozicijoje esama naratyvo su intriga, išspręsta pačioje pabaigoje sekant gerai žinomą „Čechovo šautuvo“ principu. Ciklo labirinto tipo kompozicijos modelis neužmaskuoja fakto, kad devintoji ir paskutinė „Plaktuko“ dalis suvokiama kaip sintezuojanti apoteozė, tradiciškai užbaigianti stambios formos muzikinius naratyvus.

Boulezo monumentaliam kūrinyje „Klostė ant klostės“ („Pli selon pli“) sopranui ir dideliam instrumentiniam ansambliui (1958–1962) serializmo retorikos diktuojama labirinto forma derinama su teleologiškai orientuojama pagrindine linija. Dėl aiškaus dramaturginio plano su galingu *crescendo* finale, „arka“, siejančia kūrinio pabaigą su jo pradžia, ir teminėmis sąsajomis tarp dalių, „Klostės“ visumą galima lyginti su tradiciniu simfoniniu ciklu. Kitas tradicinis teleologinis modelis – mišių, ypač mišių už mirusiųsios – aptinkamas sudėtingame Nono serialistiniame kūrinyje „Nutraukta giesmė“ („Il canto sospeso“ (1955–1956).

Ypač ryškus pavyzdys yra Stockhauseno „Grupės“ trims orkestrams („Gruppen“, 1955–57), kuriame veikia dvi priešingos jėgos: viena susijusi su kompozitoriaus ištikimybe serializmui su jo savita retorika, o antroji kyla iš tradiciškesnės muzikos formos kaip kryptingo proceso sampratos. Vertinant iš tam tikro atstumo, „Grupės“ yra ypatingas reiškinys, įgyvendinantis „bėgalinės melodijos“ idėją. Dabar, kai itin rafinuotos daugiaparametrinio serializmo priemonės nebekelia rimto susidomėjimo, mums lengviau vertinti šią grandiozinę kompoziciją kitu požiūriu – kaip nenutrūkstanti

garsų srautą, gausų įvairiausių įvykių, vystomą nuo spontaniškumo link tvarkingumo (pasiekiant maksimumą aukso pjūvio zonoje) ir tada grąžinamą atgal. Taigi visas kūrinys sukurtas pagal vieną iš archetipinio naratyvo modelių, nesuskaičiuojamus kartus atgamintų muzikoje ir literatūroje.

Neteisinga būtų pervertinti naratyvumo svarbą didžiųjų Darmštato kompozitorių kūryboje. Nuo serializmo suklestėjimo laikų naratyvumo elementus, netgi vartojant sąvoką plačiąja prasme, vargu ar galima aptikti tokiuose kūrinuose kaip Boulezo „Knyga kvartetui“ („Livre pour quatuor“), Trečioji fortepijoninė sonata ir „Domenai“ („Domaines“), Stockhauseno „Pjesė fortepijonui XI“ („Klavierstück XI“) bei „Kvadratas“ („Carré“) ar Nono „Variantai“ („Varianti“). Tai pasakytina apie daugelį minėtų ir kitų kompozitorių serialistų kūrinių. Tačiau tai nereiškia, kad tokiuose kūrinuose naujosios retorikos, įsitvirtinusios serialistiniame mąstyme, principų laikomasi griežčiau nei anksčiau aptartuose muzikos kūrinuose. Tiksliau būtų teigti, kad kai kuriuose ypač gerai žinomuose kūrinuose jų autoriai veiksmingai panaudojo naratyvumo elementą kaip kompensacinį mechanizmą, priartinantį prie to, ką Schoenbergas pavadino žodžiu *Faßlichkeit* – „suprantamumas“. Pasak Schoenbergo, „jei suprantamumą apsunkiname vienur, jį reikia palengvinti kitur“, t. y. jei kai kuriais atžvilgiais tradiciniai publikos lūkesčiai nuviliami, juos reikia kompensuoti kitais jai priimtinesniais būdais. Didžiojo avangardo meistrai ne mažiau kaip bet kokios kitos stilistinės orientacijos menininkai buvo suinteresuoti savosios meninės raiškos suprantamumu, o tradicinio muzikinio naratyvo bruožai pasirodė esantys tinkama priemonė pasiekti *Faßlichkeit* naujos sudėtingos kūrybinės technikos kontekste.

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Kirill SMOLKIN

Čiurlionis's Musical and Pictorial Harmony: A Complex Approach

Kompleksinis požiūris į harmonijos aspektą

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Abstract

The universal talent of Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis encourages us to examine his works in the context of his different types of artistic activities. There was a mutual influence of musical and pictorial principles in the works of this Lithuanian composer and painter. This article attempts to draw parallels between Čiurlionis's harmonic style in his music and the characteristic features of his paintings. For this purpose, the author has analyzed the harmonic language of the composer's symphonic poems *In the Forest* and *The Sea* and discovered similar patterns within various different paintings by Čiurlionis.

Keywords: Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, symphonic poems *In the Forest* and *The Sea*, harmonic analysis, Art Nouveau, synthesis of the arts.

Anotacija

Universalus Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio talentas skatina nagrinėti jo kūrybą įvairių meninių veiklų kontekste. Šio lietuvių kompozitoriaus ir tapytojo kūriniuose ryškus muzikinių ir vaizdinių principų tarpusavio ryšys. Straipsnyje brėžiamos paralelės tarp Čiurlionio muzikos harmonijų ir būdingų jo paveikslų bruožų. Autorius išnagrinėjo harmoninę kompozitoriaus simfoninių poemų „Miške“ ir „Jūra“ kalbą ir rado panašias struktūras Čiurlionio paveiksluose.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis, simfoninės poemos „Miške“ ir „Jūra“, harmoninė analizė, *Art Nouveau*, menų sintezė.

Introduction

Research into the versatile creative activities of Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis inevitably immerses us in different fields of art and science. In his works, the characteristic features of Art Nouveau, with its ideas of synthesis of the arts, are revealed authentically. The reason for comparing paintings with musical works has been provided, to a certain extent, by the artist himself, who as early as in 1903 began to synthesize pictorial and musical forms. While analyzing the harmonic style of Čiurlionis's music, we shall appeal to contextual analysis and a suggestive approach to interpreting various artistic texts. In this article, we shall turn to a number of musical and pictorial analogies which arose in the process of immersion in the artist's diverse trends of work.

The subject of our attention is two symphonic poems by Čiurlionis: *In the Forest* (1901) and *The Sea* (1907), as well as several paintings by the artist.

1. The Symphonic Poem *In the Forest*

In this poem, a free or hybrid form is developed, which integrates features of the Rondo form, the Sonata form and the so-called concentric form¹ The simplified form scheme of this composition can be represented as follows:



Example 1. The scheme of the form in the symphonic poem *In the Forest*

Upon closer consideration, the following perspective is received: **principal theme (A)** in C major — transition — **contrasting theme (B)** in A minor — transition — **episode (C)** in G major / B minor — transition — **trio** ≈ **principal theme (A¹)** in D major — **episode (C¹)** in B-flat major / D minor — long transition (or **development section**) — “**mirror**” **recapitulation-coda: contrasting theme (B)** in A minor — transition — **principal theme (A)** in C major. Thereby, this arrangement of themes and keys results in a rather harmonious tonal plan for the entire poem: C major — A minor — G major — D major — B-flat major — A minor — C major.

The harmony of the principal theme (the theme is written in the form of a parallel period) is resolved in a classic and simple way. Upon closer look, we can see that it contains two expositions of a “classical” harmonic progression (TSDT), represented by the following chords:

$$T - T^{5<} - S^6 - D^9 - T$$

Example 2. *In the Forest*, the principal theme, mm. 1–8 (harmonic scheme)²

The visual effect of this “circular” harmonic progression is obvious: entering the forest, we look around, and accustom ourselves to the new place. Čiurlionis turns the *harmonic monotony* of the principal theme (the chord repetitions, the pedal tone on the tonic scale degree, the hardly changing functions) into his main artistic technique. In addition, he prolongates some of the harmonic functions (especially the tonic and, less frequently, the subdominant scale degree) from 2 to 12 (!) measures.³ From the very beginning, Čiurlionis incorporates *the technique of chord development*⁴ (in this case, the tonic). He seems to disclose it slowly, by “trying out” different chord arrangements, timbres, alterations and suspensions. Combined with the slow tempo of *Lento assai* it gives the music the character of an epic narrative. Time in the forest flows differently!

The transition following the principal theme (*Poco animato*, rehearsal number 3), brings in a noticeable amount of contrast to the initial tranquility. C major is quickly replaced by the dominant of the relative minor key, A minor. The harmony of E major briefly takes on the function of the tonic: it sounds like a thematic section, rather than a transition. This moment is quite stable harmonically, likewise demonstrating a kind of “classical” harmonic progression, but in this case in E major.

However, at this point, this section comes to a culmination, as the transition actively develops the material of the principal theme. The tonal contrast of the major-third coordination is quite strong in combination with the textural (compaction of chords), rhythmic (triplets, dotted rhythm) dynamic, and timbral changes (*ff*, orchestral *tutti*). In addition, here Čiurlionis uses the *technique of chord sets* — the sliding chromatic motion of chords (triads and incomplete four-two chords) joined with a tonic pedal tone in the bass and a continuous tone in the upper voices (see reh. no. 4). In their function these series of chords are the linear passing variety. These chord rows explicitly present the figurative depiction of slender rows of gigantic pine trees. In all likelihood, such rows of trees were depicted by Čiurlionis in his painting *Music of Forest* (1903–4)⁵ and graphic work *Rustle of the forest* (1903).⁶

However, soon the E major again shows itself as the dominant of A minor, where it is resolved, leading to the contrasting theme (reh. no. 5, m. 10). It is characteristic that the key and melodic outlines of the new theme are drawn in advance, a few measures before the beginning of the theme itself. The contrasting theme is starkly different from the principal theme in many aspects. First of all, the scale of the stable presentation of the musical idea changes.

The theme is merely a six-measure sentence: two analogous phrases in A minor and in F major (almost a sequence) with a conclusion on the tonic. Nonetheless, despite this laconism of presentation, the theme is very rich in its harmonic substance: the harmony changes with every beat and sometimes even during the course of every half beat. The effect is also strengthened by the development of the polyphonic texture. Compared to the epic principal theme, the contrasting theme is obviously filled with lyrical expression. It is reached through broad triadic motifs with a further descending leap and suspension, ascending and descending linear motion, as well as passing progressions in a melodic minor key, Neapolitan harmonies, and chromatic motion. Among the contrasting details, the change from the triple to quadruple meter is remarkable, as well as the metrically and harmonically unstable beginning of the theme (the eighth rest on the downbeat and the dominant harmony). The generalized harmonic scheme of the contrasting theme is as follows:

$$D - D - \overset{\circ}{T} - S - S - \underline{D} \rightarrow N$$

A minor

$$T - T - S - D^{9-7} - \underline{D} \rightarrow Dp - \overset{\circ}{T}$$

F major *A minor*

Example 3. *In the Forest*, the contrasting theme reh. no. 5, mm. 10–15 (harmonic scheme)

This is followed by a sequential development based on the material of the contrasting theme in various minor keys related to each other through the coordination of perfect fourths and fifths (see reh. no. 6): E minor, A minor, D minor. The chord sets with descending chromatic motion, which are contrasted with the ascending melodic motion, continue to sound considerably brighter. To increase the effect of the sound instability, the composer brings in a dissonant elliptical progression. From the keys of unresolved dominants, the following line is obtained:

$$E\flat - C - G - B - D.$$

The musical notation shows a sequence of chords in A minor and F major. The top staff is in 4/4 time and the bottom staff is in 4/4 time. The chords are: E-flat major (E-flat, G, B), C major (C, E, G), G major (G, B, D), B major (B, D, F), and D major (D, F, A).

$$T - T - \underline{D}^{(S)} - \underline{D}^{(Sp)} - \underline{D}^{(Tp)} - \underline{D}^{(Mp)} - \underline{D}^{(M)}$$

B-flat major *(D major)*

Example 4. *In the Forest*, Transition, reh. no. 7, mm. 5–8 (reduction and harmonic scheme)

2. Harmony in Čiurlionis's Music in the Context of Late Romanticism Tendencies

2.1. Harmony and Form

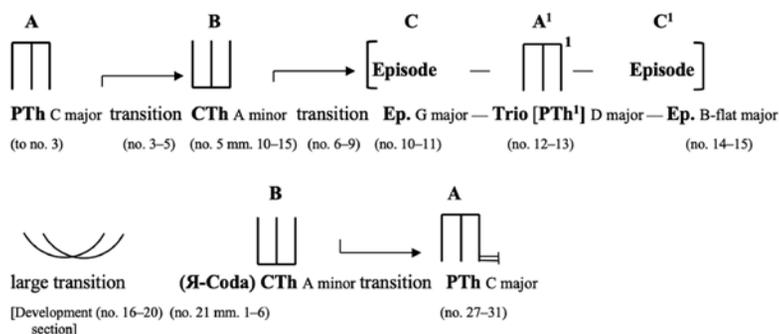
In his chief symphonic compositions *In the Forest* and *The Sea*, Čiurlionis consciously and consistently remains within the framework of the one-movement form characteristic of the symphonic poem genre. Although the composer makes extensive use of the achievements of late Romantic harmony, his relationship with form is founded on the laws of Classical form, which in turn is based on two structural types: theme and transition. From the viewpoint of the forms of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Čiurlionis's most important compositions can be classified within the typical forms of Classical and Romantic direction, which, according to Tatiana Kyuregyan, "notwithstanding their apparent continuity, are not identical to the Classic-Romantic forms" (Kyuregyan 2003: 201).

Regardless in which aspect we try to classify the forms of Čiurlionis's musical compositions, from the viewpoint of sonata form, rondo form, or ternary forms, one thing is certain: all of them are interpreted by the composer in his own personal manner. In the context of Art Nouveau, this seems to represent a symptomatic reinterpretation of the traditional musical principles from the past. Čiurlionis drapes his artistic idea each time in a unique form, which in each particular case he creates in a different way. When analyzing his works, we can ascertain that the composer does not seem to think about form consciously, but "sculpts" it intuitively, as an artist in a rush of inspiration. However, two varieties

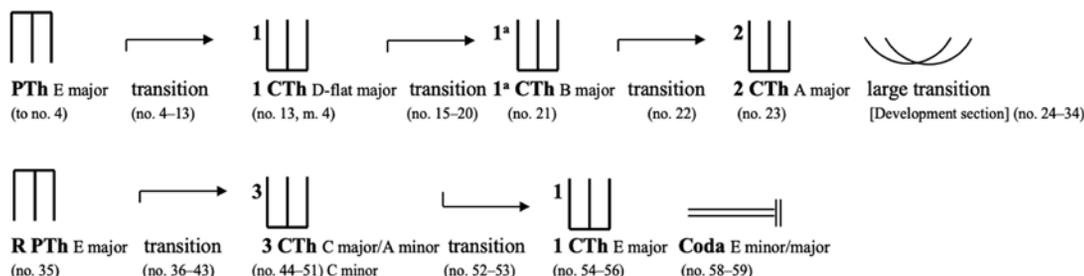
of Čiurlionis's forms become visible to us. In the small-scale compositions, the predominant form is the simple ternary form, manifesting itself in different interpretations. In the large compositions, particularly in symphonic poems, most discernible are multi-theme rondos, likewise with various modifications and deviations from the "norm." Here are the schemes of the forms of the symphonic poems *In the Forest* and *The Sea* (see Examples 6 and 7).⁹

A specific role is played in late Romantic harmony and form by inversional reflection. The most obvious expression of this is perceptible in the increased importance of secondary (contrasting) themes. They surpass the principal themes in their harmonic diversity and intensity of thematic development. Because of this change of thematic disposition, the contrasting themes assume a more dramaturgic and spectacular position in the form. In the poem *In the Forest*, this is provided by the mirror recapitulation: the contrasting theme is transferred to the climax zone — the point of the Golden Mean. As a result, the principal theme appears in the coda; it is not subjected to serious changes and retains its tranquil character. In the symphonic poem *The Sea*, the main theme in the recapitulation, although dynamized (reh. no. 35, *Maestoso*), still retains the character of a certain "introduction"¹⁰. Here the role of the contrasting theme is definitely more dramatic.

The other side of inversional reflection is manifested in the prevalence of the transitional sections over the thematic sections. This affects both the harmonies (the clarity and stability of the themes vs. the harmonic intensity and instability of the transitions) and the lengths of the sections:



Example 6. The form scheme of *In the Forest*



Example 7. The form scheme of *The Sea*

all the themes of Čiurlionis's symphonic compositions are written in small forms. Often, it is a parallel period or even a sentence, the largest form being a simple ternary form (the principal theme of the poem *The Sea*). Compared to the scope of the transitions, the themes truly present minuscule "islands of stability."

2.2. Type of Pitch Organization

In his symphonic poems, Čiurlionis makes use of a tonal type of pitch organization. His themes are tonally established and concise. Nevertheless, it is all the more curious to consider cases when the harmony in his music passes beyond the major-minor system or uses elements of other systems simultaneously with the tonal principles. This most frequently occurs in the transitional sections of the form. The main antipode of tonality in this case is modality. Čiurlionis uses modality cautiously, introducing it periodically throughout his main works. In the symphonic poem *In the Forest*, a striking example of such modal coloring of the material is the aforementioned retransition before the Episode (see reh. no. 8, m. 7 ff.). It is particularly noteworthy in the multi-semantic characteristic feature of modality when the same sounding material may be heard from different perspectives. At the same time, by combining these different facets of the sound into a single whole, the composer presents all the "patches of mode" simultaneously.

In the symphonic poem *The Sea*, Čiurlionis incorporates elements of modal harmonies in a slightly different way, combining them with an overall tonal-harmonic structure. These include scale-wise runs written in the Aeolian mode, centered around "F" against the background of a repeated

perfect fifth, Čiurlionis's favorite descending chromatic lines, and parallel diminished seventh chords (see Example 8). Thus, there exists a piling of multiple heterogeneous strata which sound simultaneously.¹¹ Perhaps the modal nature of the ascending bass line is hardly audible separately from the overall sound. Rather, this merely provides an element of color in the rich sound palette and endows Čiurlionis's music with a subtle national flavor.

The multivalent quality of present modality also finds reflection in Čiurlionis's paintings.¹² Many of Čiurlionis's visual art works bear an association with the polysemous perception of the aforementioned musical examples from the symphonic poems. These tendencies are present in such pictures as *Composition: Flowers* (1907–8), the triptych *Fantasy* (1908),¹³ and many others. We have in mind here the particular way of viewing the respective picture, whereby it becomes possible to distinguish parts of the whole, consider and interpret each of them separately (and differently!) or, on the contrary, by combining all the elements into a single color-graphic whole, whereby the viewer can perceive the picture as an abstract combination of color, lines, and figures.

2.3. The Functional Content of the Tonality

In most cases, Čiurlionis's music remains within the tonal system and maintains the thinking in terms of tonal functionality. This is especially evident in the thematic sections of the form, for example the principal theme of the symphonic poem *In the Forest* and the principal and first contrasting themes of *The Sea*, among others. The tonal functionality is highlighted by its main harmonic formula

Example 8. *The Sea*, Transition (Development Section), reh. no. 30, mm. 4–8 (the main orchestral voices)

(T — D — S — T). In the principal theme of *The Sea*, this progression is further complicated by the introduction into the tonic complex of chords of the third coordination:

$$T - Dp(III_{53}) - Tp(VI_{53}) - D - T$$

The first three chords in the theme can be perceived as one large part of a tonic complex. Under the diatonic conditions, these chords can also be interpreted from the position of the dominant scale—in B major (see Example 9). Here again, the inversional principle is observed with its direction not towards the tonic, but towards the dominant. In addition, this phenomenon can be conditionally called tonal bivalence or multi-valued tonality:

$$E \text{ major: } T - T_4^7 - T - D$$

$$B \text{ major: } S - T - S - T$$

Example 9. *The Sea*, Principal theme, mm. 1–5 (harmonic scheme)

However, in the sections of the development plan, transitions, and retransitions, the harmony passes beyond classical tonal functionality. The advancement to the foreground of non-tonic functions,—first of all the chords bearing dominant functions (especially those presented in the form of seventh and ninth chords), including the chromatic scalar degrees,—allow us to speak about the functional content of extended tonality. In the brightest moments of the climaxes, the tension and condensation of colors, Čiurlionis comes close to polytonality, specifically to the polychord technique and polyfunctionality. The composer uses the pedal tone technique, which can be considered the primary form of polytonality. For example, in the lengthy retransition to the second contrasting theme of *The Sea* for 19 measures there is a continuing pedal tone *E*. In relation to the A major key of the forthcoming theme, this pedal tone obviously provides the dominant function, but during the entire retransition, a variety of chords occur against its background, including non-triadic and suspended chords, which enter into sonant and functional contradictions with the bass tone.¹⁴

A vivid use of polyfunctionality can also be seen in the retransition before the principal theme in the recapitulation of *The Sea* (4 mm. to reh. no. 34), where parallel augmented triads are presented against the background of the dominant pedal tone to E major. Such a concentration of structures favored by Čiurlionis (especially the augmented triads) can be considered as dissonant monostructural chord sets or as additional constructive elements that displace the basic functional relations. Perhaps this is where Čiurlionis approaches the sonoristic technique. Of course, this demonstrates only the beginnings of the system which will develop later, so in this case we should talk about the coloristic function



Figure 1. Čiurlionis's *Faces* (1904–5, from the cycle of 10 paintings *Fantasies*, pastel on pasteboard, 73.0 × 47.0)¹⁵

of harmonies, which will become sonoristic harmonic and textural blocks in just half a century.

Once again, we note the example of layering of textural elements, as well as various polyphonic lines, chords, and, accordingly, their functional meanings, given above (see Example 8). The pedal tone, chromatic unisons, and parallel diminished seventh chords finally diminish the role of traditional functional connections. For Čiurlionis, the sound as such becomes significant. This is *harmony-color*, in the context of which the whole is more important than the details. This provides a reminiscence of the paintings of the Impressionist artists, which are perceived entirely as a whole and only from afar as a single bright impression. The music of Impressionist composers who actively use coloristic harmony speaks for itself.

Speaking of Čiurlionis's paintings, we can compare the bright spots of color and light—the “color chords,” which accumulate intense energy in the paintings—to the dissonant coloristic functions of the harmonic chords in his music. For example, in Čiurlionis's painting *Faces* (1904–5), the barely discernible outlines of human faces are drowned in a deep mass of color. The principal technical and artistic means are provided by color itself. Like a thunderous chord cutting through the orchestral texture in the music, a bright spot of purple breaks out in the middle of the painting. This provides a type of color dissonance which “sounds” as paradoxically stable and independent (see Figure 1).

2.4. Techniques of Romantic Harmony

Using the terminology of Yuri Kholopov (Kholopov 2003: 453), we shall identify the main tendencies and techniques of Romantic and late Romantic harmony intrinsic to Čiurlionis's style. These include the chromatic extension of the diatonic system, the use of linear and coloristic functions, inversional reflection, techniques of chord development and chord sets, additional structural elements, modality as a principle of harmony, and a variable condition of tonality. Obviously, musical technique, even if it provides the conspicuous features of the composer's personal style in the Romantic era, would still be not a purpose in itself but merely the means for manifesting an artistic vision. Therefore, Čiurlionis uses these techniques moderately, even cautiously, and often remains faithful to the simple—but by no means trivial—methods available to his predecessors.

Most often Čiurlionis makes use the technique of chord development. In the poem *The Sea*, we can indicate the development of entire complexes of chords—leitharmony. The first time it appears is in the principal theme at the very beginning of the symphonic poem. In the first contrasting theme, the modified leitharmony appears with a descending melodic line that forms different chords on the tonic pedal tone. In the second contrasting theme (see reh. no. 23), linearity is present in the bass, as the result of which the tonic ends up being positioned on different scale degrees each time: on the root, seventh, sixth, fourth, second, and finally the root again. This means that the leitharmony itself is not only based on the technique of chord development but also, in its turn, is developed as an integral harmonic complex throughout the entire composition, and this may be conditionally labeled as harmonic development of the highest order. Provided below is a harmonic scheme with variants of the leitharmony in the three themes of the symphonic poem *The Sea*:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{PTh: T} \quad \text{—} \quad \text{T}_4^7 \text{—} \quad \text{T}_6 \\ \text{1CTh: T}^{8-7} \text{—} \quad \text{T}^{6-5} \text{—} \quad \text{T} \\ \text{2CTh: T} \quad \text{—} \quad \text{T}_7 \quad \text{—} \quad \text{T}_6 \end{array}$$

Example 10. *The Sea*, Leitharmony (harmonic scheme)

It is worth mentioning another leitmotif which runs throughout the entire symphonic poem and consists of numerously repeated major or minor sixth chords. This demonstrates the simplest form of chord development, in this case—rhythmic, textured, and timbral (see, for example, reh. no. 25). Thus, Čiurlionis uses the technique of chord development with different qualities of chords and on different scale degrees. It is obvious that this attention towards these harmonic progressions is caused by programmatic

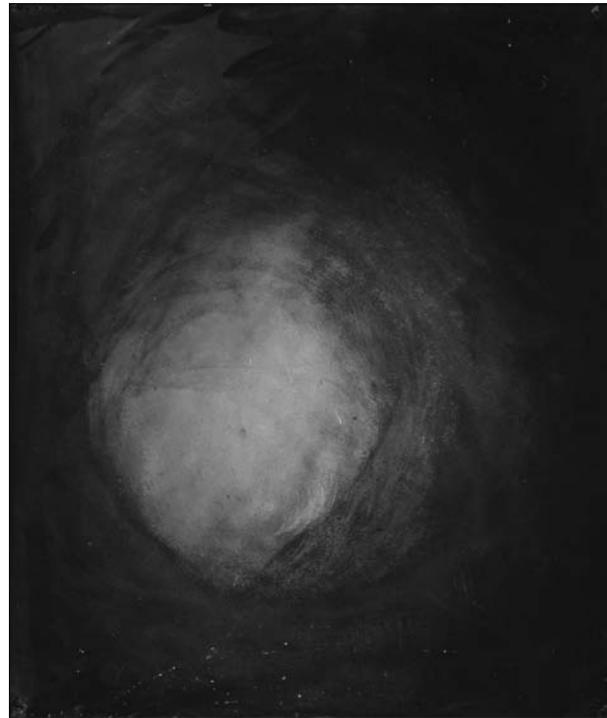


Figure 2. Čiurlionis's *Creation of the World*, part II (1904–5, tempera on pasteboard, 35.5 × 30.5)¹⁶

impulses. The manner in which the composer develops one single chord for a lengthy time provides a sound-imaginative effect. Harmonic homogeneity describes by means of sounds the homogeneity of an imaginary forest or sea panorama. Of course, homogeneity does not in the least mean monotony! However, with a seemingly small number of elements, any change, even of the smallest type, becomes significant. This is similar to changes occurring in nature, when the slightest dimming or amplification of sunlight instantly alters the perception of the surrounding space.

The technique of chord development correlates in Čiurlionis's paintings with the predominance of the one-color palette. This monochromatic style may be called “color development.” A large number of Čiurlionis's paintings can serve as an example for the realization of this principle. Demonstrated above is one painting which creates a most profound impression by the use of these means — *Creation of the World*, part II (see Figure 2).

2.5. Conditions of Tonality

Separately, we should mention the phenomenon of *conditions of tonality* in Čiurlionis's symphonic works. The most common in his symphonic poems—in addition to functional tonality prevailing in stable sections of the form—are the multi-valued, variable (with features of dissonant tonality), and withdrawn tonalities.

Variable tonality can be heard vividly in the third contrasting theme of *The Sea* (reh. no. 44). Its variability may be called relative, since the two tonal centers of C major and

A minor can be clearly distinguished in this theme. Tonal variability is also strongly evident in the Episode theme of the symphonic poem *In the Forest* (reh. no. 10) due to the constantly changing tonal centers:

G major/E minor — F-sharp minor/B minor.

Withdrawn tonality (with features of dissonant harmonies) can be observed in the development section of *The Sea* (reh. no. 34). This effect is achieved due to a strong concentration of dissonances (augmented triads), which almost completely “blur” the tonal and functional bases and come close to becoming the central element of the system (see Example 11). The future central key is indicated only by the pedal tone “B” (which is played only by timpani!), which is revealed as the dominant harmony only later, when resolved into the tonic chord of E major in rehearsal number 35.



Example 11. *The Sea*, Development Section, reh. no. 34, mm. 8–10 (harmonic reduction)

In each case, Čiurlionis uses special conditions of tonality, either for reasons caused by the musical program and imagery, or in order to achieve a special quality of sound, including instability, depth, ambiguity, colorfulness, and poignancy associated with dissonances. On the other hand, in the context of the “borderline” stylistic conditions in the various arts during the 1890s and the 1900s, typical Romantic principles are perceived in a new way, in the light of the changing time period. The special condition of tonality, and of art in general, inevitably correlates with the “condition of the epoch.”

Čiurlionis in his music and paintings could not be left out of the vortex of changes in the arts. Demonstrating himself as an heir to the strong academic traditions of European art and making ample use of the broadly recognized artistic trends of his time, he nevertheless expressed the new “artistic condition” of his epoch. According to Gražina Daunoravičienė:

Although Čiurlionis was creating his art works during the time of fading Romanticism, the compositional parameters of his music were attuned to the mystical mood of emerging Modernism. He strove for a significant renovation of sounds [and colors!—*K. S.*], perceiving this as the exceptional necessity for the evolution of music or as a historical fate. (Daunoravičienė 2016: 446)

2.6. Chords and Voice-Leading

The tonal triad should be considered as the central element of the system in Čiurlionis's symphonic poems. The favorite forms of its complexification are seventh chords, ninth chords, and augmented triads, which are most often separated from the usual tonal functions and behave as linear or coloristic components.

There are many interesting examples of how Čiurlionis, by incorporating the means mastered by composers before him, turns them into inherent elements of his individual style. We are referring to his favorite augmented structures. Čiurlionis makes the augmented triad the crucial element of his artistic palette, placing it into a new programmatic and figurative context. A particularly expressive episode of *The Sea* attracts our attention, where the composer brings in only parallel augmented triads against the background of a dominant pedal tone.



Example 12. *The Sea*, Transition (before the Development Section), reh. no. 25, mm. 7–9 (harmonic reduction)

Čiurlionis's voice-leading can be considered to be quite free in its stylistic manner. As can be seen from the examples above, he often incorporates parallel harmony, which must be perceived not as a disregard for the established rules, but as a conscious coloristic method. He often uses false relations that occur due to the resulting harmonic contradiction between the main chords and/or melodic voices on the one hand, and secondary chromatic lines on the other.



Example 13. *The Sea*, Development Section, reh. no. 31, mm. 3–4 (harmonic reduction)

Separately, we should mention the chromatic line, which became a typical technique of Čiurlionis in the context of the emergent modern music and painting of his time. Analyzing the music of Čiurlionis in connection with the universal style of the arts (painting, architecture, design, and decoration) and noting the influence of biomorphic and abstract ornaments of Jugendstil on his musical scores, Gražina Daunoravičienė concludes:

Čiurlionis tends toward a constructive line and a special function of the semitone. The chromatic progressions in its musical graphics serve at least two purposes. First, they are perceived visually, like a drawing, the outlines of a graphic or pictorial line. Secondly, semitone cells and “strokes” of different volumes are provided a dividing function: the chromatic line separates the texture into individual layers. (Daunoravičienė 2016: 429–430)

In truth, such linear techniques may easily be perceived visually. In the program context, they are like certain “waves” raging on the pages of Čiurlionis’s musical scores.

2.7. Texture and Orchestration

The orchestral texture in Čiurlionis’s music is characterized by a large differentiation of layers, as well as by bright contrasts. It has either ethereal clarity combined with graphical lines or immense density resulting from an array of chord layers, doublings, and a large number of instruments, frequently playing *tutti*. Čiurlionis often employs open positions of chords with far-spaced range boundaries. With the inclusion of a profound bass, a high “soaring” melody, and a “spacious” middle texture filled with passages, glissandos, or tremolos of individual instruments or instrumental groups, the texture literally “breathes”.¹⁷

The orchestral texture reaches a high level of density in the climax of the development section of *The Sea*. A wave of unisons, chromatic lines, and chords builds up, gathering tension to “collide” against the rock of the recapitulation appearing in a full orchestral *tutti*. In contrast to this, the principal themes in both symphonic poems as well as the third contrasting theme of *The Sea* are distinguished by their clear textural transparency.

The orchestration of the symphonic poem *In the Forest* appears as being quite “Classical” and even chamber-like compared that of the symphonic poem *The Sea*. Among other features, the absence of percussion, including timpani, in this score is particularly noteworthy.¹⁸ The symphonic poem *The Sea* shows the evolution of the composer as well as his way of orchestrating the music. Here Čiurlionis employs a large orchestra, which is primarily the result of the programmatic idea: he paints the sea in sounds—the scale of the sound corresponds to the “chief protagonist” of the poem.¹⁹ The composer brings in the harp and the organ and expands the ensemble by adding a fifth and a sixth horn, a third and a fourth trumpet, a side-drum, cymbals, and glockenspiel.

Without immersing ourselves in the numerous details of the orchestration, we shall note a few moments which seem to be the most curious for us. In the symphonic poem *In the Forest*, the retransition before the Episode which was already mentioned is worthy of notice. The almost “Impressionist” type of orchestral sound, in addition to the harmonic means, is achieved by refined orchestration: against the background

of the harp’s chords and triadic “glares” of two flutes (with the third flute playing the continuous tone), the horn and then the viola play melodious solos.

The third contrasting theme of *The Sea* (reh. no. 44) is orchestrated very colorfully. Čiurlionis brings in the low woodwind instruments as the melodic voices (the clarinet and bass clarinet in octave unison), and the accompaniment is provided by the second bassoon, tuba, harp, and organ.

Whatever type of orchestration Čiurlionis chooses, he demonstrates it very intensively. Without contradicting the clear division of texture and timbre layers, he often creates immensely dense colors, only occasionally lightening the texture and leaving clean, unmixed timbres to sound.

Such picturesque intensity of color can be observed in many of Čiurlionis’s paintings. Almost all of his works combine two features of this picturesque texture: a density of color mixed with clear graphics or impressionistic blurriness of lines. In relation to the texture and density of color, especially in the context of the marine theme, we will give the examples of the painting *Ship with Sails* (1905) and the *Sonata of the Sea* cycle (1908).²⁰

3. The Colors in Čiurlionis’s Paintings

Mikalojus Čiurlionis anticipates many of the discoveries of twentieth century painting, up to the method of Tachisme, however extravagant this comparison may sound. This means, of course, not the spontaneous coating of paint on the canvas, but rather a new approach to color, a color spot, as an artistic and expressive means.

In working with color, he showed himself as being ahead of such avant-gardists as Nicolas de Staël and Mark Rothko. Čiurlionis’s paintings and marine studies are just a step away in terms of their style from the paintings of



Figure 3. Čiurlionis’s *The Sea: A Study* (1908?, oil on canvas, 18.6 × 21.0)²²

Rothko! In order to understand this, we should compare one of Čiurlionis's sea studies with Rothko's painting *Blue and Grey* (see Figure 3).²¹ The sea in Čiurlionis's work is almost abstract, and the artist does not need anything extra to represent it: no foaming waves, no bright sunlight, no sailing ships. He simply divides the canvas into two halves and fills it with paint. If in its nature the sea is a dense mass of water, then in Čiurlionis's painting it is merely a mass of paint, that is, color. The title of the painting by Rothko is self-explanatory. Rothko refers to the colors, making them the main "protagonists" of the paintings and the bearers of the idea, the image, the method of influence, and the philosophical concept.

Conclusion

We have examined two main works for orchestra by Čiurlionis: the symphonic poems *In the Forest* and *The Sea*. By the example of these compositions, which in our opinion are the most illustrative of his musical works, we have tried to identify the characteristic features of the composer's harmonic style and relate them to his visual art works.

Remaining in line with Romantic harmony, Čiurlionis actively used its established elements. This is associated with a number of tendencies which are characteristic of both the overall harmonic "vocabulary of the epoch" and the composer's individual language. Let us generalize them:

- individualized interpretation of forms with a general orientation towards the Classical and Romantic traditions;
- an inverse relationship between harmony and form: bringing secondary themes to the fore, their more diverse harmonic solutions being compared to the principal themes; the prevalence of transitional over thematic sections; the emancipation of dissonance;
- a large role for modality within the tonal-functional system;
- a different approach towards tonality—the special conditions of tonality (multi-valued, variable with features of dissonant harmonies, withdrawn tonality, etc.);
- use of Romantic harmonic techniques (chromatic extension of the diatonic system, linear and coloristic functions, the techniques of chord development and chord sets, additional structural elements, etc.);
- a qualitatively new attitude to texture and instrumentation as an artistic, colorful means of expression.

Čiurlionis's versatile work correlates perfectly with many of the various artistic (and musical) trends of the epoch. Visionary—we might even say prophetic—in its tone, it clearly looks to the future. It is amazing how, without declaring any

new ideas and forms, he nevertheless uses them as naturally as if they had already existed in art before him.

An important feature of Čiurlionis's talent is his universalism. Therefore, any thorough research of the works of such an artist as Čiurlionis inevitably leads to cognition of a broader cultural context. In the epoch of Art Nouveau (and, more broadly, in the Romanticist era)—this is not only a historical, biographical, or stylistic context, but also the context of the artist's parallel creative activities and ideas. In this rich contextual field, it becomes fascinating to search for the subtle connections and impulses which make us suddenly switch from one work of art to another, or when we perceive one artistic text, to keep in mind and imagine a number of other texts. In this article we have attempted to suggest several such impulses. Some people will find them subjective, while others will find their own varieties or will not look for them at all, continuing to perceive the different arts separately. However, there is no denying that the work of Čiurlionis remains in constant internal interaction, inviting the performer, listener, and viewer to enter into a creative dialogue with it.

Endnotes

- ¹ The concentric form of the poem was defined by Algirdas Ambrazas (see: Ambrazas 2000).
- ² In this paper, the following symbols are used:
< >—signs of chromatic high and low degrees in a chord;
oT—Tonic of minor key;
Tp—relative key for tonic;
Sp—relative key for subdominant, etc.
The numbers at the top of the letter indicate the additional tone of the chord; the numbers below the letter indicate the tone of the chord on which it stands. See more about this: Kholopov 2003: 533–534.
- ³ See the rehearsal number 1, mm. 1–12.
- ⁴ In this paper, when analyzing harmony, we use the terminology developed by Yuri Kholopov (Kholopov 2003: 453).
- ⁵ See: Čiurlionytė-Karužienė and Grigienė 1977, figure No. 4.
- ⁶ See: Mildažytė-Kulikauskienė 2007: 49, illustration No. 19.
- ⁷ See: Claude Debussy *The Sea*, part I, *Modéré sans lenteur*, 4 mm. to the no. 3.
It is interesting that Debussy's *The Sea* was written two years after Čiurlionis's *In the Forest*, i.e. in 1903, although most likely Debussy was not familiar with the work of the Lithuanian composer.
- ⁸ See, for example, *Preludes* by Franz Liszt, Breitkopf & Härtel edition, m. 3 after rehearsal mark L.
- ⁹ Abbreviations:
PTh—Principal theme,
CTh—Contrasting theme,
R—Recapitulation,
Я-Coda—"mirror" Recapitulation-Coda,
no.—rehearsal number.
- ¹⁰ A similar effect is observed in the first poem, where the main theme also serves as a conclusion.

- ¹¹ Gražina Daunoravičienė, in relation to the late period of Čiurlionis's creativity (since 1904), writes about "the tendencies to the autonomous layers, to saturation them with carefully selected constructional elements and to the creation of strategies for operating these elements" (Daunoravičienė 2013: 141).
- ¹² Genovaitė Kazokas writes about the use of symbols and combination of "multiple planes" in Čiurlionis's painting and about "the introduction of the fourth dimension—the notion of time—to the flat surface of the painting" (Kazokas 2009: 24–25).
- ¹³ See: Čiurlionytė-Karužienė and Grigienė 1977, figure no. 125; 190–192.
- ¹⁴ These contradictions are partly polytonal since the A major appears only after resolution into the tonic, replacing the A minor.
- ¹⁵ See: Čiurlionytė-Karužienė and Grigienė 1977, figure no. 46.
- ¹⁶ See: *Ibid.*, figure no. 62.
- ¹⁷ In this respect, the texture of Čiurlionis is close to Scriabin's overtone ideas. The texture of the First Contrasting theme of *The Sea* is very significant in this regard.
- ¹⁸ The orchestration of *In the Forest* poem: Fl. I-II, Picc.; Ob. I-II, Eng.h.; Cl. I-II, Bass Cl.; B-n. I-II; Hn. I-IV, Trp. I-II, Tbn. I-III, Tba; Hp; Strings.
- ¹⁹ The orchestration of *The Sea* poem: Fl. I-II, Picc.; Ob. I-II, Eng.h.; Cl. I-II, Bass Cl.; B-n. I-II; Hn. I-VI, Trp. I-IV, Tbn. I-III, Tba; Timp., S.dr., Cym, Glock.; Hp, Org.; Strings.
- ²⁰ See: Čiurlionytė-Karužienė and Grigienė 1977, figure no. 53; 197–199.
- ²¹ For Rothko's *Blue and Grey* see Fondation Beyeler collection at: https://www.fondationbeyeler.ch/en/collection/work?tx_wmdbasefbey_pi5%5Bartwork%5D=119&cHash=9a435a0ce0890051c0aa9b75074a138c [last checked 11.11.2020].
- ²² See: Čiurlionytė-Karužienė and Grigienė 1977, figure no. 51.

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Santrauka

Čiurlionio įvairialypės kūrybinės veiklos tyrimai neišvengiamai verčia nerti į įvairias meno ir mokslo sritis. Šio lietuvių kompozitoriaus ir tapytojo kūryboje ryškus muzikinių ir vaizdinių principų tarpusavio ryšys. Išlaikydamos romantinę harmoniją, Čiurlionis aktyviai naudojo jos nusistovėjusius elementus, pavyzdžiui:

- individualizuota formų interpretacija, orientuojantis į klasikinę ir romantinę tradicijas;
- harmonijų ir formų inversija: antrinių temų išryškimas, įvairesni jų harmoniniai sprendimai, lyginant su pagrindinėmis temomis; dominuoja moduliacijos, o ne tematinė medžiaga; disonanso emancipacija;
- didelis modalumo vaidmuo toninėje-funkcinėje sistemoje;
- kitoks požiūris į tonumą: ypatinga tonumo įvairovė (daugialypės vertės, kintamas su disonansinių harmonijų bruožais, nykstantis tonalumas ir kt.);
- romantinių harmonijos modelių naudojimas (chromatinis diatoninės sistemos išplėtimas, linijinės ir koloristinės funkcijos, akordų sudarymo technikos ir akordų sekos, papildomi struktūriniai elementai ir kt.);
- kokybiškai naujas požiūris į tekstūrą ir instrumentuotę kaip į menišką, spalvingą išraiškos priemonę.

Straipsnyje brėžiamos paralelės tarp Čiurlionio muzikos harmonijų ir būdingųjų jo paveikslų bruožų. Autorius išnagrinėjo harmoninę kompozitoriaus simfoninių poemų „Miške“ ir „Jūra“ kalbą ir nustatė panašias struktūras jo paveiksluose. Harmoninė akordų sudarymo technika koreliuoja su vyraujančia vienos spalvos palete Čiurlionio paveiksluose (plg., pavyzdžiui, „Pasaulio sukūrimas“, I dalis). Šis monochromatinis stilius gali būti vadinamas „spalvos kūrimu“.

Muzikinei faktūrai Čiurlionio kūryboje būdinga didžiulė sluoksnių diferenciacija ir ryškūs kontrastai. Mokslininkai tyrinėja analogišką „kelių plokštumų“ įvairovę menininko paveiksluose (žr. Kazokas 2009).

Čiurlionio pamėgtų struktūrų (ypač padidintų triadų) koncentracija gali būti laikoma disonansinėmis monostrukūrinėmis akordų sekomis arba papildomais konstrukciniais elementais, keičiančiais pagrindinius funkcinius santykius. Čiurlioniui reikšmingas pats garsas kaip harmo-

nija – spalva, kurios kontekste visuma yra svarbesnė nei detalės. Kalbėdami apie Čiurlionio paveikslus, ryškias spalvų ir šviesos dėmes – „spalvų akordus“, kurie paveiksluose yra sukaupę intensyvią energiją, – galėtume palyginti su jo muzikos harmoninių akordų disonuojančiomis koloristinėmis funkcijomis. Pavyzdžiui, Čiurlionio paveiksle „Veidai“ vos pastebimi žmogaus veidų kontūrai paskęsta intensyvioje spalvų masėje. Pagrindines technines ir menines priemones suteikia pati spalva. Kaip griausmingas akordas, muzikoje skrodžiantis orkestro faktūrą, paveikslu viduryje prasimuša

ryški purpurinė dėmė. Taip atsiranda paradoksaliai stabilaus ir nepriklausomo „skambesio“ disonansas.

Savo meninėje kūryboje Čiurlionis nuspėjo daugelį XX a. naujovių. Dirbdamas su spalvomis, jis lenkė tokius avangardistus kaip Nicolas de Staëlis ir Markas Rothko. Svarbus Čiurlionio talento bruožas yra jo universalumas. Kontekstinė analizė ir sugestyvus požiūris atveria naujus jo kūrybos suvokimo būdus.

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Oleksandr PEREPELYTSIA

From New Forms of Notation to Theatricized Performance Gesture: The Creation of Emotional-Figurative Contexts of Modern Piano Music

Nuo naujų muzikos notacijos formų iki teatralizuoto atlikimo gesto: emocinių-vaizdinių kontekstų kūrimas šiuolaikinėje fortepijoninėje muzikoje

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Abstract

The article discloses the characteristics of the influence of new forms of musical notation on performance gesture in piano music, and the creation, in relation to this, of new emotional and figurative contexts for piano music. The piano performer's gesture and movements are stipulated by theatrical psychological meaning, thereby complementing and enriching the process of intonation. In addition, gesture becomes an important meaning-generating element in the theatricalization of performance, in piano compositions where the action is unfolded as based upon the principles of internal and external theatricality. The article examines various approaches to the theory of gesture and determines the relationship between non-standard creative forms of notation and the expanding possibilities of the performer's gesture, where the latter is transformed from an auxiliary field to a field of reflection of meaning-forming theatrical contexts.

Keywords: contemporary notation, theatrical performance gestures, gesture theory, emotional-figurative context.

Anotacija

Straipsnyje atskleidžiamos naujų muzikos notacijos formų įtakos fortepijoninės muzikos atlikimo gestui ypatumai ir atitinkamai naujų emocinių-metaforinių fortepijoninės muzikos kontekstų kūrimas. Fortepijono atlikėjo gestą ir judesius nustato teatrinė-psichologinė reikšmė, papildanti intonavimo procesą. Be to, kūrinuose fortepijonui, kur veiksmas atskleidžiamas remiantis vidinio ir išorinio teatrališkumo principais, gestas tampa svarbiu reikšmę formuojančiu elementu atlikimo režisūroje. Straipsnyje nagrinėjami įvairūs požiūriai į gestų teoriją ir nustatomas santykis tarp nestandartinių kūrybinių muzikos notacijos formų bei besiplečiančių atlikėjo gesto galimybių, kai pastarasis perkeliamas iš pagalbinio lauko į reikšmę formuojančių teatrinų kontekstų refleksijos lauką.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: šiuolaikinė muzikos notacija, teatralizuoto atlikimo gestai, gestų teorija, emocinis-metaforinis kontekstas.

Contemporary composers in their quest for knowledge of various worlds and super-worlds, the energy of the cosmos and its magical manifestations, and following the latest paradigm generated by the music of the second avant-garde's rejection of the song form as the basis of all musical elements, have created a revolution in notation, in each case adapting it to the individual project of their musical works. Presently, almost every composer is in possession of their own structure of musical notation and designations of various performance techniques and seeks to reflect accurately and meticulously the emotional-figurative context and imbue the system of musical notation with something original. The avant-garde music of the second half of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century is on the verge of a new spiritual era, demonstrating to the world countless notational forms, systems, and methods. The movement is characterized by its incorporation of the imagery of the surrounding sounding, moving, and living

world. In connection with this, the musical material necessarily becomes extraordinarily more complex: new atonal pitch systems appear, rhythmic structures become more complicated, and original forms of sound extraction and performance methods associated with specific features of instrumentation are applied. In piano music, the latter include playing clusters, performing on the "prepared" piano, and playing on the strings and pedals, as well as with threads, sticks, and other objects. In solo instrumental performance, electronics are employed. All this leads to the modernization of musical notation and the use of specific forms of notation to reflect the special performance techniques and sound effects present in the music. Usually, every musical composition of this kind is explained by a particular technique or symbol, and in some cases, lengthy performance instructions are placed directly above or below the notes, and it takes a significant amount of time first to learn the entire musical score with all the unusual characters present

in it, and then to move on to perform the composition. By reproducing pitch notation extremely thoroughly, the performer is granted creative freedom not only in traditional settings such as the agogics, dynamics, touch, etc., but also in new dimensions related to playing clusters, playing on the piano strings and pedals, sound gestures, and the theatricality of performance.

Contemporary musical notation is comprised not only of the fixation of pitch and rhythmic parameters, but also of many other components, such as the theatricality of performance gesture, the direction and parameters of performance technique which affect one way or another the perception of the work as a whole.

The new musical trends of the twentieth century also brought a certain amount of change in the means of musical notation. On the one hand, this change presents a further refinement and enrichment of performance designations, an extension of their complex entities. Thereby, contemporary music has incorporated such elements as the notation of conducting methods and of previously unknown performance types. Different means of notation exist which have been introduced by various composers and which have ever only been used in their own works. On the other hand, the adherents of aleatory music in its various types do not apply any established written fixation of notes in their pieces, leaving many parameters to the discretion of the performer. Composers who believe that the rendition of their ideas must be carried out in a manner approaching free improvisation often realize the musical notation of their compositions as a series of "hints," as a sort of musical drawing.

Of special importance is the inherent symbolism present in musical notation, where along with such generally accepted symbols as, for instance, Bartok pizzicatos, new ones have appeared, such as playing on the stand, playing with the pedals, playing on various different parts of the piano,



Figure 1. Maksim Shorenkov's *Through the Spheres* for piano and threads

playing on the strings with the hands or objects, playing on the strings with threads, extracting harmonics, glissando-fluides (by means of glass cups), string pizzicatos, use of various percussion sticks, and singing along with playing.

All these symbols require separate explanations. In addition, some composers have departed from the traditional

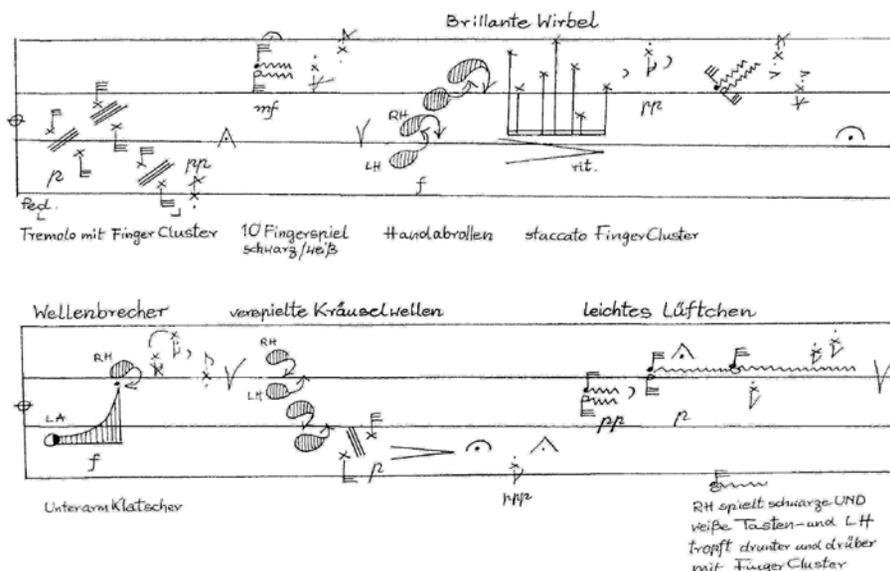


Figure 2. Gertrud Meyer-Denkman's *Fresh Breeze (Frische Brise)* for piano

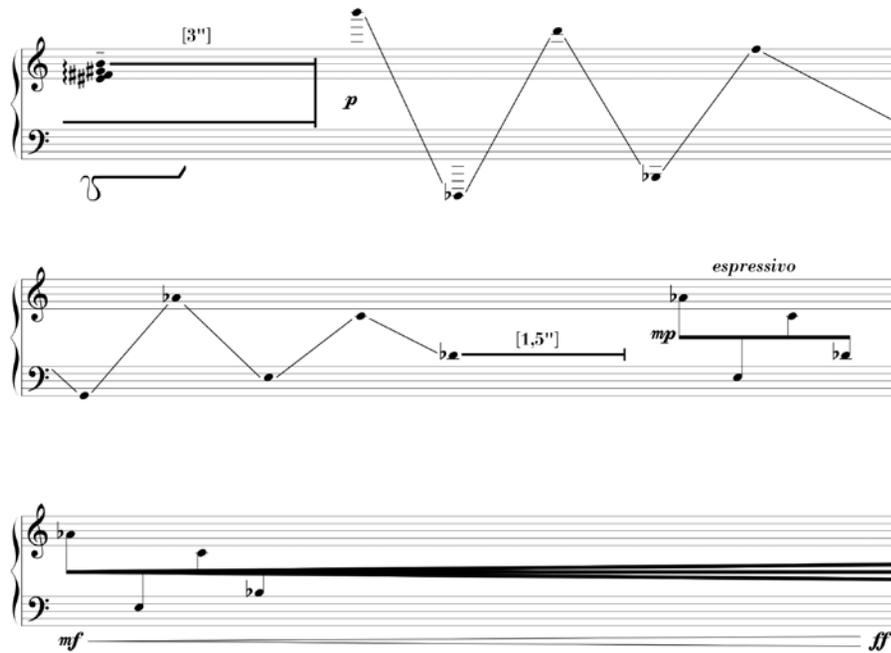


Figure 3. Karmella Tsepkenko's *Evening Solitaire* for piano

framework of the five-lined staff, having created their own systems of musical graphics. Here, various composers, following John Cage, in search of adequate expression of their ideas by means of signs, have turned to notating their musical ideas by means of graphics, transcending all rules of traditional notation (Roman Haubenstock-Ramati, Mauricio Kagel, Krzysztof Penderecki, Karlheinz Stockhausen, etc.).

Along with the various new methods of notation, the aesthetic, visual aspect of the musical score has unexpectedly gained significance. Such kinds of notation provided the impetus for the creation of so-called performances and "theater pieces."

It can be said that such musical scores present various types of written improvisations, the auditory outcome of



*) Glissando from any sound.

Figure 4. Julia Gomelskaya's *Seven Touches* for piano

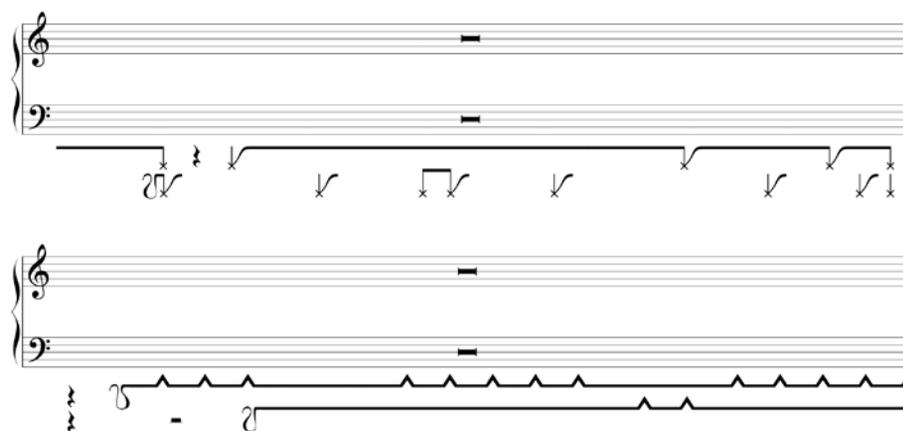


Figure 5. Karmella Tsepikolenko's *Evening Solitaire* for piano

which is not predetermined. The performer is free to choose everything—from the instrument on which they perform to the duration of the sound. Moreover, the number of performers is also random: from one soloist to an entire orchestra.

For the twentieth century, the manner in which the sound is extracted has gained significance; performance articulation has become imbued with meaning. The performers may play with the palms of their hands, or with their knuckles, thereby realizing the composer's artistic conception (Galina Ustvolskaya's piano sonatas), pressing the keys soundlessly to create special sound effects (Sofia Gubaidulina's *Echo*) or use of the piano's pedals as a percussion instrument (Karmella Tsepikolenko's *Evening Solitaire*).

The piano performer's gestures and movements are similar to the psychological gesture in the theater, which reveals and formalizes the intention for a psychologically significant intonation. There also exist shock manifestations, where the performer crawls under the piano, lies upon it, plays with the mirrored hand position (Ivan Sokolov's *Volokos*), or produces sound effects with, for example, their nose or elbow. In contemporary music, the performer is presented with the task of creating a performance script in which theatrical performance gestures would be recognized and orchestrated, and the actors' moves comprising the performance are well thought out. Undoubtedly, contemporary music finds itself in need of special types of performance combining its inherent theatrical components and the individual directions present in it.

Traditionally, pianistic motions have been divided into two groups: those associated with motions focused on sound extraction and those which aspire towards the goal of obtaining the necessary sound according to such factors as the indicated pitch, duration, volume, or timbre. Such motions are called "working," "playing," or "expedient" motions.

The second group includes more explanatory motions, which may often appear on the level of an unconscious process, as the result of a type of a "directorial" task, making it possible to reveal more clearly the semantic meaning of a musical composition and convey a particular individual interpretation. Such motions are referred to as "visually expressive" and "subjectively tuning." They include moving the hands (these are also perceived as pertaining to the first group), the shoulders, the torso, and the head as well as facial manifestations as part of the performance. Facial expression pertains entirely to the field of non-auditory visual gestures during the performance and is referred to as "silent speech" or "silent playing" (Moroz 2018: 132).

The contemporary era, as reflected in modern musical notation, has placed numerous additional requirements on the performer. The general provisions of the art of gesture in modern music are complemented by many more positions related to the skill of cluster performance, playing on strings, pedals, by means of auditory gestures, and theatricalization of the performed material. Ukrainian researcher Marina Pereplytsia, when researching the manifestation of theatricality in the art of music, notes the multi-directional nature of theatricality in non-theatrical musical genres—internal playing development and external theatrical performance. The author identifies three types of theatricalization in non-theatrical musical genres: the internal type, namely, the theatricalization of the figurative sphere without any demonstrational manifestation on stage; external theatricalization, which involves demonstrational manifestations of the musical composition; and the duple theatricalization, which combines both types—the figurative and demonstrative. External theatricality, being in itself largely predetermined by the laws of theater as a spectacular art, relies on visual imagery. Internal theatricality is based purely on the musical text, reflecting the action in an illusory way, by means of associativity, and receives expression on



Figure 6. A musical performance by Lang Lang

the psychological figurative level of internal connection of music with theatre (Perepelytsia 2015: 77). The issue of performance gesture in piano music has recently attracted the attention of researchers. Thus, British pianist Frances Wilson, when studying the issue of performance gesture, observes that the concert hall resembles a theatre, and the performer on stage plays the role of an actor. And for the audience a concert becomes both a visual and an auditory experience—we listen with both our eyes and ears. The physical movements and gestures of the performers not only affect the nature and quality of the sound, but also reveal the hidden context of the work and help the listener attain the desired association. However, at certain times, some performers discard gesture out of the content, “overdo” the effects, or “grimace” with no present necessity, as a result of which the performer’s gestures interfere with the music or have no connection with it, which may be unpleasant or even annoying to the viewer. But in cases when the “correct” gestures are applied, the performance improves in a magical way both for the listener and for the performer. According to Frances Wilson, every musical style brings its own original aesthetics of performance gesture: Bach’s style is accompanied by the gestures which reflect its depth and religious detachment; the era of Haydn and Mozart is characterized by elegance, lightness, and playfulness; Beethoven’s music is accompanied by more intense and wider gestures, while Romantic music with its deep contrasts, dramatic bursts of emotion, and tragic cries of despair correlates with sharp, possibly even hysterical gestures (Wilson 2016).

Australian musicologist Jane Davidson, when trying to substantiate the semantic aspect of the pianist’s gestures, has examined the movements of the hands and the body as well as the facial expressions of the performer during the performance of the music (Davidson). For the first time, the

attempt has been made to link the communicative musical motions with the artist’s facial expressions in creating an expressive musical performance. The respective motions have been studied in solo and ensemble performances.

As an example for experimental study in solo performance, the participation of world-famous Chinese pianist Lang Lang, who is distinguished by his extreme communicative and expressive gestures and facial expressions, has been chosen. The process of his performance has been recorded with the use of five cameras. Standard classical concert repertoire has been used as the musical material.

Analysis of the video of the recorded performances has revealed a variety of combinations of facial and bodily expressions reflecting the structural features of the music. They can be reduced to basic expressive types of gestures correlated with facial expression: forward and backward tilts, most often with the eyebrows slightly raised, sometimes with a slightly open mouth; nods of the head (up and down)—with the eyebrows slightly raised, sometimes with a slightly open mouth; shaking of the head (side to side)—with eyes closed, eyebrows raised, mouth slightly open; leaning back, with head tilted up—with eyes closed, eyebrows raised and mouth open; leaning forward or extremely close to the keyboard—with a frowning forehead and the whole face tense and covered, as if crying or sobbing; an explosive spring actuated thrust of the body, with quick motion back—with the mouth and the eyes wide open; the left or the right hand raised, as if conducting, while the eyes often follow the direction of the hand; the hand making a gesture, raised high as if emphasizing a note or chord, while the eyes often follow the direction and intensity of hand gestures.

The data obtained indicates the presence of a repertoire of expressive gesture information used to enhance and convey to the viewer the meaningful components of the work.

Australian-English pianist and researcher Zubin Kanga notes that, although gesture has always been an important component of music, the study of musical gesture, especially in its literal sense of body gesture and motion, has become an important area of research only during the last decade. The study of gesture is based on a wide range of disciplines, including dance, choreography and dramatization of musical performance. The study of gestures becomes especially relevant when examining modern music, which explores new technologies and creates acoustic electronic and multimedia performances. In the elaboration of the theory of gesture, it is possible to develop a fresh outlook on extant musical scores by making use of unconventional analytical methods for studying their dynamic visual dimensions (Kanga 2016).

Giusy Caruso, Esther Coorevits, Luc Nijs, and Marc Leman from the University of Ghent in their studies apply motion sensors not to control sound through gestures, but to analyze gestures performed in contemporary musical compositions. Case studies have made it possible to expand Leman's theory of perspectives about gestures as well as to present the model of how the drawing of motions may assist artists in the preparation of gestural dimensions when interpreting contemporary musical compositions. The article also suggests a method which aids the performer in solving the problems of avant-garde musical manifestation. The method aims to make the performer's artistic process, based on cognitive and sensorimotor patterns, more explicit in order to understand better the relationship between the goals, actions, and sounds. The method is intended to help performers form their interpretive views, while at the same time presenting their performative code by explicitly using innovative mirror technologies. First, the authors provide a common basis for understanding musical performance, based on the concept of spaces and performance frames, and then they set up the general concept of gesture corresponding with the content and style of the musical work (Caruso 2016).

Bériashvili's article contains a brief overview of ideas and quotes from twentieth-century thinkers on gesture, covering the overall panorama of music-related studies about gesture over the past three decades. A special section is devoted to the role of gesture in the work of contemporary composers in the avant-garde vein. The central part of the article is devoted to analysis of the theories of Hatten, Cox, and Imberty. The author's own concept of the "imprint" of gesture in the musical space and the possibilities arising from this for analyzing the historical development of the art of music in the twentieth century are also presented.

Bériashvili stresses that, simultaneously with the accumulation of aesthetic philosophical, musicological, and technological research of gesture, the concept of gesture has become intertwined on a more intensive level with

composers' artistic practices. First, most noteworthy are the composers' projects related to developments in information technology: new electronic instruments, electronic extensions of traditional instruments, as well as multimedia tools.

At the present stage, many presently active composers who find themselves in contact with electronic devices employ the meaningful aspect of gesture. Some of the composers (Francesco Filidei, Pierre Jodtowski, Helmut Lachenmann, and Edson Zampronha) have elevated gesture to the status of a life-generating impulse that provides the starting point of a musical composition, where gesture appears in all its multidimensionality: as a performance gesture, as a complex figure of sound, and as a semantic element of the composition. In its direct meaning, gesture may be associated with a motion made by the performer to extract sound, and it may also be associated with the sound material, which becomes an audible sign of the gesture itself. In both cases, gesture becomes a connecting substance between the sound material and the musical meaning (Bériashvili 2018).

Russian scholar Tatiana Tsaregradskaya in her book *Muzykal'ny zhest v prostranstve sovremennoy kompozitsii* (*Musical Gesture in the Space of Contemporary Composition*) observes that most of the compositions from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries rely to one degree or another on "gesture" in its different meanings (Tsaregradskaya 2018). From these standpoints, the artistic portraits of 12 composers—the 12 apostles of new music—are painted. These are: Morton Feldman, Olivier Messiaen, Pierre Boulez, Helmut Lachenmann, Toru Takemitsu, Harrison Birtwistle, Luciano Berio, Kaija Saariaho, John Cage, Brian Ferneyhough, Karlheinz Stockhausen, and Mauricio Kagel.

As Elena Alkon notes, a certain perspective has been found by Tsaregradskaya for each of the composers. The distribution of the material in the respective chapters stems from a hypothetical set of properties present in musical gesture: the introduction gives a general assessment of the state of development of the concept of "musical gesture," which, according to the author, exists "in the zone of conceptual and terminological formation"; the first chapter "Gesture at the Source of Sound" describes gesture which generates sound (sound production as the sum of such qualities as the touché, dynamics and articulation, instrumental touch); the second chapter "Gesture as Topography: Trajectory, Line, Pattern" addresses "tactility at a distance"—the visual stimuli which give rise to a musical response; the third chapter "Body – Motion – Gesture" is aimed at physicality in its entirety—the interaction of musical and physical gesture both in the choreographic and virtuoso instrumental planes; the fourth chapter "Gesture as a Phenomenon of 'self-sufficient artistry'" goes beyond the human body itself, referring to gesture as an "act"—the avant-garde gesture; in the fifth chapter "Composers and Their Gestures: Theoretical Concepts," musical gesture becomes the object for

musicologists' and composers' reflections. The conclusion sums up and introduces musical gesture into the context of extant musicological categories in the form of a "metaphor-concept." Gesture manifests itself in at least two situations: 1) characterizing a certain motivic unit; 2) describing the actions of the performer. In different contexts, the material, element, or theme may become synonymous with gesture. Therefore, gesture may be represented both as an object and as an action. To understand music in its entirety, it is necessary to see both the gesture and the motion which creates sound (Alkon 2018: 92-95).

We may continue to identify examples of modern notation and describe new methods of sound production indefinitely. Notational graphics is a "living language" and is modified throughout the practice of performance of new music. New elements are constantly being introduced; they replace or displace old forms and enrich tradition or disappear in the process of inevitable evolution.

It is important to note that the new forms of notation reflect the changes that have occurred in music which has broken free from the shackles of tradition and has become, among other things, sonorous, dodecaphonic, pointillistic, or aleatoric. Composers, often contrary to the extant conventions of notation, have boldly changed the means of notation of various strokes and rhythmic groups, having avoided notating such aspects as measures, keys, or accidentals. Many composers have supplied their musical works with new musical symbols and presented detailed explanations of these symbols in text comments.

Contemporary musical notation has captured the plethora of artistic manifestation of contemporary composers who in their music have conveyed the most complex images of social reality, nature, the Cosmos, the World Space, philosophical ideas, and other contextual vital layers of the world. Contemporary music has arguably greatly expanded the boundaries of performance gesture, compelling the performer to play by using virtually all the parts of their body. Performance gesture has become a reflection of the objective communicative cognitive contexts enclosed in contemporary music. Each time they compose a new work, the composer complements and enriches the extant musical language. Thereby, the musical language has turned from a stable sphere into a stably unstable sphere, fluctuating in correspondence with various artistic contexts of a musical composition.

In turn, the expansion of boundaries of artistic search and the desire to obtain new, unexpected meanings and effects has led to the expansion of the thesaurus of performance gesture. Gesture has become not only an expression of content, but also a symbol of everything new. Hence, a certain deliberateness and theatricality of performance gesture has become apparent. As music researchers have observed, in some compositions gesture has become a bearer

of meaning, and the absence of performance gesture has removed one of the meaning-generating layers of the work, which has led to the loss of the meaningful structure of the musical composition (Perepelytsia 2015).

Nothing of the sort exists in traditional classical music. There, performance gesture introduces the colorfulness of perception but does not possess any independent meaning. This is actually what forms the main difference between performance gesture in contemporary and classical music. Having become meaningful, performance gesture has acquired the features of theatricality, convexity, and significance.

The contemporary performer during the process of learning designs a specific script of gestures for each specific musical work. Performance gesture is practiced and rehearsed the same way as the music of the composition. The contemporary performer in this aspect can be compared to a conductor who works on the gesture system in each specific musical work. It must also be noted that with the acquisition of the meaning-generating function, musical gesture has become a phenomenon which has attracted the attention of many academic disciplines, such as semiotics, anthropology, philosophy, aesthetics, psychology, and linguistics, not to mention the musicological disciplines proper. Gradually, a direction has been formed, which may be designated as the theory of gesture, combining the studies of both the humanities and science. Gesture has come to be regarded as one of the contextual layers of a musical composition, combining meaning and emotion in itself.

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Santrauka

Straipsnyje aptariamas ekspresyvus gesto vaidmuo atliekant fortepijoninę muziką. Remiantis teorine analize, parodoma, kad šiuolaikinėje muzikoje atlikimo gesto tema, susijusi su spektaklio teatralizavimu ir su faktu, kad daugeliu atvejų muzikos atlikimas yra įgavęs scenos meno bruožų, išsiskiria bendrųjų artistiškumo temų kontekste. Bendrąsias gestų meno nuostatas šiuolaikinėje fortepijono muzikoje papildo pozicijos, susijusios su klasterio atlikimo menu, stygų ir pedalų naudojimu, garso gestais ir atliekamos muzikos teatralizavimu.

Straipsnyje parodoma naujų muzikos notacijos principų įtaka įvairių kategorijų gestų, naudojamų šiuolaikinėje muzikinėje praktikoje, formavimui. Tai gestai, susiję su klasterių atlikimu; su verbalinių garsų įtraukimu į fortepijoninės muzikos atlikimo procesą (vadinamieji verbaliniai garso gestai); grojimu stygomis pirštais, pagaliukais ar kitais daiktais; pedalų naudojimu; teatralizuotais gestais ir kt.

Muzikinės kalbos ribų plėtimas, atlikimo meno ir teatralizuotų kūrinių praktika paskatino atlikimo gestų tezauro ir gesto prasminių funkcijų vystymąsi. Šiuolaikinėje muzikoje gestas įgijo prasmę ir tapo vienu iš semantinių muzikinio kūrinio komponentų.

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Kristina Luna DOLININA

“Who Is Your *Guru*?” Traditional Knowledge Transmission and Changing Institutional Setting in *Kathak* Dance Education*

„Kas yra tavo mokytojas?“ Tradicinė žinių perdava ir kintanti *Kathak* šokio edukacijos sistema

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Abstract

Like in many other fields of theoretical and applied knowledge in the context of South Asia, the knowledge of the performing arts most commonly was transmitted through the *guru-śiṣya parampara*—a traditional teaching model that passed knowledge from teacher to student. *Kathak*, one of the dance styles that developed from the performative traditions of northern central India, currently recognized as “classical”¹ and practiced in India and beyond, is no exception.

In the last few centuries there have been many changes in the economic, political, cultural, and social environment of India, which brought major influences in the current scenario of *Kathak*. Along with important changes in the system of patronage, performing spaces, audiences, dance vocabulary, and literary content, traditional practices of nurturing, preserving, and transmitting knowledge (*riyāz*², *gharānā*³, *guru-śiṣya parampara*⁴) went through number of transformations.

This analysis is based on postcolonial discourse, Michel Foucault’s critical theory of knowledge and power, and practical tools developed by Pierre Bourdieu.

Keywords: *guru-śiṣya parampara*, *Kathak* dance knowledge transmission, teacher, disciple, intellectual property, transaction, tradition, authority.

Anotacija

Kaip ir daugelyje kitų teorinių ir taikomųjų žinių sistemų Pietų Azijoje, performatyvių menų įgūdžiai iš kartos į kartą buvo ir yra perduodami tradiciniu *guru-śiṣya parampara* mokymo būdu: tiesiogiai iš mokytojo mokiniui / pameistriui. Straipsnio objektas – *Kathak*, vienas iš šiuo metu pripažintų Indijos klasikinių šokio stilių, nėra išimtis.

Kathak šokio žinių perdavos sistema straipsnyje apžvelgiama istoriškai ir detalai analizuojama šiuolaikiniame kontekste. Analizei pasitelkiamos pokolonijinio diskurso ir kritinės teorijos priegios, naudojamos tokių autorių kaip Michelio Foucault ir Pierre’o Bourdieu įžvalgos. Išskiriami esminiai šio žinių perdavos metodo pasikeitimai institucionalizuotame mokymo modelyje, pabrėžiami ir teigiami, ir neigiami tradicinės praktikos transformacijų padariniai.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *guru-śiṣya parampara*, šokio *Kathak* žinių perdavimas, mokytojas, mokinys, intelektinė nuosavybė, sandoris, tradicija, mokytojo autoritetas.

Introduction

It’s the usual morning class at *Kathak* Kendra—one of the biggest state-supported *Kathak* institutes in India.⁵ Many students of different ages are gathered here; some of them are taking their first steps into the long and thorny path of *Kathak* dance⁶ practice, while others are already advanced, almost independent dancers. Although the class has already started and the atmosphere is charged with eagerness and anticipation, the teacher is still not present. For the teacher, being at least 15 minutes late is considered to be a gesture of importance and greatness. Finally, when the

guru appears, all the students hurry to greet him by touching his feet. After blessing all the students one by one, the teacher slowly proceeds to the far corner of the classroom, where the altar for the gods is placed. Multiple portraits of late senior *gurus* are also here. A short prayer is sung, blessings of great masters are received and students follow the teacher in prayer. After this small ritual, all students return to their places. The teacher settles down near the musicians. One of his senior disciples hands him a bowl of sprouted chickpeas for reinforcement. It is his honorable daily duty and a gesture of dedication to the *guru*. The teacher goes on by blessing each student’s ankle-bells—the *ghuṅgharū*.

* This article was written during my internship at the School of Arts and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, in November 2019–January 2020, under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Urmimala Sarkar Muni.

The same thing is done by the musicians, while students approach and touch the instruments. After this "brief" welcome, the actual lesson begins. Not all the students get to dance immediately. The practice is done in stages according to the level of the dancers, while the guru demonstrates, observes, and sometimes comments. The rest of the students also watch the ones dancing and some, the most junior, get only to observe and do only very basics in between.

While the musicians start playing a rhythmic cycle (the most commonly used 16-beat cycle is *tintāl*, and the rhythm, initially slow, gradually accelerates), I think over and reflect on the beginning of the class that I just observed. I have many questions. The initial part of the lesson was not like a regular lecture or a practice session in the dance educational environment, which I am familiar with. It was more like a ritualized act, transferring the participants into some ritualistic reality, a mytho-religious space. The teacher looked more like an elder family member or friend and was very respected, almost having divine status. Was the way this lesson began typical, and is the behavior of the teacher and students a necessary legacy of the traditional system of knowledge transmission—*guru-śiṣya parampara*? Has the role and status of the teacher and the place of the disciple transformed in the changed social, economic, cultural, and most importantly, educational environment?

There was another incident during my fieldwork in New Delhi in 2018 that raised these questions even more forcefully. The two-day *Kathak* dance festival, called the Duet *Kathak* Dance Festival, was organized in Triveni Auditorium. With the confidence that I know what "duet" means in dance, I attended the event and was surprised to discover the demonstration of a totally different understanding of the duet form. Five of the six performances that evening did not present anything I would consider to be duet, except a few minutes of dancing together here and there. Instead, these performing couples were bound together by a teacher–disciple—the *guru-śiṣya*—relationship and performed their compositions holding on to strict hierarchy of "who is who." It was interesting to observe how cultural characteristics implicitly emerge in unexpected situations.

Throughout the time of my own *Kathak* dance studies and practice in India, I always felt that unbreakable connection with my *guru*, being asked the same question again and again: Who is your *guru*? As Stacey Prickett rightly puts it in her article:

Yet the answer to the inevitable question of "Who is your *guru*?" continues to shape dancer's identity, their genealogical heritage locating them in relation to dominant power structures of the stylistic schools, the *gharanas* (*Kathak*) or *banis* (*Bharatanatyam*). (Prickett 2007: 25)

The same is stated by Daniel M. Neuman in his very detailed study on the North Indian musical tradition:

Whether a musician is considered great, good, or even mediocre, he will (in the absence of anyone else) establish—so to speak—his credentials as a musician on the basis of whom he has studied with and whom he is related to. (Neuman 1990: 44)

The mentioned situations and learning experience prove the importance of phenomenon in the cultural entirety of the region and provoke to look deeper into the *guru-śiṣya* tradition in general as well as into the recent situation of the performing arts (*Kathak*) knowledge transmission. The paper thus raises such questions as:

- How does the traditional *guru-śiṣya parampara* fit into the institutionalized model of teaching, be it state-supported institutions or individual enterprises?
- How does it build on, use, or misuse the hierarchical relationship of mentor and student? What are the power dynamics implied in these relations?
- How does this tradition adapt to the global market and consumer culture?

The article is grounded in the discourse of critical theories and historiography. The concepts developed by Michael Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu⁷ in their writings serve as the theoretical background and methodological tools to delve into the subject. Postcolonial theory is also important here, as it sheds light on some historiographical details, scrutinizes the concepts of "tradition" and "authenticity" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), and explains some particularities of the modern and global world (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1995). The importance of the historiographical recasting of the frames of reference such as tradition, transition, transmission, and transfer of knowledge is acknowledged in the accession and analysis of the material that was gathered through interviews and cross-referencing of the existing secondary material. The constant challenge of the established hierarchy of the *guru/śiṣya* relationship in objectively trying to understand any teaching/learning symbiosis within this given framework in the particular cultural context has remained an important method for possible cultural research as well as requirements for academic research.

To answer these questions, I will:

1. delve into the concept of *guru-śiṣya parampara* in the past feudal and community-/caste-based social environment, with its multiple roots lying in a religious-devotional setting, economic justification, as well as identity shaping and stating purposes;
2. acknowledge the shifts in the historical context with its influences on the social, cultural, and economic spheres;
3. trace the journey of this tradition in contemporary times, emphasizing the field of performative practices;
4. highlight the notions/(mis)usages of authority, power dynamics, and identity politics implicit in *guru-śiṣya parampara*.

Guru-śiṣya parampara: from past to present

According to available oral and written sources as well as the observed ethnographic reality, theoretical and applied knowledge in South Asia in general and in India in particular has been transmitted through the *guru-śiṣya parampara*, the traditional one-to-one teaching model. The tradition is important in the present too, though sometimes in a much-modified way. In one extreme, it is capable of preserving some of the region's vanishing practices or crafts. However, in the other extreme, we may observe clear caricature/parody of the *guru-śiṣya* pattern. Most explicitly, it occurs in "new age" spiritual movements in the form of such phenomena as "guruism", where the guru acts more like a sales manager or broker for the divine. The "modern *guru*" thus works on the outer image instead of inner perfection, lives in luxury instead of being *sādhu*,⁸ and preaches to the masses instead of being in close a relationship with one or few disciples. So, traditionally, "the weighty one, dispeller of darkness", the "entity that takes away the darkness from one's mind"⁹ (Dallapiccola's and Ghosh's quotations cited in Prickett 2007: 26), today is adapted to the laws of global economy and sells the promise of removing the darkness with a good market price. Nevertheless, these modern forms of the traditional practice can occur and exist in this changed environment and are only supported by the long history and importance of the phenomenon.

The notion of *guru-śiṣya parampara* can be found in a variety of primary and secondary texts. Primary textual sources, such as the *veda*,¹⁰ *upaniṣad*¹¹ or *purāṇa*¹² mostly speak about the *guru-śiṣya parampara* as the main model of imparting of spiritual knowledge and sustaining different *sampradāya*¹³ or lineages. From these texts we can understand the general importance of the phenomenon and place it among other cultural and social features such as the prevalence of the oral tradition, the structure of the family, the four stages of human life,¹⁴ and the system of different professional communities. However, the language of these primary sources is highly metaphorical and the explanations must rely on wider historical and cultural contexts. The transposition or translation of the concepts introduced in the texts into modern times can become speculative. Some medieval sources linked to the performing arts give us few relevant hints; however, any detailed description or particularities of knowledge transmission are absent. The late medieval period is richer in historiographical evidence. Courtly patronage brings many changes to the organization of performing communities. Specifically, in the northern regions of India, with the establishment of Moghul rule we can trace the process of the professionalization of performers. Knowledge becomes the commodity and it is kept in the rather small and closed circles of stylistic schools. The knowledge transmission institution obtains "guild-like qualities" and the knowledge authority

rests on a person rather than on written text or tradition (Neuman 1985: 104). In other words, the *guru* or *ustād*¹⁵ personally embodies the tradition. Colonial historiographic writings or travelogues also comment on the existence and importance of the role of the traditional mode of knowledge transmission. In the context of performing arts, the concept of *guru-śiṣya parampara* gains importance in writings from the beginning and middle of twentieth century along with the processes of structuration, nationalization, and Sanskritization of performing traditions in India.

The observations of the article are based mostly on secondary sources and the "ethnographic reality" of dance and music knowledge transmission in recent times: collected data from conversations and interviews with teachers and students of performing arts and my own learning experience. To give an overview of the traditional mode of knowledge transmission, I rely on Munpreet Kaur Raina's article and the book *The Indian Teaching Tradition* by Jacques Vigne. The works of Phillip Zarrilli, Stacey Prickett, Daniel M. Neuman and Huib Schippers are also important as they speak about the *guru-śiṣya parampara* in different performing traditions of India.

According to Raina (Raina 2002: 168–169), from Vedic times onwards we can trace the prevalence of *guru-śiṣya parampara* as the main educational institution. However, some shifts in the tradition and role of the *guru* or *śiṣya* appeared in different periods, influenced by cultural, social, and economic circumstances or dependency on the religious setting. In this way, all throughout the Vedic period¹⁶ the *guru* was the main means for the rituals to be successful. As stated by Raina in her article:

[...] when man's encounter with the sacred mysteries took place through ritual, the *guru* was more a guide to their correct performance and an instructor in religious duties. A teacher deserving respect and a measure of obedience, he was not yet a mysterious figure of awe and venerated incarnation of divinity. (Raina 2002: 170)

Later, with the growth of the importance of the *upaniṣad*, "the *guru* starts to replace Vedic ritual as the path to spiritual liberation. He now changes from a known and dweller in Brahman to being the only conduct to Brahman" (ibid.). The demand from the student is also different: if in the context of the *vedic* ritual the student had to be accurate, submissive, and obedient, later it was the reflection, contemplation, and reasoning of the student that was crucial for the relationship. Education related to Buddhism and Jainism was also *guru* oriented. With the spread of *bhakti*¹⁷ cult, the role of the *guru* became even more important. Here the *guru* is praised, as he is the direct link with the divine; he shows the way and makes it possible to reach God. To quote Raina again, the spiritual discipline (which extends to performing traditions too) or *sadhna* can only be "carried out under

the supervision and guidance of a qualified and a realized mentor", so "in the religious cults, esoteric truths can only be transmitted by one divinely appointed to receive them in the first instance" (ibid.). In different cults of *tantra*¹⁸ too, the importance of the *guru* is at its peak. The *guru* is absolute power himself, a god, capable of making a devoted, surrendered disciple realize their own essence/nature and become one with the *guru*—a god. In this context, the *guru* also adopted the role of "preacher" or the "founder or inventor of a sect or creed" (Raina 2002: 176). In the *sūfi*—a mystic tradition of Islam—as well as in Sikhism, we can observe the same tendencies as in *bhakti* cults, as these movements are interrelated. In the Islamic tradition the phenomenon comes under the names of *shaiikh-murid* (in Sufism) and in performing traditions carried by Muslim communities, it is called *ustād-shāgird*.

In colonial times and the period of reforms leading to India's independence, main religious and socio-cultural concepts were highly influenced by the intellectual interaction between East and West, processes of knowledge translation, and the individual vision of some thinkers/translators, such as Swami Vivekananda or Ananda Coomaraswamy. It is worth mentioning here that Coomaraswamy's writing in the field of art philosophy and aesthetics, especially his commentaries on Abhinavagupta's most important work in the philosophy of art, *Abhinavabhāratī* (a complex commentary on *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Bharata Muni), made a huge impact on early dance scholarship, coinciding with the reinvention of the so-called classical dance styles. A romanticized and mystified approach was used to rewrite dance history and aesthetics in accordance with a nationalist agenda. This resulted in highlighting certain concepts, such as the connection to temple ritual and the spirituality, authenticity, and ancient origins of dance. *Guru-śiṣya parampara* also found importance as an assurance of the "unbroken continuity of the system of oral transmission which was systematized with mathematical precision" (Vatsyayan 1982: 2).

Along with the other concepts, the phenomenon of traditional knowledge transmission was fitted into a certain ideologically defined framework without considering problematic issues and the contemporary situation. The lack of evidence and the gaps in the discourse were filled with speculative and abstract presumptions, thus creating a history of *guru-śiṣya parampara* on the fringes of mythology.

***Guru-śiṣya parampara* in the performing arts: the Kathak dance situation**

Guru-śiṣya parampara is still very alive as a knowledge transmission model in the performing arts, where the relationship between teacher and student is intimate. *Gurus* are important, unquestioned, and respected, and striving

students are dedicated and initiated (often from the same extended family or community). In her article, Raina cites an excerpt from The National Policy on Culture (NPC) tabled in the Indian Parliament in 1992:

Guru-shishya parampara has been a cardinal factor in transference of vision and technique in the field of performing arts. This system is facing many new challenges and needs to be carefully and imaginatively strengthened keeping in view the changed ethos. Besides recognizing this system throughout the country, efforts would be made to involve state governments, its various agencies, corporate sector, public sector undertakings, etc. to provide local support and sustenance of literary skill to Gurus in various forms and styles in schools of music, dance, theatre, etc. Special attention will be paid to such styles, instruments, and forms that might be threatened with extinction. (NPC draft document, p. 25, 3.31; cited in Raina 2002: 195)

Thus, it is reasonable to introduce the main concepts of the *guru-śiṣya* phenomenon through a look at the performing arts tradition, particularly *Kathak*.

In his study about *hindustānī* music teaching at the Rotterdam Conservatoire in the Netherlands, Huib Schippers lists the main concepts related to and frequently emerging from the context of *guru-śiṣya parampara*: tradition, authenticity, context, orality, holistic learning, and intangible aspects of Indian music¹⁹ (Schippers 2007: 3). The mode of all kinds of knowledge transmission "from music to medicine and from philosophy to actual judicial processes" (Raina 2002: 173) was and is mainly oral. Today in *Kathak* classes or in direct personal interaction with the teacher, even if the possibility of writing down the material or audio/video recording it exists, memorizing the sequences by reciting them is considered of foremost importance. Traditionally, the rhythmic syllables, *bol/parhant*, are memorized before they are taught as movement sequences. And the role of the *guru* is crucial here, as the *guru* remembers the sequences of the particular school or lineage (*gharanā*) and, being competent in the rhythmical system and advanced in movements, can create new ones. The orality of knowledge leads to contextual and holistic modes of transmission. The "in-body transmission" (Zarrilli, 1984: 192) is readily incorporated in the teaching/learning process and leads to the embodied corporeal consciousness of the practitioner. We can clearly observe three stages of the process. *Shravana*, literally the "act of hearing," refers to learning by means of watching the teacher and senior disciples practicing, hearing the rhythmical and musical patterns, and observing the context of teaching and performing. Observing slowly grows into the more advanced stage—mimicking and practicing or *manana*. Usually, these two stages take years of rigorous practice and dedication. Throughout this period, actual dance or music knowledge is transmitted to the student along with the context of the

performative tradition. Regarding the musical tradition in north India, Daniel M. Neuman writes:

The *guru* enculturates the shishya into musical life. He transmits two elements, neither of which is available through any other medium of instruction: a body of knowledge which is both secret and esoteric, and the way a musician must lead his life. (Neuman 1990: 50)

After the stages of *sramana* and *manana*, the time for realization, mediation, and transformation of knowledge—*nididhyasana* (Chatterjea 1996: 72)—comes, when the technique is finally embodied by the practitioner and tradition and culture are inscribed in their body and consciousness. The disciple becomes part of the “socio-artistic organisation” (Neuman 1990) and is ready to use the “performance knowledge” or learned “codified strips of behaviour” in “either structured or improvised performance” (Zarrilli 1984: 191).

The necessary conditions of such holistic knowledge transmission are the long period of time dedicated to learning and the personal bond between teacher and student. Traditionally, the student would stay in a *gurukul* or *ashram*²⁰ for a certain period of time. As mentioned before, according to the division of a human life into four stages, the first one—*brahmacharya*—would serve the purpose of immersed learning. In the case of absence of a structured institution such as a *gurukul*, the student would simply stay with the *guru* in their family. Usually the student would be close or more distant relative, of the same *biradari*²¹—the extended family. Sometimes non-hereditary students would also stay with teacher and their family. However, the more common way in such cases would be for the student to drop into the *guru*'s place for long practice sessions a few times per day. In all cases, the teacher and disciple develop an intimate and caring relationship, from one side supported by ultimate acceptance and dedication and from the other side total trust and readiness to share the knowledge without holding back. In conversations with both teachers and students about their learning or teaching experience, this deep connection is always highlighted as a major condition for knowledge transmission. While depicting a positive experience, interviewees often used such phrases: “The *guru* was/is like my father and mother together,” “I really love my teacher,” “Every time I come to my home town, in the first instance I visit my *guru*,” “Even when the *guru* would shout at me, I felt that it was done with unconditional motherly affection.” When I myself was a student of dance in India, far from my home and family, the relationship with my teachers would replace the absent emotional atmosphere of my family. On the contrary, if the bond from both sides is not evolving, the *guru* refuses to teach or the student looks for another teacher. A few of my respondents told me such stories of misunderstanding and mistrust in the

teacher–student relations, often leading to a change in *guru*. This proves that the connection required for knowledge dissemination has a very personal human factor.

Traditionally, the consolidation of the *guru–śiṣya* relationship in society happens through the ritual *gandābandhan*.²² This ritual is an initiation ceremony for the disciple and formal recognition of the particular hierarchical pattern in the given system. Using again Neuman's term, the disciple becomes part of “socio-artistic organization,” represented by the teacher. From this moment onwards, the personal relationship becomes socially active and the performing life of the student becomes interrelated with that of the teachers.

Another important concept implicit in *guru–śiṣya parampara* is *guru dakṣiṇā*.²³ Simply put, it is what the disciple can offer in exchange for the knowledge obtained from his teacher. This concept is pictured in quite a few episodes in literature and mythology, such as the story of *Ekalavya*²⁴ depicted in the epic *Mahābhārata*.²⁵ Traditionally it is symbolic concept and can be performed in a variety of modes. One of the most common acts of the *guru dakṣiṇā* is service to the teacher. While staying in the *gurukul/ashram* or with the teacher as a member of the family, the student would do everyday household work just like everybody else in the family. In the case when the student is visiting the teacher's home for instruction and in a more professional setting, the *guru dakṣiṇā* can be performed by giving presents or providing necessities for the teacher or monetary support. For the hereditary performers whose livelihood depends on acquired knowledge and professional skills, usually in the context of a single family lineage, the secure future of the *guru*, provided by subsequent performing generation in the *biradari* and the fame/name of the *guru*, related to the performance of his disciples, can also serve as an example of *guru dakṣiṇā*. It is, overall, an investment in the traditional occupation of the family.

I would again like to mention the important concept of the “socio-artistic organization” of performing communities, explained in detail by Neuman. *Guru–śiṣya parampara*, along with the factors of practice and stylistic variation, form the basis of this organization, directly influencing the image and performance of its members. Through the vigorous dedicated practice and commitment to the authority of the *guru*, who is actually the embodiment of certain stylistic school, the notions of continuity, lineage, tradition, authenticity, and preservation of intangible aspects of culture are highlighted. Thus, the identity of performer is established. It correlates with a particular community and is expressed explicitly in patterns of hierarchy, social status, and performative aspects. The construction of this certain identity is achieved through mind and body discipline.

As observed by Pallavi Chakravorty in *Kathak* field:

[...] dances were based on a model of durable and reproducible practise (inculcated through terms such as guru, riyaz, parampara), that created a sense of place or a habitus. (Chakravorty 2010: 169–170)

The concept of "habitus" used in this citation is developed by Pierre Bourdieu and can shed some light on the importance of knowledge transmission in the performer's identity construction and its place in the social system. "Habitus" is a very fluid term, depicting the web of "dispositions," which acts as the "organising action" and "designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination" (from *Outline of Theory of Practise*; cited in Grenfell 2008: 51). Habitus is both a structured and structuring system: structured by a person's upbringing and educational experiences and the structuring of such factors as practices, beliefs, perceptions, and feelings. It always acts in a relationship with the "field" and "capital." Used in the field of performing practices in India, particularly with respect to traditional knowledge transmission, the tools developed by Bourdieu depict the following picture. Particular practice, stated identity, or "way of being" results from performers' dispositions acquired through the *guru-śiṣya parampara* (habitus) and performers' position in the performing field (capital, both economic and cultural) in the current state of the socio-artistic organization or context of performing community (field). Or in other words, through conditioning (the field structures the habitus) and cognitive construction or knowledge (habitus constitutes meaning to the field), there is an ongoing relationship between structures, the "active process of making history, but not under conditions entirely of our own making" (Grenfell 2008: 52). In this way, the habitus here stands for ways of performance, feeling, thinking, and being in particular ways in the spaces of the everyday practice, stage performances, and social activities of the performer. It also captures the way the performer carries the history or lineage/tradition into the present circumstances and makes certain choices.

The concepts developed by Bourdieu serve as tools to understand how the *guru-śiṣya parampara* with its notion of authority and authenticity actively influences the performance practices and shapes the relationship between the performer's identity and the socio-artistic organization. This further leads us to ground the traditional knowledge transmission practices in the realm of theoretical discourse, developed by another influential thinker—Michel Foucault. One of Foucault's most important ideas is the relationship between knowledge and power. *Guru-śiṣya parampara*—an educational institution—through the authority of the *guru* and notions of tradition and authenticity, constantly exercises power. For Foucault, the main arena of power is the body. Dance and other performative traditions are

inseparable from the body as the main medium of performance, so the connection between knowledge and power revealed through the body becomes very explicit in the dance knowledge transmission scenario. The discipline of the body and, through the body, the discipline of the mind, becomes a method of control. It keeps the performer vulnerable and entangled in a web of anxiety and responsibility. It draws the borders of aesthetic, social, and bodily norms and places the subject in a particular position in the hierarchical system or socio-artistic organization of the performative community.

We must also acknowledge the concept of discipline as an idea that exists at the base of the teaching/learning process, whereby the automatic subjugation of the learner is ensured through a process of unseen and unquestioned submission and submission to the abstract idea of knowledge is established as something the *guru* personifies.

After understanding theoretical implications, it is also important to ground the phenomenon historically. Both Bourdieu and Foucault noted the fluid nature of the concepts they developed when applied to different situations. Relationships and connections in their theories are not universal or stagnant; rather, they are ever transforming in accordance to the contexts. Speaking about the *guru-śiṣya parampara*, its place in the social system, a complex web of hierarchical relationships, we must pay attention to changes in society and its cultural and political life that directly influence the traditional mode of knowledge transmission in a particular historical moment.

Before the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the socio-artistic organization of performing communities served as a management system of performative knowledge and property. As Masakazu Tamori accurately illustrates in his article "The Transformation of Sarod Gharānā: Transmitting Musical Property in Hindustani Music," musical knowledge was maintained and transmitted within the borders of particular *gharānās* (stylistic schools) "through the combination of marriage relationships and master-disciple relationships" (Tamori 2008: 170). In this way, *guru-śiṣya parampara* was an important factor in handing over the exclusive musical property of a particular lineage, which was usually secret or unavailable or only partly available for non-family disciples, traditionally given only in gift exchange form after marriage (which in the case of the Muslim performing communities was practiced between close relatives, thus keeping this property in the family). In today's terms, we would call this phenomenon intellectual property, protected by copyright laws. Such system very closely resembles the medieval European crafts guild system. Here too we can notice similar notions of knowledge transmission that feature a close relationship between master and apprentice, the latter who acquires the special, usually secret skills of crafts through service to guild and master, which were the intellectual property of a

particular guild. Later, the guild system developed the base for educational institutions and, some scholars say, served as precursors for modern trade unions.

Regarding the social system of performing communities, it is important to mention the dependence of performative traditions on patronage. In the ancient and medieval periods, performative traditions were supported by religious institutions and sponsored by Hindu and later Muslim, especially Mughal (in North India), rulers. The arts flourished in the courts as well as in traditional and religious settings. Major developments in all performative traditions, be it in the field of aesthetics or technical elaborations, systematic organization or identity shifts, took place under the influence of the relationship between the patron/court/temple and the performer/community/performative tradition. In this way, the migration of performers, the process of urbanization and professionalization of communities, and the development of stylistic differences happened in the meeting point of requirements of the temple/courts from one side and the artistic ambition or need for financial stability from performers from the other side. Such atmosphere also offered a strong basis for the existence of an authoritative and confidential knowledge transmission system, as it was sustained by a patron. Usually the patron or somebody else from the family environment would become the disciple of personalized lineage. As explained by Masakazu Tamori in his article, only patrons or close relatives of a particular musical (and dance) lineage could become a *khās*²⁶ disciple and acquire almost all knowledge, excluding the part which was reserved only for *khāsul-khās*²⁷ disciples or the sons of the teacher. The third category of students, the *gandābandh*—the regular students from outside of the lineage—would get even more basic *talīm*,²⁸ and it was quite challenging to get accepted as such a student too (Tamori 2008: 172). This type of patronage system was yet another warrant for holding onto the musical and dance property rights of particular communities in particular historical periods.

At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, a wave of important historical, political, economic, and socio-cultural changes came to India, which led to important transformations in the performing arts environment. Throughout the Mughal rule in the northern and central regions of India, *Kathak* in the courts was mainly performed by hereditary women dancers but accompanied and taught by male *gurus/ustāds*. The musical profession was mainly occupied by Muslim hereditary performers. In British Raj, dance was degraded almost to the point of vanishing under the influence of Victorian anti-nautch²⁹ policies, when *devadāsī*³⁰ in the south and *tawāif*³¹ in the north were deprived of their tradition performative occupation, marginalized and treated as simple prostitutes. The British ideas and policies were picked up and continued by reformists and freedom fighters. Along with the freedom

movement, and later while building a new independent nation, *Kathak* and other performative traditions became an important field for searching for national identity, authenticity, and a great lost, ancient culture (Walker 2014; Chakravorty 2008; Bakhle 2005). Under these ideological influences, some important gender, caste, and religious community shifts happened in the field of the performing arts. Dance and music traditions thus were revived, institutionalized, and nationalized. They were taken through the process of “sanskritization.”³² I would like to cite Urmimala Sarkar Munsī at length:

There are a number of examples of SANSKRITIZATION of dance forms before and after Indian independence, in an effort to ‘save’ dance forms from disrepute, or extinction, to move them from their small world of ‘little tradition’ to the urban ‘great tradition’, and to give a new legitimacy for survival by identifying and projecting their links with the historical past by linking the movement patterns to the temple sculptures. [...] Sanskritization in the context of dance also means establishing a strong link with the predominantly Hindu historical past. (Munsi 2010: 204–205)

Sanskritization went hand in hand with purification, which as observed by Munsī:

[...] has been sanctioned and backed by the cultural bureaucracy and brought into practise by the urban high caste/class elite practitioners, whose principle agenda was to create and establish forms which projected an ‘acceptable’ image of clean, aesthetically appealing body, which needed its distance in history and in actual projection from the impure nautch or the dance for private patrons that it came to be associated with in the nineteenth century. (Munsi 2010: 205)

The best tool for these processes to act smoothly was the revisited *guru-śiṣya parampara*. With state and private initiatives and support, a number of educational institutions were established, of course, using the Western model of education (Sangeet Natak Academy, Kathak Kendra New Delhi, Gandharva Mahavidyalaya New Delhi, Bhatkhande Music Institute Deemed University, Lucknow, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, etc.). The spaces of newly built music and dance institutional bodies were filled with predominantly male *gurus/ustāds* and upper or middle class-educated *śiṣyas* (predominantly women), motivated reformers/reinventors, and dance visionaries. It is in these institutions, where concepts of tradition and authenticity along with the “upholding of codes of conduct (both gender specific and otherwise)” were and are carried forwards through the authority of the teacher/master, who is the embodiment of *parampara* and the “unquestioned submission” to the *guru* from generation to generation (Munsi 2010: 173).

These processes also resulted in a strange composite phenomenon that continues to survive—the “institution

within the institution,"³³ a double layered structure, where along with the "modern" faculty role and curriculum programs, scheduled exams, and various subjects, the traditional teacher-student model, with the notion of the *guru* and the accompanying values and behavior were incorporated. The morning class I observed during my fieldwork and presented in the introduction is a very clear example of this phenomenon. In Western education institutions we can speak about the removal of personal influence and adjustment of power relations into the system over the time. In the case of Indian institutional education, especially in the arts, the *guru-śiṣya parampara*, with the unquestionable cult of the *guru*, was incorporated as a strong ideological tool and method of control. In terms of concepts developed by Bourdieu, we can call such processes "hysteresis"—"disruption between *habitus* and the *field* and the consequences of this over time"—when "habitus must respond to abrupt, sometimes catastrophic, field changes" and is not always able to do it smoothly and in a timely manner (Grenfell 2008: 132). As a response to a changed environment, the establishment of such institutions was an undisputed requirement of time; however, as the changes and conditions were quite forceful and the ideological pressure strong, so this composite phenomenon took place. The scholarship of that time in the field of arts with its notions of authenticity and tradition also impacted the rigidity of the educational system and the hegemony of some traditions. It also paved the way for late developments and helped to shape the knowledge transmission system into the form that exists today.

Current knowledge transmission in the *Kathak* scenario

In a contemporary global, market-driven society, with its fast development track, spread of consumerist culture, and mass media dissemination (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1995), the dance field also becomes more global and available for all sections of society.

Even if the performing arts still sticks to an elitist attitude and the concepts of "tradition," "authenticity," and "purity," the overall situation of dance and other arts becomes business oriented and competition driven. In this atmosphere, the mode of dance transmission seems to be even more complicated and confused, as it faces challenges accommodating the authority and power dynamics from one side and the democratization of teaching processes from the other. Alongside the usually state-supported institutions established around the time of independence like Kathak Kendra, there are plenty of private enterprises. In all bigger cities, in every neighborhood, around every corner, it's possible to encounter a *Kathak* dance teaching academy or institute, promising a renowned *guru* of one of

the leading *gharanās* or their senior disciples to pass on "authentic" knowledge at affordable fees. All these institutions borrow some features of the traditional knowledge transmission system while neglecting the rest under the pressure of modern circumstances. Thus, often "empty" ritualization supporting the hierarchy and system of subordination, the authority of the *guru*, tradition, and the unquestionability and demand of total submission of the *śiṣyas*, rigidity and canonization prevail in this new institutional setting. The other aspects, such as the holistic, contextual notion of teaching and the intimate relationship between teacher and student, based on "devotion of the disciple to his *guru* and the love of the *guru* for his disciple" in its "ideal form and essential nature" (Neuman 1990: 45) and the inherent creativity and flexibility of the process are usually missing from the teaching scenario. These aspects are the most important and capable of transmitting the deepest and most essential levels of embodied dance knowledge, but they are also the most difficult to sustain as they require certain responsibilities/commitments from both teacher and student as well as certain a socio-cultural and economical context that is difficult to meet today. Speaking of the *guru*, as Schippers accurately puts it:

[...] many gurus may act like demi-gods, but in fact they have changing moods, weaknesses, and oversights. They are in effect human, in addition to being sometimes sublime musicians. They expect complete surrender, but they may take on students without clear plans regarding fitting them into their busy schedules or by appointing capable substitute teachers. (Schippers 2007: 2–3)

He also cites (from his own oral communication) one musician, who boldly states that:

[...] many gurus live in the twenty-first century, jet-setting around with their electronic toys, but they expect their students to live in the nineteenth century. (Schippers 2007: 3)

According to Raina, the role and features of the teacher stand in contrast with reality:

For testing the guru long lists enumerating the qualifications of an ideal guru are found in the scriptures: he should provide education and training for the fullest possible blooming of the disciple's personality and possibilities; he should love a disciple like his own child; he should teach him attentively without asking anything from him; he should not use the student for his own purpose to the detriment of the disciple's education. He should be a creative personality, who is able to discover the talent and encourage its growth and create individual teaching according to the capacity of each student. (Raina 2002: 181)

The mismatch between reality and the claims made about the *guru* and the system that exists to the present was illustrated by conversations with different people from the dance field. For example, one of interviewed dance students

understood the importance of the *guru* concept in general; however, she noted that she cannot call her dance teacher a true *guru* after seeing the teacher's behavior with and attitude towards the students from less privileged social backgrounds. She sadly pointed out that seeing this broke her belief in and respect for the teacher, even if the teacher is very good at explaining and passing on their knowledge of dance. Another student of dance, a foreigner, shared in her conversation that she was clearly looked down upon by her teacher. Even if the teacher was good at explaining the movements of the body, she was not willing to share theoretical information about dance or impart a more thorough understanding. She proved to be unhelpful in a few situations; however, she required students to call her "*guru*" and to respect her as one. Such situations stand in sharp contrast to some statements made about the system. Vatsyayan, in her article about *guru-śiṣya parampara*, writes that it is a "human bond of communication, which transcends all other considerations of caste, class, religion and sect" (Vatsyayan 1982: 3). Is it really true, or do we simply accept myth for reality?

Following the thoughts of Jacques Vigne expressed in his detailed psychological study on *guru-śiṣya parampara*, it is interesting to note how the notion of the ideal, egoless *guru*—the *sadguru*³⁴—which comes from the spiritual realm, is applied in a wider context in the social realm, especially in arts knowledge transmission without any adjustment or adaptation. As mentioned by Vigne, "in the arts the *guru* is often not egoless" and in this situation "the risk of exploitation faced by students" appears (Vigne 1997: 63). Furthermore, the hereditary authority of the *guru* combined with egoistic motives, such as a better financial position or social recognition, usually fosters a conflict of influences and power games, where the students, often unwillingly, become part of the battles. Another danger in this scenario mentioned by Vigne is sexual exploitation in the relationship between the *guru* and *śiṣya*. As noticed from ethnographic observation of reality and from the conversations both with teachers and students, it is a phenomenon that everybody is familiar with but that nobody speaks about unless in the form of rumor and gossip. Being a very sensitive and situational/personal subject, it is, of course, a very private matter and can be taken by the *guru* and students very differently. Even if the basis for such exploitation usually comes from the system of unquestionable authority, power, and control which follows *guru* everywhere, sometimes exploitation can be provoked by the selfish motives of students in the overall atmosphere of power games and politics among the students.

From the other side, the student can hardly dedicate the required time to learn the art as in a traditional setting with feudal/royal, religious, or social patronage and an extended period of staying at the *gurukul*. The fast pace and

pressure of everyday life, the necessity of having a well-paid job, competitiveness, and the prevailing socio-cultural or behavioral attitudes and expectations as well as society's demand for people with degrees and diplomas require easily available and instantly acquired knowledge that is offered by mushrooming private dance teaching schools and state-supported institutions or workshops. The private institutions and the recent "workshop culture" very often adopt the mode of the transactional relationship between teacher and student—some kind of one-time transaction. Such situation is logical and justified, as state or private financial support is not available for them. However, tools for marketing, chosen by these private institutions are questionable, as they operate on already mentioned concepts of "tradition," "lineage," "authenticity," and use (or rather, misuse) the "empty" rituals and patterns of traditional education that drive transmission of dance knowledge deeper into the cage of "dominant narratives" (Chakravorty 2008) and negative socio-cultural stereotypes and further from positive transformations.

So, for both teachers and students, the process of teaching and learning clearly becomes, rather than an eternal and authentic knowledge dissemination system, a simple transaction. As pointed out by some of my interviewees, most students are only collecting material, not really trying to understand the essence of a particular tradition. This phenomenon was specifically called "*guru shopping*" by my dance teacher Shovana Narayan. The teachers, even in the changed social conditions of today (with the no-longer-extant feudal patronage system and socio-artistic organization of professional performative communities, the emergence of new technical possibilities, and the spread of media), try to maintain knowledge as their property, as a means of financial survival, even understanding that the particular performative tradition cannot simply become the property of one *guru* or his family or the object of copyright. In this changed environment, the total organization of performing arts must be reanalyzed and transformed, as the changes are happening faster than the adaptation processes, creating again the possibilities for the phenomenon of hysteresis to appear.

It must be said that some efforts were and are made to recreate and implement *guru-śiṣya parampara* in its traditional *gurukul* setting, like at the *Odissi* dance village Nrityagram, founded by Protima Bedi in Karnataka, or some *kalaris* (traditional training spaces) in Kerala for practicing *kalaripayattu* martial arts. However, without external support, such endeavors face challenges, usually due to financial problems, but also because of the lack of dedicated teachers and students ready to live completely in such setting for a long period of time.

Even in the most successful and ideal examples, most teaching institutions concentrate on practical dance

education. The critical research, dance pedagogy, and creative education is at the initial stages in India, represented only by a few departments in bigger universities. This directly influences the capacity for students and researchers to ask relevant questions regarding dance historiography, the development of dance education, the ideology of the cultural heritage, body and gender politics, authority and power dynamics in dance, carried through the traditional teaching model. Such setting does not provide enough tools for the understanding, analysis, and improvement of the knowledge transmission system, which is the priority today.

A few brief accounts must be made on the dance teaching situation of the Indian diaspora and some adaptations of this model by practitioners and educators in the West. With the growing number of Indians living in such places as Europe, America, and Canada, socio-cultural practices take up significant space in the life of Indian communities abroad. Notions of national sentiment, identity shaping, tradition, purity, and authenticity, interwoven into the tissue of performing arts from the time of independence, become crucially important for the diasporic community in their attempts to connect to their Indianness. This influences the existence of a great number of dance teaching institutions in the diaspora. Some of them are established by diplomatic missions of India, but more are private initiatives. And all of them incorporate *guru-śiṣya parampara* as the main model of teaching with the complete set of the abovementioned features and patterns, emphasizing rituals, hierarchy, and authority even more, dedicated to the "preservation" and "promotion" of Indian culture, as stated before. Through dance training, the dancers become enculturated in a certain way and their bodies become inscribed with socio-cultural codes and behavioral patterns which suit the demands of the community. However, teachers cannot stay completely encapsulated in their own cultural practices and become influenced by the dance educational environment, new trends in pedagogy, and creative communication with other bodily disciplines as well as other dance forms, whether classical, traditional or contemporary. This unquestionably makes it possible to extend the perspectives of Indian dance knowledge transmission in the diaspora, like, for example, the Pt. Chitresh Das Institute in Canada (of course, it is necessary to mention the existence of the same tendencies in India, explicit in the dance creations and pedagogy of such *Kathak* dancers as Shovana Narayan, Kumudini Lakhya, Aditi Mangaldas). From the other side, cultural interactions give fertile ground for the birth of initiatives in the West, influenced by *guru-śiṣya parampara*. Theater directors and educators Phillip Zarrilli and Jerzy Grotowski, to name a couple, borrowed many features and techniques from traditional Indian education and incorporated them into the actors' and dancers' training process. A lot of research has been done in the field of dance and music education,

and there are many attempts to apply holistic, oral, and contextual notions of the *guru-śiṣya* relationship into education from the school level to university, academy, or conservatoire (see: Sarrazin and Morelli 2016; Schippers 2007; Dalidowicz 2015).

Conclusion

My own experience of learning dance in India was and is very positive. I have been very lucky to meet and become acquainted with very dedicated and knowledgeable teachers, sharing, caring, and loving with motivation and vision. However, even without formal training in dance in a Western academic setting that I could compare or juxtapose my experience with, it was quite challenging, especially at the beginning of the learning process, to understand and submit myself to a tradition requiring so much dedication and commitment. And I am sure that many dancers meet the same challenges but also get significant benefits while being involved in this traditional educational model. So, it definitely has and should have a prominent place in dance training, to keep it holistic, contextual, oral, and intuitive, to be able to reach the deepest layers of traditional performance knowledge, and to pass it to generations to come. If not cherished and preserved, it may vanish and take with it some essential and unique features of embodied practices. Nevertheless, without reflection and in its corrupted form, the system may expose questionable values created by hidden hierarchical structures and power relations, identity and body politics, religious and socio-cultural dogmas and economic factors. All these factors construct a cage of hegemony and the stagnation of tradition, unquestionability, and authority that many dancers in India find themselves locked in, unable to be flexible, to be able to reflect and question, to create their own language of expression. So, certainly, there is a danger in holding on to empty terminologies, sham and fictive rituals, and damaging relationships that increase "otherness," exoticify, and separate, instead of taking dance forward on a path of positive transformation and development.

Endnotes

- ¹ The term *classical* is controversial in the context of Indian dance traditions. In the treatise on performing arts *Nāṭyaśāstra* (fifth century BCE to fifth century CE), we can find the terms *desi* and *mārgī*, which can be considered to mean, approximately, the same as *folk* and *classical*. In addition, the term *śāstrīy* can be used, meaning "related to valid treatises on performing arts."
- ² From Urdu—"practice."
- ³ The word *gharānā* comes from Hindi *ghar*, meaning home, lit. "of the house," and depicts "lineage" or "stylistic school."

- ⁴ *Guru*—“teacher,” “guide,” “spiritual preceptor,” *śiṣya*—“student,” *paramparā*—“lineage” in Sanskrit.
- ⁵ Originally the department of Shree Ram Bhārtya Kalā Kendra, taken by the government in 1964. SBKK was founded as Jhankar Music Circle in 1947 by Mrs. Sumitra Charat Ram and acquired its recent name in 1976. A very important institution, which directly influenced the revival of *Kathak* dance and *Hindustani* music.
- ⁶ Derived from Sanskrit word *kathā*, meaning—“story” or “narrative.”
- ⁷ More see: Rabinow 1984 and Grenfell 2008.
- ⁸ A religious ascetic, mendicant (monk), or any holy person in Hinduism and Jainism who has renounced worldly life.
- ⁹ The word has a few etymological explanations. It can be traced to the Sanskrit root *gri*—“to invoke,” “to praise.” In the Vedic canon it is used as an adjective and means heavy or weighty, most probably meaning “heavy with knowledge, authoritative.” However, the most popular explanation in India is from *Advayataraka Upaniṣad*: the Sanskrit root *gu* means “darkness” and *rhi*—“to take away,” “to dispel.” This explanation is considered “folk” or “occult” by some scholars.
- ¹⁰ *Veda*—a large body of religious texts, composed in Vedic Sanskrit and constituting the oldest layer of Sanskrit literature and the oldest scriptures of Hinduism.
- ¹¹ Later commentary part of the Vedic canon. An ancient Sanskrit text that contains some of the central philosophical concepts and ideas of Hinduism, some of which are shared with religious traditions like Buddhism and Jainism.
- ¹² A vast body of literature of different genres (myths, legends, etc.) composed between the third and tenth centuries CE. It covers a wide range of topics (cosmogony, cosmology, genealogies of gods, goddesses, kings, heroes, sages, and demigods, folk tales, pilgrimages, temples, medicine, astronomy, grammar, mineralogy, humor, and love stories, as well as theology and philosophy) and belongs to the *smṛiti* (lit. “which is remembered”) tradition.
- ¹³ The word can be translated as “tradition,” “spiritual lineage,” or a “religious system,” related to one of the successions of masters and disciples.
- ¹⁴ The four alternative ways of life or age-based stages (*aśrama*) discussed in ancient and medieval text are *brahmacharya* (learning), *grihastha* (household), *vanaprastha* (retirement), and *sannyasa* (renunciation) and are related to the *dharma* (duty) concept in Hinduism.
- ¹⁵ Used in Urdu language to denote “teacher” or “master,” from Persian, meaning “skilled,” “craftsman,” “master,” or “tutor.”
- ¹⁶ C. 1500–c. 500 BCE. The period got its name from *veda*—a large body of religious texts composed in Vedic Sanskrit and constituting the oldest layer of Sanskrit literature and the oldest scriptures of Hinduism.
- ¹⁷ The *bhakti* movement originated in South India during the seventh to eighth century CE, spread northwards from Tamil Nadu through Karnataka and gained wide acceptance in fifteenth-century Bengal and northern India. It influenced the rise of literature in regional languages, particularly in the form of devotional poems, music and other arts.
- ¹⁸ From Sanskrit—“loom,” “weave,” “system.” It depicts the entirety of traditions in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. Metaphorically, a systematic approach/teaching, interwoven with texts, techniques, or practices, “esoteric” as transmitted with the help of the *guru* only.
- ¹⁹ The performers in North India: musicians and dancers are very much interrelated, usually originating from the same families/communities. However, a strict hierarchy between them exists that is based on the caste system (like in the case of vocalists and *sarangi* or *tabla* players).
- ²⁰ A professional guild like an educational environment or residential school, when the student would live near or with the teacher at his home or a particular place for learning (*kul*—“family”).
- ²¹ The word in Hindi and Urdu languages, “brotherhood”; from Persian *baradar*—“brother”; denotes professional group, extended family, or caste.
- ²² Literally means the “tying of the sacred thread.”
- ²³ Means any donation, fee, or honorarium given to a cause, monastery, temple, spiritual guide, or after a ritual. Also, an honorarium given to a *guru* for education, training, or guidance.
- ²⁴ *Ekalavya* was asked to cut his own right thumb as a *guru dakṣiṇā* by the authoritative *Droṇāchārya*.
- ²⁵ One of the two major Sanskrit epics. Along with the second epic, *Rāmāyaṇa*, it forms the *Itihāsa* or mythology.
- ²⁶ In Hindi and Urdu languages meaning “special.”
- ²⁷ In Urdu language meaning “very special.”
- ²⁸ In Urdu language meaning “teaching,” “education,” and “instruction.”
- ²⁹ *Nautch* literary means “dance” or “dancing.” During the British Raj anti-nautch policies against dancing girls were initiated.
- ³⁰ Community of hereditary female performer of South India who used to perform in temple and court settings.
- ³¹ Hereditary community of North Indian female dancers—courtesans, usually related to the Mughal court.
- ³² The term was introduced by the Indian sociologist Mysore Narasimhachar Shrinivas in the 1950s. In the sphere of the performing arts it was accurately and purposefully used by Coorlawala and others in their writings (Coorlawala 2004).
- ³³ From the paper presented by Hanna Manila at the 25th EASAS conference in July 2018.
- ³⁴ *Sadguru* or *satguru*—“true *guru*” in Sanskrit.

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Santrauka

Teorinės ir taikomosios žinios Pietų Azijoje tradiciškai buvo ir yra perduodamos *guru-šišya parampara* metodu. Tai – tradicinis mokymo modelis, kai žinios perduodamos tiesiogiai iš mokytojo mokiniui. Iki šių dienų šis žinių perdavos būdas yra itin gajus performatyvių menų kontekste. Straipsnio tyrimo objektas – *Kathak* šokis, vienas iš stilių, išsivysčiusių iš performatyvių šiaurės ir centrinės Indijos tradicijų ir šiuo metu priskiriamų prie „klasikinių“ Indijos šokių, nėra išimtis.

Per pastaruosius kelis šimtmečius Indijos ekonominė, politinė, kultūrinė ir socialinė aplinka stipriai kito. Šie pokyčiai, savo ruožtu, darė įtaką vizualiųjų ir scenos menų, tarp jų ir *Kathak* šokio, raidai. Keitėsi šokio, muzikos ir teatro rėmimo struktūros, pasirodymų erdvės, vertintojų ir žiūrovų kontingentas, raiškos formos ir turinys. Kartu nemažai transformacijų patyrė ir tradicinė žinių puoselėjimo, išsaugojimo ir perdavimo praktika (*riyāz*, *gharānā*, *guru-šišya parampara*).

Straipsnio tikslas – aptarti dabartinę *Kathak* šokio žinių perdavos situaciją. Tikslui pasiekti keliami tokie klausimai:

- Kaip tradicinis žinių perdavos (*guru-šišya parampara*) būdas egzistuoja pakitusioje Indijos aplinkoje ir kokių būdu jis derinamas su valstybiniu ar privačiu institucionalizuotu edukacijos modeliu (pasiskolintu iš Vakarų)?

- Kokių būdų ši žinių perdavos sistema pakitusioje mokymo aplinkoje sukuria hierarchinius mentoriaus ir studento santykius?

- Kokia galios dinamika vyrauja mokytojo ir mokinio santykiuose ir kaip ji susijusi su XX a. pradžios meno ideologija Indijoje?

- Kokios problemos slypi dabartiniame integruotame, tačiau ne visai demokratizuotame modelyje?

Analizuojant *guru-šišya parampara* fenomeną istoriniu aspektu ir dabartiniame kontekste, straipsnyje pasitelkiamos pokolonijinio diskurso ir Michelio Foucault išplėtos kritinės žinojimo ir galios santykio teorijos prieigos. Sociologo Pierre'o Bourdieu įžvalgos ir antropologiniuose tyrimuose jo naudotos praktinės priemonės taip pat buvo naudingos tiriant žinių perdavos sistemos įtaką kasdienio ir performatyvaus elgesio konstravimui.

Darbe remiamasi autorės asmenine patirtimi, studijuojant nuo 2003 m. analizuojamą šokio stilių, bei medžiaga, surinkta 2017–2018 m. gruodį–vasarį ir 2020 m. sausį–vasarį atliktuose lauko tyrimuose Indijoje.

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Karolina ŠALTMIRYTĖ, Rima POVILIONIENĖ

Kai oktavoje skamba daugiau kaip dvylika garsų. XX a. 7–9 deš. Lietuvos kompozitorių muzikos fragmentai

*If the Octave Consist of More than Twelve Tones. Fragments of Lithuanian
Music of the 1960s–1980s*

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Anotacija

Straipsnyje aptariama mikrotonalumo problematika XX a. muzikos istoriniame ir bendrų muzikos modernėjimo tendencijų kontekste, komentuojami ir palyginami Julios Werntz, Georgo Friedricho Haaso, Gražinos Daunoravičienės, Rimos Povilionienės, Ryčio Mažulio ir Lidios Ader pasiūlyti modeliai, kaip analizuoti mikrotonines kompozicijas. Aptarus Jeronimo Kačinsko progresyviais pastangas įtvirtinti muzikos komponavimo ketvirtatoniais kryptį, straipsnyje analizuojami ir sisteminami mikrotonalumo elementų panaudojimo atvejai lietuvių kompozitorių darbuose mažai nagrinėtu laikotarpiu iki Nepriklausomybės atkūrimo (XX a. 7–9 deš.). Pagal Lietuvos kompozitorių kūrinuose įtvirtintas mikrotoninio komponavimo strategijas išskiriami tokie ketvirtatonių panaudojimo būdai kaip sklandaus perėjimo ir ornamentacijos raiška, unisono „išplėtimo“ strategijos, *glissando* modeliavimo ketvirtatoniais atvejais, ketvirtatoniai kaip integrali melodijos formavimo priemonė, 24-TET garsaileio principai.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: mikrotonalumas, ketvirtatoniai, Jeronimas Kačinskas, lietuvių muzikos modernėjimas XX a. 7–9 deš., Vytautas Barkauskas, Jurgis Juozapaitis, Antanas Rekašius, Feliksas Bajoras, Šarūnas Nakas, Mindaugas Urbaitis.

Abstract

This article discusses the problems of microtonality in the historical context of twentieth-century music and general tendencies of music modernization as well as comments on and compares analytical models to evaluate microtonal music compositions provided by Julia Werntz, Georg Friedrich Haas, Gražina Daunoravičienė, Rima Povilionienė, Rytis Mažulis, and Lidia Ader. After presenting Jeronimas Kačinskas's progressive efforts to establish the quarter-tone music composition, the article analyzes and systematizes the use of microtonality elements in Lithuanian composers' works in the pre-independence period (1960s–1980s). According to the microtonal composition strategies established in the works of Lithuanian composers, quarter-tone manifestation is classified as a means of smooth transition and ornamentation and unison "expansion" strategies, cases of *glissando* modeling in quarter-tones, the quarter-tone as an integral means of melody formation, and 24-TET sound principles are studied.

Keywords: microtonality, quarter-tone, Jeronimas Kačinskas, Lithuanian music modernization in the 60s–80s, Vytautas Barkauskas, Jurgis Juozapaitis, Antanas Rekašius, Feliksas Bajoras, Šarūnas Nakas, Mindaugas Urbaitis.

Įsivaizduokite, kad, žiūrint filmą, operatorius staiga pako-
reguoja projektoriaus fokusavimą. Nors ir maloniai, drauge
neabejotinai nustembate, pamatę, kaip akivaizdžiai pagerėjo
vaizdo raiška, nors iki tol tenkinotės ir prasteniū ryškumu.

Ben Johnston¹

XIX a. prasidėję ir XX a. besitęsiantys technologiniai
išradimai paskatino pokyčius visuomenėje, paveikė jos gyve-
nimo modernėjimą. XX a. pradžios muzikoje pradėta vengti
vyravusio vidinio pasaulio ir emocijų sureikšminimo, vietoj
to fokusuojamasi į realybę, dabartį ir objektyvų mąstymą.
XX amžius muzikos srityje dėl suaktyvėjusio skirtingų siste-
mų naudojimo, griežto struktūravimo yra laikomas teorinės
kompozicijos epocha (*age of theoretical composition*)². Jau

XX a. pirmaisiais dešimtmečiais kompozitoriai ėmėsi atvirai
abejoti ir netgi prieštarauti praėjusių laikotarpių autorite-
tams, ieškoti naujų muzikos komponavimo formų ir išraiškos
priemonių. Anot Rūtos Stanevičiūtės ir Leono Stefanijos:

Vakarų menas yra pripratęs prie naujovių. Nauji muzikos
stiliai turi atitikti negirdėtus, netikėtus, neįsivaizduojamus ar
nesuderinamumą keliančius lūkesčius. Į naujoves orientuota
kultūra yra kažkodėl „savai suprantama“. Naujovė yra bū-
tina mūsų kasdieniame gyvenime net ir mene. (Stanevičiūtė,
Stefanija 2020: 5)

Kaip vieną svarbesnių kūrybinių impulsų galima išskirti
suaktyvėjusį gilinimąsi į patį garsą, jo sandarą ir prigimtį.
O tai nedelsiant ėmė judinti stabilūs mažoro-minoro –
kelis šimtmečius gyvuojančios garsų sistemos – pamatus.

Įsitvirtinusio tolygiai temperuoto derinimo įtaka gerokai susilpnėjo kompozitoriams pradėjus eksperimentus su intervaliniais muzikos garsų santykiais, bandymus dalyti pilną toną į daugiau nei dvi dalis, įterpti garsus, kurių nerasime tradiciniame dvylikatoniame garsaelyje (pavyzdžiui, ketvirtatonis, trečiatonis, šeštatonis ir pan.). XX a. pradžioje iškilęs mikrotonalumo reiškinys paskatino revizuoti ir praplėsti kanonizuotą Vakarų muzikos skambesio fenomeną. Įvairūs ir originalūs kompozitorių eksperimentai bei pastangos apibūdinti šį reiškinį sukėlė daugialypės interpretacijos atvejus, mikrotonalumo ir kitų jį paaiškinančių sąvokų gausą (tokie terminai kaip „mikrotonas“, „mikrotonalumas“, „ketvirtatoniai“, „mikro-, ultra-, infra-, subchromatika“, „ksenharmonija“, „mikrodimensinė muzika“, „ekmelika“), todėl bendro sąvokos taikymo nėra įtvirtinta. Vis dėlto pagrindinis aspektas, dėl kurio sutaria įvairių terminų atstovai, yra dėmesys tarp gretimų garsų susidarantiems muzikos intervalams, kitokiems nei įprasta tolygioje temperacijoje; atitinkamai sąvoka „mikrotonas“ sietina su mažesniu už pustonį intervalu³.

Kaip pastebi rusų muzikologė Lidia Ader, mikrotoninės muzikos istorija yra sena ir jauna tuo pačiu metu (Ader 2020: 11), nes vieni mikrotonalumo ištakas sieja su XVI–XVII a. muzika⁴, kiti orientuojasi į muzikinius procesus XX amžiuje. Pastaroji pozicija paremta tuo, kad mikrotoninės muzikos klausimai praėjusio amžiaus pradžioje (ir vėliau) buvo gausiai aptariami teoriniu ir praktiniu – kompoziciniu ir atlikimo aspektais; teoretikai ir kūrėjai ėmė siūlyti įvairias derinimo teorijas. Tarp tokių minėtina Juliáno Carrillo „tryliktojo garso“ (*el sonido trece*) idėja bei šio kompozitoriaus eksperimentai oktavą dalyti į 24, 36, 48, 60, 72 ar 96 lygias dalis. Italų kompozitorius ir pianistas Ferruccio Busoni 1907 m. paskelbė esė apie naująją muzikos estetiką, kurioje jis pristatė pilno tono padalijimo į trečiatonius idėją (Busoni 1911).⁵ Panašiu metu Vokietijoje buvo išspausdinta Willio Möllendorffo knygelė, kurioje jis aprašė biochromatinės muzikos koncepciją, grįstą ketvirtatoniais (Möllendorff 1917)⁶, o Charlesas Ivesas savo straipsnyje 1925 m., skirtame tais pačiais metais sukurto trims ketvirtatonių pjesėms fortepijonui („Three Quarter-Tone Pieces“) aptarti, teigė įžvelgiąs ketvirtatonių muzikos ateitį, nors „šio meto ketvirtatonių eksperimentai skamba itin gremėzdiškai“ (Ives 1961)⁷.

Smarkiai prie mažoro-minoro aukso amžiaus baigties prisidėjo kompozitorių Ivano Wyschnegradsky'io (muziką rašiusio trečiatonių, ketvirtatonių, šeštatonių, dvylikatonių ir kt. garsaeliais), Aloiso Hába'os (pasitelkusio ketvirtatonių, oktavos skaidymą į 72 dalis ir pan.) ir jo sekėjų mikrotoninė kūryba, apie XX a. vid. Amerikoje dėmesį patraukę originalūs Harry'io Partcho kūrybiniai sumanymai (pagrįsti grynosios darnos, pirminių sveikųjų skaičių santykiais, oktavos dalijimu į 43 garsus ir t. t.), šio kompozitoriaus iškelta idėja apie „otonalumą“ ir

„utonalumą“ ir pan. Žvelgiant į mikrotoninės muzikos reiškinį iš XXI a. perspektyvos, akivaizdžiai matyti, kad XX a. Vakarų muzikos istorijoje mikrotonalumas tapo vienu iš esminių pokyčių, mikrotoninei muzikai būdingas naujo skambesio, savitų tembrų ieškojimas paskatino tonacinės sistemos lūžį, tradicinio 12-TET garsaelių⁸ dėsnų paneigimą.

Analitinis mikrotoninių muzikos kūrinių diskursas

Diskusijos, kokių būdu į muzikos audinį yra integruojami mikrotonai, kaip jie lemia muzikos kūrinio sandarą ir pan., rodo, kad iki šiol nėra bendros nuomonės. Bene dažniausiai pagrindinis dėmesys skiriamas pilno tono arba oktavos dalijimo matmeniui. Pavyzdžiui, Gardnerio Reado siūloma garsaelių tipologija daugiausia paremta oktavos skaidymu į lygias dalis⁹, o tokį skaidymą gana dažnai praktikuoja kompozitoriai, tokie kaip Wyschnegradsky'is (skaidymas į 18, 24, 36, 72 dalis), Easley'us Blackwoodas (eksperimentiniai etiudai su oktavos padalijimu į lygias dalis nuo 13 iki 24 garsų), Ezra Simsas (oktavos dalijimas į 72 dalis) ar Mathew Rosenblumas (kūryboje derinantis tolygų dvylikagarsį derinimą ir oktavos skaidymą į 19 ar 21 dalis). Šiame kontekste derėtų išskirti amerikiečių kompozitorės ir muzikologės Julios Wertz bei austrų kompozitoriaus Georgo Friedricho Haaso gana artimą klasifikaciją. Anot Wertz, mikrotoninės muzikos kompozicijos paremtos:

- 1) grynuoju derinimu (*pure tuning*), t. y. egzistuojančių natūralių derinimų naudojimas, originaliųjų garsaelių kūrimas ir pan. bei / arba
- 2) elementariu garsų pridėjimu (*simple addition of pitches*), t. y. tolygaus dvylikagarsio modelio praplėtimas, papildymas (Wertz 2001: 160–61).

Haasas šias dvi grupes praplečia į keturis tipus:

- 1) tolygus oktavos dalijimas (atitinkantis Wertz antrąjį atvejį),
- 2) obertonų serijos ir grynoji darna (atitinkantis Wertz pirmajam atvejui),
- 3) *Klangspaltung*¹⁰ ir
- 4) aleatorinis mikrotonalumas (Haas 2003: 59).

Pastebima, kad Wertz minimi mikrotoniniai klasteriai, garsų „masės“, tolygios dvylikagarsės eilės ornamentavimas pagalbiniais mikrotonais (Wertz 2001: 176) susisieja su Haaso trečiuoju ir ketvirtuoju tipais. Beje, šių dviejų autorių pozicijai artima ir Gražinos Daunoravičienės pozicija. Mokslininkė teigia, kad, nusprendęs komponuoti „nedvylikos sistema“¹¹, kompozitorius gali pasukti šiomis kryptimis:

- 1) oktavą skaidyti į lygių dydžių dalis ar skirtingų dydžių elementus, arba,
- 2) atskaitos tašku įvardydamas 12-os garsų sistemą, konstruoti garsaelius garsų kiekio didėjimo (mikrointervalai)

arba mažėjimo (makrointervalai) kryptimi (Daunoravičienė 2003: 102–103).

Pastebėtina, kad Werntz ir Haaso, taip pat ir Daunoravičienės klasifikacijos labiau orientuotos į garsaeilio sudarymo konstrukciją, intervalinę sandarą. Rima Povilionienė siūlo atkreipti dėmesį, *kodėl* ir *kaip* tam tikri mikrotonalumo elementai yra įdiegiami muzikos kūrinuose, atsižvelgdama į Ryčio Mažulio pastebėjimą, kad „nusprenęs savo kūrinyje panaudoti mikrotonus, kompozitorius pirma turi pasirinkti, ar jo muzikoje mikrotonai figūruos kaip dekoratyvinė / ornamentinė priemonė (*decorative tool*), ar kaip struktūrinis / konstrukcinis matmuo (*structural element*)“ (Mažulis 2015: 159; Povilionienė 2020: 80–81). Tokiu atveju galima skirti dvi mikrotonalaus muzikos komponavimo kryptis (Povilionienė 2020: 81–82):

1) pirmoji parenta sistemišku / struktūruotu mikrotonų integravimu, nulemiančiu muzikos kūrinio bendrą sąrangą (pvz., tam tikro garsaeilio ar derinimo parinkimas / sukūrimas), jo formą, ritminį piešinį ir pan. (kaip antai integralios kompozicinės sistemos taikymas Mažulio muzikiniuose kanonuose), arba

2) laisva / nesistemiška manipuliacija mikrotonais, kurią apibūdintų tokie kompoziciniai veiksmai kaip tradicinių garsų ornamentavimas, unisono „multiplikacija“ (pasitelkiant gretimus mikrotonus / ketvirtatonus), mikrotoninės garsų slinkties išryškėjimas / sustiprinimas (mikrotonai / ketvirtatoniai pasitelkiami kaip pereinamųjų garsų funkcija), garso estetikos aspektas (pvz., siekis išgauti „neterminuotą“ skambesio, „išderintą“ harmonijos efektą), stilizacijos siekis (nevakarietiško elementų panaudojimas muzikos kūrinyje ir pan.).

Rusų muzikologė Lidia Ader renka kiek kitą analitinę prieigą, teigdama, kad XX–XXI a. atliktų tyrimų įvairovėje santykinai galima įžvelgti dvi mikrotoninės muzikos kryptis – pagrindinę ir taikomąją. Pirmuoju atveju kūrinuose garso skaidymas yra sisteminis elementas, kūrinio pagrindas ir faktūros organizavimo įrankis, antruoju – tai taikomieji (kūrybiniai ir tiriamieji) tikslai. Ji išskiria tris komponavimo metodus (Ader 2020: 26):

1) sisteminių (šio muzikos komponavimo atveju šalia mikrotonalumo pasitelkiama viena ar daugiau alternatyvių sistemų, kurios tampa muzikos kūrinio pagrindu; sudėtingėjant muzikos kalbai, kompozitoriai ieškojo naujų muzikos garsų organizavimo būdų, kurie leistų sujungti keletą skirtingų muzikos komponavimo sistemų),

2) autentišką (šis metodas siejamas su senovės civilizacijų ir folkloro elementų integracija į muzikos kūrinį. Susidūrę su konservatyvių tradicinio garsaeilio šalininkų pasipriešinimu plėsti dvylikos tonų sistemos ribas, mikrotoninės krypties atstovai argumentavo, kad jų kūrinų idėjos kildinamos iš gamtos kaip visuotinio gimtosios kalbos ir mokslo teorijų

pirmtakės, kad senovinėse civilizacijose ketvirtatoniai buvo plačiai taikomi¹²), bei

3) imitacinį (šį komponavimo metodą kompozitoriai naudoja siekdami mikrotoninėje muzikoje perteikti, pavaizduoti gamtos ypatybes. Gamta tapo vienu svarbiausių argumentų radikaliems muzikos eksperimentams, kuriais buvo siekiama sugrąžinti pirmapradiškumą muzikai ir išsilaisvinti iš „architektoninių, akustinių ir estetinių dogmų“¹³).

Mikrotoninės muzikos projekcijos lietuvių kūryboje. Tarpukario eksperimentai

Gilinantį į mikrotoninės muzikos tendencijas XX a., su svarbiausiais kūrybiniais ieškojimais siejama čekų kompozitoriaus Aloiso Hába'os (1893–1973) asmenybė. Hába buvo įsitikinęs, kad ketvirtatonių muzika gerokai praplės Europos muzikinę kalbą. Savo patirtimi jis dalijosi su studentais Prahos konservatorijoje. Kaip tik čia tarp Hába'os studentų ir mikrotoninės muzikos sekėjų iškilo vienas ryškiausių šios krypties atstovų Lietuvoje, kompozitorius Jeronimas Kačinskas (1907–2005), kurį patsai Hába'as vadino vienu geriausių savo kompozicijos klasės studentų.¹⁴ XX a. pirmojoje pusėje mikrotoninės muzikos eksperimentai vis labiau patraukė Vakarų ar Amerikos kompozitorių dėmesį, o dėka Kačinsko bene tuo pačiu metu jie persikėlė ir į Lietuvos muzikos garsyną, čia ambicingai ketindami įsitvirtinti kaip originali ir progresyvi kūrybinė apraiška.

Yra žinoma, kad dar studijuodamas Prahose Kačinskas parašė Koncertą ketvirtatonių trimitui ir simfoniniam orkestrui (1930–1931) ir pradėjo rašyti dar 1930 m. vasarą sumanytą Nonetą (1931–1932) (Stanevičiūtė 2015: 173). Taip pat minima, kad 1931 m. Kačinskas sukomponeavo ketvirtatonių sistema grįstą Styginių kvartetą Nr. 2. Hába pirmuosius savo studento kūrybinius rezultatus yra įvertinęs, pabrėždamas Kačinsko talentą kombinuoti sąskambius, originaliai konstruoti akordines struktūras, nestandartinį ateminio stiliaus plėtojimą (Stanevičiūtė 2015: 169).

Grįžęs į Lietuvą, Kačinskas pirmaisiais metais ėmėsi ketvirtatonių Koncerto fortepijonui ir orkestrui bei dainų žemam balsui ir fortepijonui (kūriniai taip ir nebuvo parašyti), netrukus sukūrė Trio Nr. 1 trimitui, altui ir fisharmonijai ketvirtatonių sistema (1933), pabaigė dar konservatorijoje pradėtą Nonetą styginiams pučiamiesiems (1931–1932, antra versija 1936). Šiuose kūrinuose pagrėčiui su ketvirtatonių sistema kompozitorius tobulino savo ateminį stilių (Stanevičiūtė 2015: 211). Kačinsko ketvirtatonių muzika sulaukė ir tarptautinio dėmesio, kai 1938 m. Nonetas buvo įtrauktas į Londone vykusio Tarptautinės šiuolaikinės muzikos draugijos festivalio programą¹⁵ (Stanevičiūtė 2017: 5).

Adagio sostenuto *Trio.* *Tromba, viola e harmonium.* *Jeronimas Kačinskas*

1 pav. Jeronimas Kačinskas. Trio Nr. 1 trimitui, altui ir fisharmonijai ketvirtatonių sistema (1933). Čekijos muzikos muziejuje, Aloiso Hába'o archyvo fonduose saugomo rankraščio fragmentas, p. 1.

Ilgą laiką Kačinsko partitūros buvo laikomos dingusiomis per Antrąjį pasaulinį karą. Buvo žinoma, kad JAV apsigyvenusiam kompozitoriui pačiam pavyko atgauti ir atkurti Noneto antrosios versijos partitūrą. Tačiau 2013 m. lietuvių muzikologė Rūta Stanevičiūtė Čekijos muzikos muziejaus ir Prahos konservatorijos bibliotekos archyvuose aptiko Koncerto ketvirtatonių trimitui ir simfoniniam orkestrui (1930–1931) klavyrą bei Trio Nr. 1 trimitui, altui ir fisharmonijai ketvirtatonių sistema (1933) (1 pav.). Anot Stanevičiūtės, šios partitūros „esmingai praplečia žinias apie ankstyvąją kompozitoriaus kūrybą ir leidžia integruoti pirmuosius lietuvių muzikinio avangardo pavyzdžius į Vidurio ir Rytų Europos modernėjimo procesus, kurie plėtojosi kaip alternatyva Vakarų muzikinio avangardo centrams“ (Stanevičiūtė 2017: 5). Tad ilgai neišlikęs kompozitoriaus indėliui į tarpukario lietuvių muziką išryškinti pritapo modernisto, avangardisto etiketės.

Ketvirtatonių raiškos atvejai 7–9 deš. lietuvių muzikoje

Sėkmingai prasidėjusi ir daug žadėjusi Kačinsko veikla Lietuvos tarpukario muzikinėje scenoje dėl įvairių aplinkybių nutrūko – Klaipėdoje jo suburta ketvirtatonių klasė buvo uždaryta, pats kompozitorius Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais pasitraukė į Vakarus, apsigyveno JAV, savo kūryboje prie ateminių ir ketvirtatonių bandymų daugiau negrįžo. Galima sakyti, Kačinsko progresyvios idėjos ir pradėti įgyvendinti sumanymai atsidūrė Lietuvos muzikos istorijos puslapių užribyje, niekas iš pokario kūrėjų tiesiogiai nepratęsė jo kompozicinės krypties. Tačiau XX a. 7–9 dešimtmečiais išryškėję procesai lietuvių muzikos kūryboje pradeda byloti apie naujus bandymus „išjudinti“ mikrotonalumo raišką. Tai vyko sovietinės reokupacijos, kultūrinių suvaržymų pagrečiui su tam tikrais „atšilimo“ ženklais kontekste – tokioje

okupaciniais dešimtmečiais susiklosčiusioje situacijoje, į kurią galima pažvelgti per György'o Péterio sąvokos „nailono uždanga“ metaforą, nusakančią buvus tam tikras pralaidumo formas tarp Vakarų ir Rytų pasaulių (daugiau žr.: Stanevičiūtė; Petrauskaitė; Gruodytė 2018).

Lietuvių muzikams viena tokių „pravertų durų“ galimybių buvo lenkų rengiamas muzikos festivalis „Varšuvos ruduo“, Rytų Europoje ėmęsis ne tik savo kompozitorių kūrybos sklaidos, bet ir supažindinimo su naujausia Vakarų muzika, vyraujančiomis tendencijomis misijos. Lenkų šiuolaikinės muzikos festivaliai ir muzikos scenos buvo vienas svarbiausių informacijos šaltinių Lietuvos kompozitoriams ir galimybė prisistatyti tarptautiniu lygmeniu. Iki XX a. 8-ojo deš. lietuvių muzika daugeliui Lenkijoje negalėjo būti girdima dėl sovietinės kultūros propagandos uždangos. Anot Stanevičiūtės, modernios lietuvių muzikos proveržį į šiuolaikinės Lenkijos muzikos scenas labiausiai paskatino nuosekli Lietuvos kultūros ambasadoriumi vadinamo lenkų muzikologo Krzysztofo Drobos (1946–2017) veikla, paskatinta nuoširdaus susižavėjimo sovietmečio modernistų Broniaus Kutavičiaus, Felikso Bajoro, Osvaldo Balakausko, XX a. 8-uoju deš. debiutavusių neoromantikų kompozitorių kūryba¹⁶. Tačiau svarbus žingsnis buvo ne tik lietuvių kūrinių pasirodymas lenkų festivalyje, bet ir naujų užsakyimų inicijavimas, 1989 m. pradėtos rengti lietuvių ir lenkų muzikologų konferencijos.

Prisimindami „Varšuvos rudenį“, Lietuvos kompozitoriai pabrėžia didžiulę sklaidos naudą. Antai Vytautas Barkauskas savo žmonos Svetlanos Barkauskas parengtoje knygoje teigia, kad 1965–1970 m. vykę festivaliai jam atvėrė akis į pasaulinę muzikos panoramą, čia kompozitorius susipažino su įvairiais stiliais, technikomis ir sistemomis, išgirdo pagrindinių XX a. pasaulio kompozitorių muziką (pvz., Bėlos Bartoko, Carlo Orffo, Edgardo Varèse'o, Charleso Iveso, Olivier Messiaeno, Pierre'o Boulezo, Boriso Blacherio, Hanso Wernerio Henze'ės) ir, aišku, naujausius lenkų kūrinius. Kaip teigė Barkauskas apie lenkų operatyvumą:

[...] kitą dieną po koncerto „Varšuvos rudens“ festivalyje buvo galima įsigyti skambėjusių kūrinių plokšteles ir partitūras. Parsiveždavau jų pilnus lagaminus. Stengiausi kuo daugiau pažinti, analizuoti klausydamasis įrašų, studijuoti, kaip ir kokiomis priemonėmis autorius pasiekė rezultatą. (Barkauskas 2014: 278)

Kompozitorius „Varšuvos rudenyje“ apsilankė keturis-kart iki tol, kai 1971 m. sovietų valdžia uždraudė jam vykti į bet kokią užsienio valstybę, nes Barkauskas obojininkui Lotharui Faberiui perdavė „Monologo“ (1970) natas, o šis atliko kūrinių Ruajano festivalyje Prancūzijoje. Kaip prisimena pats kompozitorius:

Buvau nubaustas už „Monologo“ obojui solo perdavimą žymiausiajam Vakarų Vokietijos obojininkui Lotharui Faberiui po jo koncerto „Varšuvos rudenyje“. Sovietų režimo laikais tai buvo nedovanotinas nusikaltimas. (Barkauskas 2014: 278)

Žinojau, kad tai pavojinga, bet man nusibodo bijoti. Kita vertus, perduodamas natas Faberiui, nežinojau nieko – kur ir ar apskritai kūriny bus atliktas. Man tiesiog patiko, kaip šis atlikėjas muzikuoja, ir taip jau sutapo, kad tuo metu kaip tik turėjau naują kūrinių. (Šaltmirytė 2020)

Anot Jurgio Juozapaičio, pirmą kartą į „Varšuvos rudenį“ nuvykusio 1970 m., festivalis jam buvo „pagrindinė mokykla“. Kaip teigia Juozapaitis, jam teko progą susipažinti ir su japonų šiuolaikinės muzikos kompozitoriais, jie lietuvių autoriui atsiųsdavo savo modernius kūrinius, kuriuos Juozapaitis kruopščiai studijuodavo, o vėliau išnagrinėtus kūrinius nunešdavo į konservatorijos biblioteką:

Iš festivalio „Varšuvos ruduo“ parsiveždavome partitūras, iš jų mokydavomės, studijuodavome įrašus, dalindavomės turima medžiaga. Faktiškai tikrosios mano kompozicijos studijos taip ir prasidėjo – studijuojant partitūras ir įrašus.

[...] Mano vienas mėgiamiausių kompozitorių buvo Witoldas Lutosławski. [...] Žavėjau kamerine amerikiečio George'o Crumbo muzika. Jo kūrinių natas tik vėliau pavyko gauti, bet jau festivalyje „Varšuvos ruduo“ girdėjau jo muziką. [...] Girdėjau ir Pierre'o Schaeffero, Iannio Xenakio kūrinius, tačiau jie man nepadarė įspūdžio.¹⁷

Barkauskas viename „Varšuvos rudens“ festivalyje buvo susitikęs su Karlheinzu Stockhausenu, vėliau gavo jo kūrinių partitūrų. Bet, anot kompozitoriaus, šio autoriaus natas jis tik perversdavo, nes sekti tokiais pavyzdžiais jam nebuvo įdomu (Šaltmirytė 2020). Barkauskas teigė domėjęsis ir savo bendraamžių iš buvusios Sovietų Sąjungos muzika, bičiuliavosi su Alfredu Schnittke, glaudžius ryšius palaikė ir su rusų kompozitoriumi Edisonu Denisovu, kuris parašė keletą recenzijų po Barkausko autorinių kūrinių Maskvoje 1974 ir 1983 m. Anot Barkausko, užsienio kompozitorių plokštelių, natų ir teorinės literatūros buvo galima įsigyti ir Kompozitorių sąjungoje Maskvoje:

Būtent Maskvoje nusipirkau įdomią knygą – Vincento Persichetti „XX a. harmonija“ („Twentieth-century Harmony“), 1961 metais išleista Niujorke.¹⁸

Beje, su dodekafoninės technikos pagrindais susipažinau dar iki išvykos į „Varšuvos rudenį“, 1963 metais, kai Taline iš Arvo Pärto gavau Ernsto Kreneko knygos „Dvylikatonio kontrapunkto studija“ („Zwölf-ton Kontrapunkt Studien“) kopiją. Ją parsivežiau į Lietuvą, kopijos čia gana plačiai pasisklido. (Šaltmirytė 2020)

7-ajame deš. iš „Varšuvos rudens“ festivalio ir kitur parsivežti muzikos įrašai buvo demonstruojami Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjungoje, vyko diskusijos. Kaip iškalbingą to laikotarpio suvaržymus, kontrolę atspindinčią reakciją į tai, kas vykdavo perklausose, Svetlana Barkauskas aprašė atvejį, kai tuometinės Lietuvos konservatorijos Mažojoje salėje gausiai susirinkusiai auditorijai Barkauskas pristatė Krzysztofo Pendereckio „Raudą Hirošimos aukoms“

(„Threnos“, 1960) ir už šį demonstravimą sulaukė kaltinimo chuliganizmu bei Algimanto Kalinausko pasiūlymo būti nubaustas 15 parų.

Konservatorijos profesoriams pritariamai plojant, paklausiau: „Ar mane iš karto išves, ar leis atsiveikinti su šeima?“ Tada kiek atsikvošėję profesionalūs muzikos vertintojai pradėjo juoktis ir plojo jau man. Tačiau kitas kolega ir dirigentas Abelis Klenickis parašė oficialų skundą LTSR kompozitorių sąjungai, kad Vytautas Barkauskas Vilniuje propaguoja religinę muziką (turėta omenyje „Pasija pagal Luką“). (Barkauskas 2014: 279)

Šios istorijos taikliai įvaizdina to meto situaciją, sovietų kontrolės pastangas stabdyti aplink pasaulyje vykusią muzikinių procesų išviešinimą šalies viduje, varžyti vis augantį ir mažiau valdomą kompozitorių dalyvavimą kaimyninės Lenkijos festivaliuose, bičiulystę su užsienio menininkais, kūrybines diskusijas, praktinius mainus. Kūrybinėje plotmėje ne vienas lietuvių autorius nors trumpam buvo susidomėjęs ir praktiškai įgyvendino dodekafonijos, serializmo, aleatorikos principus. Tačiau tenka pasakyti, kad iki 1990-ųjų tik gana retas jų rinkosi integruoti savo kūryboje tokią išraiškingą muzikos kalbos priemonę kaip mikrotonai. Pastebėtina, kad ir lietuvių muzikologijoje dėmesys mikrotoninės muzikos komponavimo kryptims bei mikrotonų / ketvirtatonių panaudojimo muzikoje tyrimai „prasideda“ sulig XX a. 9-uoju dešimtmečiu ir Ryčio Mažulio kūrybos pavyzdžiais. Tačiau susipažinus su pluoštu 7–9 deš. parašytų

muzikos kūrinių (pavyzdžiui, Vytauto Barkausko, Jurgio Juozapaitis, Antano Rekašiaus, Šarūno Nako, Mindaugo Urbaičio, Felikso Bajoro, Snieguolės Dikčiūtės), galima aptikti įvairių ketvirtatonių integravimo į muzikos audinį pavyzdžių.

Įsigilinus į ketvirtatonių panaudojimo strategijas 7–9 deš. partitūrose, matyti, kad didžioji dalis muzikos kūrinių iš esmės siejami su tolygios 12-os garsų eilės „ornamentavimu“ – tai yra tradicinių dvylikos pustonų oktavoje pajavirinimas, praturtinimas, įterpianč smulkesnius garsus (ketvirtatonus) kaip pagalbinus, pereinamuosius; taip pat ketvirtatoniai pasitelkiami klasteriams užpildyti, nuosekliam *glissando* užrašyti ar unisonui „išplėsti“. Ir tik keletą kūrinių galima apibūdinti kaip gana individualizuotą ketvirtatonių manifestaciją, pretenduojantį į lygiateisį tokių garsų funkcionavimą bendrame garsų audinyje (žr. sudarytą muzikos kūrinių lentelę).

Įvairius ketvirtatonių panaudojimo 7–9 deš. lietuvių muzikos kūriniuose atvejus rodo toliau aptariami keletas lentelėje nurodytų muzikos kūrinių, atskleidžiančių tam tikras kompozitorių intencijas. Antai Barkausko muzikoje ketvirtatonių panaudojimą galima sieti su garso spalvos paieškomis. Kaip teigia Svetlana Barkauskas, sonorizmas Barkausko dėmesį patraukė pirmiausia dėl laisvės pojūčio, dėl galimybės savitai jungti skirtingas kompozicines technikas. Kompozitoriaus kūriniuose sonoristika susipina

1 lentelė. Ketvirtatonių panaudojimo atvejai 7–9 deš. lietuvių kompozitorių kūriniuose

Ketvirtatonių panaudojimo atvejai	Kompozitorius, kūrinys
1. Ornamentinės ketvirtatonių raiškos muzikos faktūroje strategijos	
1.1. Ketvirtatoniai kaip sklendaus perėjimo ir ornamentacijos priemonė	V. Barkauskas. Styginių kvartetas Nr. 1 (1972) J. Juozapaitis. Simfonija „Rex“ (1973) J. Juozapaitis. Kamerinė simfonija „Jūratė ir Kąstytis“ (1975) M. Urbaitis. „Meditacija Jono Meko žodžiais“ (1971) F. Bajoras. „Elegija Baliui Dvarionui“ (1974) V. Barkauskas. Simfonija Nr. 2 (1971) V. Barkauskas. Simfonija Nr. 3 (1979) A. Rekašius. „Diafonija“ (1972)
1.2. Unisono ornamentavimo („praplėtimo“) strategijos	V. Barkauskas. „Concerto piccolo“ (1988) Š. Nakas. „Chronon“, III d. „Marios. Dangus“ (1992–1997) J. Juozapaitis. 5 metamorfozės „Afroditė“ (1978)
1.3. <i>Glissando</i> modeliavimas ketvirtatoniais	A. Rekašius. Sonata obojui (1976) A. Rekašius. Simfonija Nr. 5 (1981)
2. Ketvirtatonių lygiateisės integracijos į garsaeilio struktūrą atvejai	
2.1. Ketvirtatoniai kaip integrali melodijos formavimo priemonė	S. Dikčiūtė. „Solitude“ (1992) Š. Nakas. „Chronon“, I d. „Ištakos. Paukščiai“ (1992–1997)
2.2. Ketvirtatonių garsaeilio (24-TET) principai	J. Juozapaitis. Styginių kvartetas Nr. 2 (1984) Š. Nakas. „Sparnai bedugnei perskristi“ (1996)

su dodekafonija, diatonika, modalumu, lietuvių folkloro dermėmis, mikrochromatika (Barkauskas 2014: 280). Tai būdinga ir 1972 m. sukurtame Styginių kvartete Nr. 1, kurio trečioje dalyje „Volando semplice“ kaip pereinamieji garsai pasirodo ketvirtatoniai (2 pav.). O jo Antrojoje simfonijoje (1971)¹⁹ ketvirtatonių skambesys prisodrina klasterių sluoksnius, susidarancius kelių instrumentų partijose, ir dramaturginio aspektu atlieka „subtilaus atodūsio funkciją“. Simfonijos I dalyje pasirodantys ketvirtatoniai pirmųjų smuikų partijoje išsilieja žemyn į pustoninį tritono klasterį (17–19 skaitmenys), sudaro 24 balsų mišrios struktūros arkinio pavidalo klasterius (17 skaitmuo) bei tiesiogiai sąveikauja su ritmo parametru, t. y. kylančioje melodijoje intervalų atstumų mažėjimas (kontrabosų partijoje skamba tonai, pustoniai, altuose – ketvirtatoniai) susijęs su smulkėjančia ritmika (kontrabosų partijoje vyrauja pusinės, aštuntinės, altų – šešioliktinės). I dalies 22 skaitmens 4–6 taktai iliustruoja ketvirtatoniais užpildytų, mišrios sandaros klasterių, kurie skamba iki I dalies pabaigos, faktūrą (3 pav.). Ketvirtatonių panaudojimas tarsi įrėmina šios keturių dalių simfonijos struktūrą, nes II ir III dalys komponuojamos be ketvirtatonių, kurie sugrįžta finale pereinamųjų garsų pavidalu.

Minėtina ir Barkausko kompozicija „Concerto piccolo“ (1988), kurios garsiniame audinyje ketvirtatoniai funkcionuoja kaip koloristinis centrinio garso „apipynimas“, tarsi sukuriantis unisono „mirkėjimą“. Pavyzdžiui, banguojančios melodinės linijos motyvas jungiamas su pagrindine kūrinio tema (smuikų partijoje griežiamas ketvirtatonių mirgėjimas, altuose – pagrindinėje temoje skambantys *arpeggio*) (4 pav.).

The image shows a musical score for string quartet, consisting of four staves (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass). The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows the beginning of a phrase with dynamics like *p* and *pp*. The second system shows a more complex texture with dynamics like *pp*, *ppp*, and *fff*, and includes markings such as *arco* and *tacca*. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals, illustrating the use of quarter tones and clusters.

2 pav. Ketvirtatonių kaip pereinamųjų garsų panaudojimas Vytauto Barkausko Styginių kvartete Nr. 1 (1972), III d., 43–48 t. (fragmentas iš kūrinio partitūros: Vytautas Barkauskas. *Styginių kvartetas Nr. 1*. Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1980)

The image shows a musical score for string quartet, consisting of four staves. The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows a dense cluster of notes, with dynamics like *pp* and *ppp*. The second system shows a more complex texture with dynamics like *pp*, *ppp*, and *fff*, and includes markings such as *arco* and *tacca*. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals, illustrating the use of quarter tones and clusters.

3 pav. Ketvirtatoniais užpildytų klasterių harmonijos Vytauto Barkausko Simfonijoje Nr. 2 (1971). I d., 22 skaitmens 4–6 t. (fragmentas iš kūrinio partitūros: Vytautas Barkauskas. *Simfonija Nr. 2*. Leningrad: Muzyka, 1974)



4 pav. Unisono dekoravimas ketvirtatoniais Vytauto Barkausko „Concerto piccolo“ (1988).
9 skaitmuo, 3–4 t., II smuikų (rankraštis)

Anot Juozapaičio, į jo muziką ketvirtatoniai išsiliejo savaime, kai, „Varšuvos rudenyje“ išgirdus užsienio kompozitorių mikrotoninės muzikos pavyzdžius, jį patraukė platesnės išraiškos galimybės:

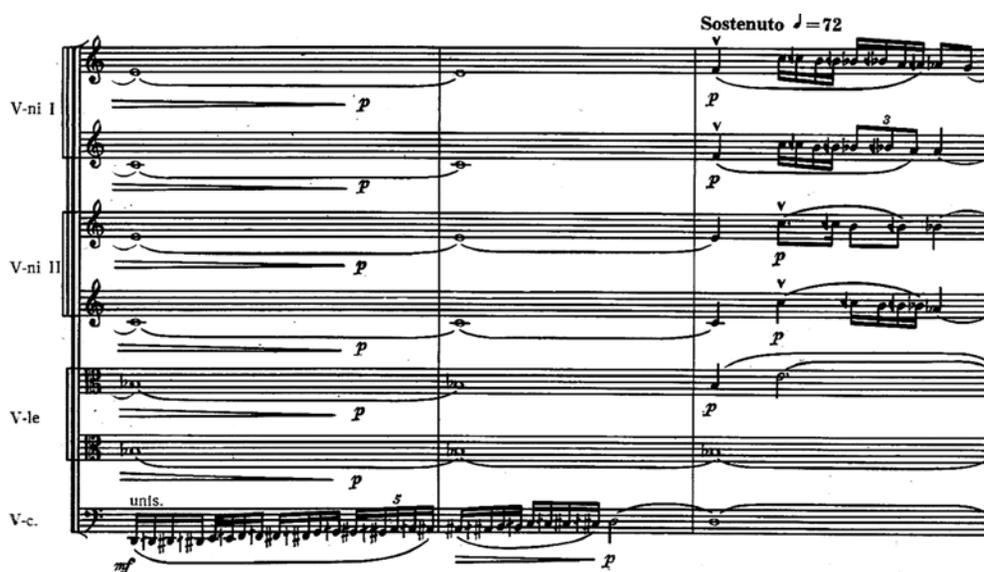
Viskas yra daroma dėl išraiškos. Kiekvienas kompozitorius stengiasi, kad būtų kuo įdomesnė muzika, kad kompozitorius būtų originalnesnis, pritraukti žiūrovus.²⁰

Antai jo simfonijos „Rex“ (1973) pirmos dalies styginių partijoje gausu ketvirtatonių, kurie figūruoja garsų slinktyse kaip pereinamieji nuo trumpų motyvų iki ilgų nusidriekiančių ketvirtatonių grandinių (5 pav.). 1975 m. sukurtoje kamerinėje simfonijoje „Jūratė ir Kąštytis“

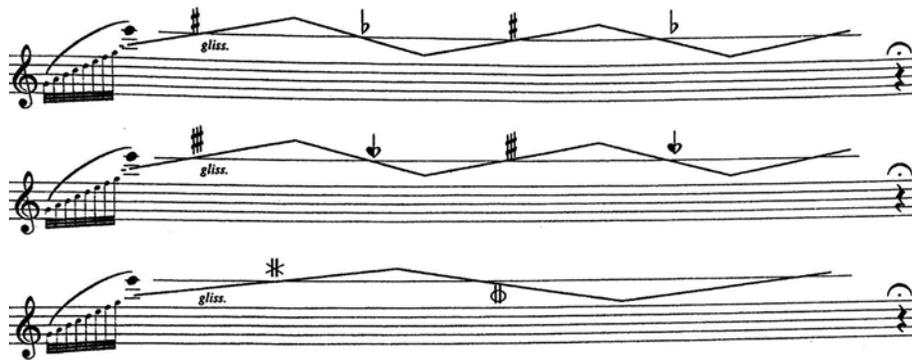
styginių partijose skamba nepertraukiama, ilgomis natomis tęsiama linija, kurią pajavairina tarp tęsiamų garsų įterpiami trumpi judrūs mikromotyvai su įterptais ketvirtatoniais. Beje, pasiteiravus, kaip į tuo metu gana drąsiai nuskambėjusią simfoniją „Rex“ sureagavo auditorija, Juozapaitis atsakė:

Visų pirma, orkestras tokių dalykų negroja, muzikantams tai būdavo tarsi savotiškas chuliganizmas. Tai buvo iššūkis.²¹

Pasiteiravus Juozapaičio apie ketvirtatonių notacijos šaltinį, kompozitorius patikslino, kad jo pasirinktam ketvirtatonių simbolių žymėjimui pasitarnavo to meto lenkų autorių partitūros:



5 pav. Ketvirtatonių grandinės Jurgio Juozapaičio simfonijoje „Rex“ (1973). I d., 1 skaitmens 4–6 t. (fragmentas iš kūrinio partitūros: Jurgis Juozapaitis. *Simfonija „Rex“*. Leningrad: Sovetskij kompozitor, 1977)



6 pav. Ktvirtatoniais formuojamas *glissando* Antano Rekašiaus Sonatoje obojui (1976). I d. kulminacija, taktai nenurodyti (fragmentas iš kūrinio partitūros: Antanas Rekašius. *Sonata obojui solo*. Lietuvių kompozitorių kūriniai obojui. Vilnius: LMA, 1997)

Žymėjimus ėmiau iš lenkiškų partitūrų, jie [lenkų kompozitoriai – *aut. past.*] paprastai taip naudodavo. Mano vienas mėgstamiausių kompozitorių Lutosławskis taip žymėjo. Taip pat man buvo svarbu, kad grojant muzikantams būtų aišku. Nes jeigu muzikantai nors kiek abejoja, jie natose papildomai užrašo savo ženklus. Tuo laiku jau vyravo bendra notacija. Beje, mačiau kaip 1970–1980 metais savo sonorinę muziką užrašinėjo Antanas Rekašius. Jis daugiausia naudodavo linijas, brūkšniukus. Pavyzdžiui, rodyklė į viršų, perbraukta vienu brūkšniuku, reiškia vienu kvartatoniu aukščiau, dviem brūkšniukais – pustonis, žemyn irgi panašiai.²²

Taigi Antano Rekašiaus muzikos puslapiai iliustruoja gana originalių kvartatonų panaudojimą, kuriems užrašyti šis kompozitorius naudojo savo sugalvotų ženklų natografiją – rodykles, bangas, žvaigždutes, brūkšnius, taškus ir pan. Tokiais simboliais itin marga Koncerto violončelei ir kameriniam orkestrui „Diafonija“ (1972) partitūra (rodyklės aukštyn arba žemyn, perbrauktos vienu, dviem ar trimis brūkšneliais). O trijų dalių Sonatoje obojui (1976)²³ būdinga glisduojanti unisono ornamentacija pustoniais, kvartatoniais ir dar smulkesniais intervalais, paryškinanti pirmos dalies kulminaciją: 6 pav. pateikiami trys garsų *e* „apdainuojančio“ *glissando* variantai intervalų „susitraukimo“ kryptimi: pirmojo *glissando* atveju judama aukštyn ir žemyn pustoniais, antrąkart – trimis kvartatoniais, trečiąkart – mikrointervalais. Šiame kūrinyje Rekašius originalius simbolius panaudoja mikrointervalų žymėjimui, bet kvartatonus užrašo tradicine notacija.

Neretai kaip vienas radikalusių Lietuvos minimalistų pristatomas kompozitorius Mindaugas Urbaitis (g. 1952) ankstyvuju laikotarpiu parašė keletą serialistinio pobūdžio kompozicijų, iš jų vienoje – „Meditacijoje Jono Meko žodžiais“ aukštam balsui ir fortepijonui (1971) – griežtą konstrukciją kompozitorius praturtino pereinamųjų kvartatonų skambesiu: antroje kūrinio padalioje kvartatoniai panaudojami kaip pagalbiniai garsai (pvz., frazės pradžioje apdainuojantys dvigarsį motyvą *c–d*, pažeminant trimis kvartatoniais) ar kaip pereinamoji funkcija, užpildanti

melodines slinktis ir pasigirstanti ties tekstu: „Tik dabar suprantu, kad meilė, meilė, meilė skiria mus nuo daiktų.“ Dėmesio vertas ir kitas Urbaičio kūrinys – tai „Invencijos“ obojams (1976), kuris, pasak Lino Paulauskio, žymi pereinamąjį tarpinį nuo atonalios ir dodekafoninės kompozicijos link minimalizmo, kompozicijoje ryškus aleatorinis pradai – laisvas, asinchroniškas melodinių segmentų kartojimas skirtingose partijose, laisva jų eilės tvarka, neapibrėžta kūrinio trukmė.²⁴ Įdomu tai, kad kompozitorius, pateikęs kvartatonų simbolių paaiškinimus „Invencijų“ anotacijoje, vėliau pačioje „Invencijų“ partitūroje šių simbolių atsisakė dėl netenkinančio skambėjimo, išgirdęs gyvą atlikimą, o pirmojo varianto rankraštis nebuvo išsaugotas.

Tarp kvartatonų panaudojimo 8 deš. lietuvių muzikos pavyzdžiuose minėtinas ir Felikso Bajoro kūrinys – 1974 m. parašyta „Elegija Baliui Dvarionui“ obojui. Kompozitoriaus teigimu, savo kūryboje jis niekada nepraktikavo kvartatonų pirmiausia dėl atlikimo komplikacijų. Tačiau „Elegijos“ atvejis įrodo, kad ir Bajoras tuo metu praktikavo kvartatonų skambesį, jų panaudojimas buvo tikslingas – siekiant liaudiško dainavimo intonacijas, laisvos melodinės linijos kontūrą perkelti į instrumentinę muziką. Kaip anotacijoje nurodė kompozitorius, kvartatonų slinktimis sukuriama aimanos, skundo intonacijos²⁵ (7 pav.).

Šarūno Nako, kuris laikomas XX a. 9-ajame deš. į Lietuvos kultūrinį gyvenimą įsiliejusia gana radikalia ir futuristiška figūra, nuomone, kvartatoniai – tai senas fenomenas, o ne nauja komponavimo priemonė²⁶. Kvartatonus šis lietuvių autorius pasirenka gana intuityviai ir traktuoja kaip visumos dalį. Spalvinga kvartatonų raiška panaudota jo kompozicijos „Chronon“ (1992–1997) pirmoje dalyje „Ištakos. Paukščiai“, kur kvartatoniai integraliai funkcionuoja melodijos piešinyje (t. y. melodijoje lygiaverčiai naudojami tiek dvylikagarsio garsaailio pustoniai, tiek kvartatoniai), o trečioje dalyje „Marios. Dangus“ kvartatoniais kolojuojamos unisono manipulacijos. Anot kompozitoriaus, preciziško kvartatonų intonavimo iš atlikėjų jis nereikalauja, nes svarbiausia buvo sukurti laisvo „sklendimo“ įspūdį.

Tuo tarpu kompozicijoje „Sparnai bedugnei perskristi“ saksofonui (1996)²⁷ būdinga gana sisteminga ketvirtatonių integracija į muzikinį audinį: garsų sekos, melodinės linijos yra konstruojamos taip, kad ketvirtatoniai tampa lygiaverčiais garsais greta dvylikagarsės pustoniu eilės ir funkcionuoja ne kaip pastarosios papildymas, bet kaip savarankiški 24-TET elementai, kuriuos kompozitorius parodo jau pirmuose devyniuose taktuose (8 pav.).

Apibendrinant šiame straipsnyje pateiktus lietuvių kompozitorių 7–9 deš. muzikos pavyzdžius, galima pateikti keletą teiginių. Pirma, nors XX a. viduryje Lietuvos muzikos panoramoje iškilęs Kačinsko fenomenas buvo ryški ketvirtatonių diegimo Lietuvos kultūroje figūra, laikotarpiu iki Nepriklausomybės atkūrimo (7–9 deš.) kūrę kompozitoriai ketvirtatoniams nesuteikė savarankiškumo ir neišplėtojo iki originalios kompozicinės sistemos. Akivaizdu, kad kūrybinėje plotmėje ne vienas to meto lietuvių autorius praktiškai įgyvendino dodekafonijos, serializmo, aleatorikos principus. Tačiau teiraujantis pačių kompozitorių bei Lietuvos muzikos ir informacijos centro archyve vykdant 7–9 deš. sukurtų kompozicijų, kurių partitūrose būtų užrašyti ketvirtatoniai, paiešką (konteksto dėlei buvo įtraukti ir keli kūriniai, porą metų peržengiantys 1990-ųjų ribą), tokių pavyzdžių nėra daug. Iki 1990-ųjų tik gana retas lietuvių kompozitorius rinkosi integruoti savo kūryboje tokią modernią ir išraiškingą muzikos kalbos priemonę kaip mikrotonai / ketvirtatoniai; 7–9 deš. lietuvių muzikoje ketvirtatoniais dažniausiai apsiribojama kaip koloravimo priemone – ketvirtatoniai iš esmės funkcionuoja kaip dvylikagarsį modelį (12-TET) papildanti priemonė, tradicinio garsaeilio pustus tiesiog ornamentuojant, sukuriant paslankaus perėjimo įspūdį, apipinant atskirus garsus. Galima sakyti, kad po aktyvių Kačinsko tarpukario eksperimentų stojusi kelių dešimtmečių „pauzė“ mikrotonalios muzikos objektą į lietuvių autorių kūrybinį ir muzikologijos tyrimų lauką vėl „sugrąžino“ su XX a. 9-ojo deš. muzikos kompozicijų pavyzdžiais, ypatingą dėmesį sutelkiant į sistemišką Mažulio muzikinių kanonų konstravimą, jo kompozicinės sistemos tyrimus, parodančius sistemišką mikrotonų garsaeilių modeliavimą, tam tikrą loginę konstrukciją.

Nuorodos

¹ Tai citata iš amerikiečių kompozitoriaus Beno Johnstono (1926–2019) 1996 m. paskelbto straipsnio „Maximum Clarity“, kuriame šis mikrotonalios muzikos atstovas išreiškė savo susižavėjimą grynąja darna. Toliau Johnstonas detalizuoja:

Tai labai tiksli analogija to, kas nutinka, kai muzikinio ansamblio atlikėjai išgrynina intonaciją. [...] Tuomet išryškėja ir mažiausių skaitmeninių santykių (*ratio*) intervalai. Tiek būtų trumpai tariant apie grynąją darną. (Johnston 2016: 171)

² Tokį apibūdinimą pasitelkia lietuvių muzikologė Gražina Daunoravičienė, kuri remiasi Benjaminio Boretzo ir Edwardo T. Cone'o įžvalgomis, rodančiomis, kad kompozitoriams itin svarbus tapo naujų muzikos teorijų poreikis (Žuklytė-Daunoravičienė 2016: 58).

³ Žodžio „mikrotonas“ etimologija siejama su dviejų žodžių deriniu – tai graikų *μικρός* (*mikrós*, „mažas“) ir lotynų *tonus* („garsas, tonas“) arba taip pat graikų *τόνος* (*tónos*, „styga, įtampa, garso aukštis“).

Terminas „mikrotonas“, „mikrotonalumas“ apie 1912 m. paminėjo Maudas MacCarthy'is Mannas, norėdamas išvengti sąvokos „ketvirtatonis“ netikslumo kalbant apie indų muziką (Mann 1912). Tačiau kai kurie šaltiniai teigia, kad „mikrotono“ terminą dar anksčiau galėjo pavartoti meksikiečių kompozitorius Juliánas Carrillo (rašydamas ispaniškai ir prancūziškai jis pasitelkė terminiją: *microtono* / *micro-ton*, *microtonalismo* / *micro-tonalité*) (Donval 2006).

Ezra Simsas, Harvardo muzikos žodyne parengęs straipsnį apie sąvoką „mikrotonas“, tai apibrėžia kaip „intervalą, mažesnį nei pustonis“ (Sims 1972), kuris, kaip pastebi Lukas Richteris, atitinka graikų filosofo Aristokseno vartotą terminą *diesis* (Richter 2001).

⁴ Minėtini tokie Renesanso atstovai kaip, pavyzdžiui, Guillaume'as Costeley, savo traktate „Chromatinės šansonos“ („Chromatic Chanson“, 1558) tyrinėjęs iš 19 garsų oktavoje sudarytą garsaeilį; ar italų kompozitorius ir teoretikas Nicola Vicentino, eksperimentavęs su mikrotoniniais intervalais ir sukūręs klavesiną (*archicembalo*), kurio klaviatūroje oktavą sudarė 31 garsas.

Nors Baroko epochoje dėl patogesnio praktinio pritaikymo paplito dvylikos vienodų pustus derinimas, pagrindęs mažoro-minoro sistemą, funkcionavusią kelis šimtmečius. Tačiau ir šioje epochoje pagreičiui minėtini mikrotoninės muzikos atvejai. Antai 1760 m. prancūzų fleitininko Charles'o De Lusse traktato „Išilginės fleitos menas“ (*L'Art de la flûte traversière*) pabaigoje pateikiama kompozicija su ketvirtatoniais „Air à la grecque“ paaiškinant, kad ši muzika siejama su graikų muzikos teorija.

Teisinga būtų pastebėti, kad mikrotoninės muzikos ištakos siekia dar antikinį laikotarpį. Antai iš senovės Graikijos civilizacijos mus pasiekia fragmentiški muzikos įrašai – delfų himnai bei konstruktyvi tetrachordų sistema (kaip žinome, senovės graikų muzikos teorija buvo pagrįsta tetrachordais, išskiriamos trys tetrachordų rūšys: enharmoninis, chromatinis ir diatoninis, o intervalai buvo įvairių dydžių, įskaitant mikrotoninius santykius).

⁵ Leipcige 1907 m. Ferruccio Busoni publikuota esė *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst* netrukus buvo išversta į anglų kalbą ir išspausdinta Niujorke (*Sketch of a New Aesthetic of Music*, transl. Theodore Baker, New York: G. Schirmer).

⁶ Willi Möllendorffas savo teorines ir praktines įžvalgas 1917 m. publikavo knygoje *Musik mit Vierteltonen. Erfahrungen am bichromatischen Harmonium* (Leipzig: Verlag von F. E. C. Leuckart).

⁷ Charleso Iveso straipsnis apie ketvirtatonių („Some Quarter-Tone Impressions“) buvo paskelbtas Niujorke leidžiamo žurnalo *Pro-Musica Quarterly* priede *Franco-American Musical Society Quarterly Bulletin* (Vol. 6, No. 1, March 1925, p. 24–33). Vėliau redaktorius Howardas Boatwrightas, remdamasis trimis šio teksto rankraščiais bei 1925-ųjų publikacija, 1961 m. publikavo papildytą Iveso straipsnį tuo pačiu pavadinimu kompozitoriaus tekstų rinktinėje *Essays Before*

a *Sonata and Other Writings* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1961, p. 107–119).

⁸ TET – mikrotoniniams garsaeiliams žymėti vartojama santrumpa, kai kalbama apie oktavos padalijimą į lygių atstumų intervalus. Pavyzdžiui, tradicinis dvylikos pustonių garsaeilis žymimas 12-TET (*twelve-tone equal temperament*; kitas naudojamas užrašymo variantas 12-EDO, *equal division of the octave*). Atitinkamai 24-TET nurodo, kad oktava yra lygiai padalyta į 24 garsus, t. y. sudaryta iš 24 ketvirtatonių.

⁹ Povilionienė nurodo, kad Reado studijoje apie mikrotoninės muzikos notaciją (*20th-Century Microtonal Notation*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990) išskiriami penki mikrotoninių garsaeilių tipai: 1) oktavos dalijimas į ketvirtatonių (24 garsai oktavoje); 2) garsaeilis sudarytas iš aštuntatonių arba šešioliktatonių (atitinkamai oktavoje 48 arba 96 garsai); 3) dalijimas į trečiatonius, šeštatonius arba dvyliktatonius (18, 36 arba 72 lygių intervalų); 4) dalijimas į penktatonius, kai oktavoje yra 31 garsas; bei 5) išplėstos (*extended*) arba suspaustos (*compressed*) garsų eilės, sudarytos iš tolygių intervalų ar skirtingų santykių atstumų (Povilionienė 2020: 77–78).

¹⁰ Vok. *Klangspaltung* (taip pat angl. *tone-splitting*) nurodo garso padalijimą, t. y. harmoninių impulsų išgavimas iš smulkių, bet vis dar girdimų intervalų (Povilionienė 2020: 79).

¹¹ Sąvoką „nedvylikos sistema“ lietuvių muzikologė Daunoravičienė pasitelkia remdamasi Julios Wernz konceptu angl. *atwelve-tonality / tonal / tone* (tai išsamiai aprašyta Wernz straipsnyje, 2001).

¹² Anot Ader, „[...] senovės Graikijos muzikos teoretiko Aristokseno aprašytas garsaeilis įkvėpė daugelį muzikantų ir tapo svarbiu šiuolaikinės muzikos plėtros įrankiu“ (Ader 2020: 26).

Plačiau aptariant autentišką komponavimo metodą XX a. pradžios muzikos kontekste, akivaizdžiai pastebima, kad kompozitoriai skyrė ypatingą dėmesį Rytų muzikai ar kitoms, ne Europos kultūroms. Šiame kontekste Ader mini kompozitorių ir apžvalgininką Richardą Steina, 1906 m. pristačiusį eksperimentų su mikrotonais rezultata – mikrotoninį kūrinių violončelei ir fortepijonui ir teigusį, kad ketvirtatoniai nėra naujas to meto protų išradimas, atvirkščiai – tai muzikos elementai, naudoti tūkstančius metų iki mūsų laikų, ir laikytina senų sistemų renesansu; be to, mažesnės sandaros nei pustonis intervalai Vakarų muzikoje galiausiai išnyko išplėtojus polifonines komponavimo technikas. Taip pat Steinas atkreipė dėmesį į arabiškas bei persiškas dermes, kurioms būdingas tono skaidymas į tris ar šešias dalis; hinduistų tradicijoje jau seniai buvo žinoma apie trečiatonius ir ketvirtatonių, turkai naudojo ketvirtąsias ir aštuntąsias tono dalis, gausiai ketvirtatonių būta ir graikų religinėje muzikoje. (Ader 2020: 29–30).

Taip pat Ader išskyrė ir rusų kompozitorių Arsenijų Avramovą, kuris teikė didžiulį dėmesį folklorui ir telkėsi į liaudies dainos nesuvaržytą prigimtį (Ader 2020: 29).

Šia tema pasisakė ir Hába:

Ketvirtinių tonų sistemą žinojo jau arabai prieš Kristų. Graikų teorijoje ketvirtiniai tonai laikomi intervalais enharmonijos tetrachorde. Mokslo patirta, kad choralų muzikoje (Montpelliero kodeksas Prancūzijoje) dar XII šimtmečiu buvo naudojami ketvirtinių tonų intervalais. Beveik visų tautų liaudies muzikoje yra intervalų, mažesnių kaip pustoniai. (Hába 1931)

¹³ Tokio pobūdžio pastebėjimai leido kompozitoriams drąsiau eksperimentuoti ir dalyti pilną toną į mažesnes dalis nei ketvirtatonis. Kaip antai, sekdamas mikrotoninių kompozitorių

eksperimentus ir naujų muzikos instrumentų kūrimo rezultatus, akustikas ir fizikas Arthuras Holdė's pažymėjo ketvirtatonių sėkmę vaizduojant gamtą. Jam antrino ir Busoni, teigdamas, kad „visi menai, ištekčiai ir formos visada siekia vieno – gamtos imitacijos ir žmogaus jausmų interpretavimo“ (Ader 2020: 32–33). Rusų muzikos teoretikas Nikolajus Kulbinas atkreipė dėmesį, kad, pirma, tradicinį garsaeilį papildžius mažesniais intervalais dėl neįprastų garsų bus jaučiamas malonumas; antra, muzikai būtų suteikta galimybė manipuliuoti rafinuotesnėmis ir sudėtingesnėmis akordų ir melodijų struktūromis bei, trečia, atsirastų nauja disonanso kokybė, nuspalvinanti įprastą garsą (Ader 2020: 33).

Vienu ir tipiškesnių gamtos imitavimo atvejų būtų galima išskirti bandymą mėgdžioti paukščių giedojimą, aktualų daugelyje epochų. Ader išskiria rusų kompozitoriaus, futuristo, smuikininko ir dailininko Michailo Matiušino (1861–1934) atvejį, jo 1904–1905 m. vykdytus eksperimentus smuiku pamėgdžioti paukščių čiulbėjimą ir taip „sudvejinti [...] chromatizmą, t. y. padalyti pustonių į dvi dalis“ (Ader 2020: 34–35).
¹⁴ 1931 m. į lietuvių kalbą išverstame ir „Muzikos baruose“ publikuotame straipsnyje Hába rašė:

Būdamas ketvirtinių tonų skyriuje [ketvirtatonių muzikos kompozicijos klasė Prahos konservatorijoje], J. K. [Jeronimas Kačinskas] nustebino mane ir savo draugus gabumu greit persiimti k. t. [ketvirtatonių] harmonijos, polifonijos ir naujo netematinio [ateminio] stiliaus dėsniais. Už pusės metų J. K. žinojo tiek, kiek kiti lanė dviejus metus. Visos naujosios ketvirtinių tonų harmonijos priemonės jam buvo aiškios. Pastebėjau, kad per trumpą laiką J. K. sąsambius kombinuoja visai skirtingu būdu. Jo kūryba charakteringa kombinuota ritmika ir turtingomis kvinolių bei septolių figūracijomis. [...] Išplėtimas pustonių sistemos į ketvirtinių tonų sistemą yra išplėtimas 12 tonų į 24 atskirus tonus. Pagrindė sąmoningas žingsnis iš paprastesnių į sudėtingesnes, labiau diferencijuotos harmonijos kūrybines priemones. Vadovaudamasis tais muzikos garsų idėjų principais, apie kuriuos ketvirtinių tonų skyriuje dažnai diskutuodavome, Jeronimas Kačinskas žengia į gyvenimą visiškai nepriklausomu menininku. Linkiu jam daug sveikatos ir gerų darbo sąlygų, kad jo kūrybinės jėgos galėtų laisvai ir pilnumoj pasireikšti. (Hába 1931)

¹⁵ Beje, Kačinsko Nonetą Hába laikė vienu geriausių XX a. 4-ojo dešimtmečio modernios muzikos pavyzdžių ir buvo keletą kartų atlikęs jo mokyklą reprezentuojančiuose koncertuose įvairiuose Europos kraštuose.

¹⁶ 1975 m. Droba pradėjo rengti nepriklausomus muzikos festivalius Lenkijos provincijoje – Staliovos Volios miestelyje. Festivalio konceptą sudarė tarptautinis kultūrinis atvirumas, didelę politinę spaudą užgriuvusi kaimyninių tautų muzikos sklaida Lenkijos publikai, nevaržomos kūrybinio individualumo paieškos kompozitoriams. Lenkų muzikologas Mieczysławas Tomaszewskis taip atsiliopė apie Staliovą Volią:

Anuomet važiuodavome į Staliovą Volią kaip į atokų pasaulį, Sandomežo girioje ketvirtuoju dešimtmečiu pastatytą miestą, dar tik formuojantį tradiciją. Per tas kelias festivalio „Jaunieji muzikai jaunam miestui“ dienas pabuvodavome nepriklausomybės, atgaivos ir jaunatviško entuziazmo oazėje, alsavusioje savu nepakartojamu stulbinančiu ritmu. Ritmu, pažadintu laisvos vaizduotės. (Droba 2018: 229)

Taip lietuvių muziką pradėta pristatyti įvairiuose nepriklausomuose festivaliuose Lenkijoje (Pendereckio privatūs festivaliai Liuslaviciuose, Krokuvos muzikos akademijos globoti festivaliai Baranuve, Sandomeže). Negana to, suvokdamas Lietuvos kompozitorių potencialą, Droba šią muziką atvedė į „Varšuvos rudens“ sceną, Lenkijos radijo programas (Stanevičiūtė 2018: 8–9).

- ¹⁷ Iš Karolinos Šaltnirytės interviu su kompozitoriumi Jurgiu Juozapaičiu, pokalbis vyko kompozitoriaus namuose 2019 m. spalio 10 d.
- ¹⁸ Iš Karolinos Šaltnirytės interviu su kompozitoriumi Vytautu Barkausku, pokalbis vyko el. paštu 2019 m. spalio 9 d. Redaguota pokalbio versija publikuota dienraštyje „7 meno dienos“ (žr. Šaltnirytė 2020).
- ¹⁹ Barkausko simfonijos pasižymėjo ne tik tam laikotarpiui drąsiais šūkiiais, bet ir radikaliomis muzikos raiškos priemonėmis. Kaip teigia Svetlana Barkauskas, tenka tik stebėtis, kad kompozitoriaus simfonijos ne tik kad nebuvo uždraustos sovietinės cenzūros, tačiau ir gana dažnai atliekamos. Kūrybinio kelio pradžioje kompozitorius laikėsi tradicinės formos, bet Antrojoje simfonijoje akivaizdi jos dekonstrukcija, naudojant šiuolaikines priemones, sonoristikos elementus (Barkauskas 2014: 8–10, 17).
- ²⁰ Iš Karolinos Šaltnirytės interviu su kompozitoriumi Jurgiu Juozapaičiu, pokalbis vyko kompozitoriaus namuose 2019 m. spalio 10 d.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
Simfoniją pirmą kartą atliko dabartinis Lietuvos nacionalinis simfoninis orkestras, dirigavo Juozas Domarkas.
- ²² Iš Karolinos Šaltnirytės interviu su kompozitoriumi Jurgiu Juozapaičiu, pokalbis vyko kompozitoriaus namuose 2019 m. spalio 10 d.
- ²³ Kalbant apie lietuvių kompozitorių XX a. 8-ojo deš. kūrinius obojui (pavyzdžiui, Vytauto Barkausko „Monologas“, 1970; Felikso Bajoro „Elegija Baliui Dvarionui“, 1974; Antano Rekašiaus Sonata, 1976; Jurgio Juozapaičio 5 metamorfozės „Afrodite“, 1978; ir pan.), galima pasvarstyti apie tai, kad neįprasto kompozicinio elemento – ketvirtatonių panaudojimas partitūrose siejamas su ryškia to meto Lietuvos obojininko Juozo Rimo asmenybe – Rimas savo atlikimo praktikoje nevengė eksperimentuoti, ieškoti naujų grojimo obojumi garso išgavimo būdų.
- ²⁴ Lino Paulauskio informacija Lietuvos muzikos informacijos centre <https://www.mic.lt/lt/baze/klasikine-siuolaikine/kuriniu-paieska/2101/>.
- ²⁵ Anot Bajoro, melodinės slinktyms atliekamos remiantis *pian-gendo* maniera (it. verkiant, skundžiantis), kai gaida atliekama paauskstinant ar pažeminant natą glisanduojant.
- ²⁶ Iš Karolinos Šaltnirytės interviu su Šarūnu Naku, atsakymus kompozitorius pateikė el. paštu 2020 m. kovo 25 d.
- ²⁷ Beje, šio kūrinio kompozitorius „išsižadėjo“, argumentuodamas, kad kompozicija „laikytina negaliojančiu (neegzistuojančiu) kūriniu, kol jo neatliko bent vienas atlikėjas. Man jis seniai neaktualus“ (iš Karolinos Šaltnirytės interviu su Šarūnu Naku, atsakymus kompozitorius pateikė el. paštu 2020 m. kovo 25 d.).

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Summary

In the history of music, the twentieth century has emerged as a time of dramatic change in general as well as changes specifically in the established norms of music. As early as in the first decades of the century, composers and music researchers began to delve into new means of musical expression, to study the structure of sound, and to look for original possibilities of composition. Openly questioning the authority figures of previous periods, contradicting and denying the stability of the major-minor system, they boldly experimented with the interval relations of musical sounds, modifying the established system of evenly tempered tuning and the concept of music itself. As a consequence of such experiments, the phenomenon of microtonality emerged in the early twentieth century, which led to a revision and expansion of the canonized phenomenon of Western music sound.

The article discusses the problems of microtonality in the historical context of twentieth-century music and general tendencies of music modernization as well as comments on and compares analytical models to evaluate microtonal music compositions, provided by Julia Wernitz, Georg Friedrich Haas, Gražina Daunoravičienė, Rima Povilionienė, Rytis Mažulis, and Lidia Ader.

After discussing Jeronimas Kačinskas's contribution to the process of modernization of Lithuanian music—the composer's progressive efforts to establish the direction of music composition in interwar Lithuania—the article analyzes and systematizes the use of microtonality elements in Lithuanian composers' works in the pre-independence period (the 1960s–1980s). The political and cultural context of that time is gradually being explored. Researching the works of Lithuanian composers (Vytautas Barkauskas, Jurgis Juozapaitis, Antanas Rekašius, Feliksas Bajoras, Mindaugas Urbaitis, Šarūnas Nakas, and Snieguolė Dikčiūtė) according to the microtonal composition strategies established in them, quarter-tone as a means of smooth transition and ornamentation, unison "expansion" strategies, cases of *glissando* modeling in quarter-tones, quarter-tone as an integral means of melody formation, and 24-TET sound principles are considered.

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Apie autorius

Vyr. redaktorė

Prof. dr. **Rūtos Stanevičiūtės** pagrindinė mokslinių interesų sritis – modernizmo ir nacionalizmo ideologijų sklaida XX–XXI a. lietuvių ir užsienio muzikoje, muzikos ir politikos procesų sąveika, muzikos semantikos ir recepcijos tyrimai. Keletą dešimtmečių ji nuosekliai nagrinėja sovietmečio Lietuvos muzikinės kultūros procesus, lietuvių egzodo kultūrą, XX–XXI a. modernios muzikos institucionalizavimą, analizuoja šiuolaikinės muzikos filosofiją, muzikos istoriografijos teoriją. Stažavosi Varšuvos, Kembridžo, Londono Karališkojo koledžo, Berlyno universitetuose ir kt. Monografijos „Modernumo lygtys. Tarptautinė šiuolaikinės muzikos draugija ir muzikinio modernizmo sklaida Lietuvoje“ autorė (2015), su bendraautoriais parašė tris kolektyvines monografijas (2015, 2018, 2020), sudarė ir parengė (su bendraautoriais) 12 mokslo straipsnių ir šaltinių rinkinių, paskelbė daugiau nei 50 mokslo straipsnių. Nuosekliai gilindamasi į XX–XXI a. Lietuvos ir užsienio muzikos modernėjimo procesus bei jų sąveiką su sociopoline ir sociokultūrine aplinka, muzikologė savo mokslo darbuose taiko tarpdalykinius tyrimo metodus, platų šiuolaikinės istorikos priečių spektrą. Mokslininkė aktyviai dalyvauja muzikos mokslo tyrimų tarptautinėse tinklinėse organizacijose: ji yra Tarptautinės muzikologų draugijos (IMS) studijų grupės „Muzika ir kultūros studijos“ narė, Tarptautinio muzikos signifikacijos projekto narė ir kt. 2005–2010 m. buvo Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjungos Muzikologų sekcijos pirmininkė, 2003–2008 m. Tarptautinės šiuolaikinės muzikos draugijos Lietuvos sekcijos pirmininkė.

Vyr. redaktorės pavaduotoja

Prof. dr. **Rima Povilionienė** (g. 1975) – humanitarinių mokslų (menotyra / muzikologija) daktarė, Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos Muzikos teorijos katedros profesorė, Lietuvos nacionalinės filharmonijos redaktorė, parengė ir išleido daugiau kaip 15 straipsnių rinkinių, išleido mokslinę monografiją „Musica mathematica. Traditions and Innovations in Contemporary Music“ (Peter Lang, 2016, 288 p.), yra mokslo rinktinės „Of Essence and Context. Between Music and Philosophy“ redaktorė (kartu su Nicku Zangwillu ir Rūta Stanevičiūte, Springer, 2019). Povilionienė buvo Kauno technologijos universiteto Tarptautinio semiotikos instituto bei LMTA Mokslo centro mokslo darbuotoja. Pelniusi stipendijas, stažavosi Leipcigo universiteto Muzikologijos institute (2004), IRCAM Paryžiuje (2012, 2019). Paskelbė daugiau kaip 30 mokslo straipsnių ir 150 muzikos kritikos tekstų. Kaip kviestinė dėstytoja skaitė paskaitas Leipcigo universitete, Tbilisio konservatorijoje, Belgrado menų universitete, Latvijos J. Vitolio muzikos akademijoje, Vilniaus universitete, Kauno technologijos universitete ir kt. Jos monografija „Musica Mathematica“ (lietuvių k. išleista 2013 m.) pelnė prof. V. Landsbergio fondo premiją geriausių muzikologų darbų konkurse. Yra dviejų mokslo rinkinių (2017, 2019), kurias išleido leidykla „Springer“, redaktorė ir sudarytoja.

Autoriai

Ingrida Alonderė Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijoje baigė choro dirigavimo bakalauro ir muzikos kritikos ir teorijos magistro studijas. Šiuo metu dirba Vilniaus miesto profesionalaus kamerinio choro „Jauna muzika“ direktore, dažnai reiškiasi kaip muzikos kritikė, laikraščiuose, žurnaluose ir interneto svetainėse rašo apie kultūrinį gyvenimą ir jo aktualijas.

Alonderė yra Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos ir Vilniaus dailės akademijos doktorantė (disertacijos tema „Chorinio atlikimo tradicijos peržengimas: Lietuvos chorai XXI a. atlikėjiškos praktikos kontekste“). Tyrimo objektas – tarpdalykinis choro menas kaip savitas ir įvairialypis fenomenas šių laikų atlikimo meno sociologijos, performanso meno ir performatyvumo estetikos lauke.

Kristina Luna Dolinina (g. 1978) – Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos etnologijos doktorantė. 2005 m. baigė magistro studijas Džavaharlalo Neru (Jawaharlal Nehru) universitete Delyje, Indijoje. Iki 2010 m. studijavo šokių *Kathak* ir *Odissi* stilius Asavario ir Manasos šokio institute Delyje. Nuo 2010 m. dėsto hindi kalbą, literatūrą ir Pietų Azijos performatyvių tradicijų kursą Vilniaus universiteto Azijos ir transkultūrinių studijų institute.

Charris Efthimiou (g. 1978 m. Graikijoje) kompozicijos ir muzikos teorijos magistro laipsnį įgijo Austrijoje, Graco muzikos ir scenos menų universitete (KUG), o mokslo daktaro laipsnis (Muzikologija) suteiktas už darbą apie Mozarto simfonijas. Nuo 2020 m. yra KUG'o vyresnysis mokslo darbuotojas. Skaito paskaitas apie muzikos istoriją ir sunkiojo metalo muziką. Monografių apie grupės „Metallica“ muziką ir W. A. Mozarto simfonijas autorius. Yra paskelbęs publikacijų apie A. Honeggerį, L. Janačeką, W. A. Mozartą, R. Wagnerį ir sunkiojo metalo muziką („Iron Maiden“, „Nightwish“, „Manowar“, „NWoBHM“ ir „Black Metal“).

Levonas Hakobianas (Akopyanas, g. 1953 Jerevane, Armėnijoje) – humanitarinių mokslų daktaras, Rusijos valstybinio menų instituto Muzikos teorijos katedros vedėjas, elektroninio žurnalo „Muzikos menas: teorija ir istorija“ redaktorius (<http://sias.ru/publications/magazines/musik/>), D. Šostakovičiaus kūrinių rinktinės redaktorių kolegijos narys (Maskva, leidykla „DSCH“). Tarp svarbiausių publikacijų – knygos rusų kalba apie muzikos teksto struktūrinę analizę (Maskva, 1995), esė apie D. Šostakovičiaus kūrybos fenomenologiją (Sankt Peterburgas, 2004), W. A. Mozarto vadovas (2006), apie XX a. muziką (Maskva, 2010), „Šostakovičius: Pro et Contra“ (Sankt Peterburgas, 2016), enciklopedijos „Grove“ versija rusų k. (Maskva, 2001, 2/2007); knygos anglų kalba – „Music of the Soviet Age, 1917–1987“ (Stokholmas, 1998), „Music of the Soviet Era, 1917–1991“ (Londonas, Niujorkas, 2017), taip pat knygos „Šarakanas. Armėnų bažnyčios kanonai ir himnai“ vertimas į rusų k. (Jerevanas, 2017). Hakobianas

paskelbė straipsnių rusų, armėnų, anglų, lenkų, vokiečių ir prancūzų kalbomis apie armėnų viduramžių sakralines giesmes, muzikos mokslo problemas, sovietų muzikos istoriją ar mažai žinomus XX a. kompozitorius.

Jūratė Katinaitė (g. 1969) įgijo muzikologijos magistro laipsnį Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijoje. Nuo 2018 m. akademijoje tęsia menotyros doktorantūros studijas (vad. prof. dr. Rūta Stanevičiūtė). 1994–2020 m. dirbo LRT radijo prodiusere, laidų vedėja ir Euroradio projektų vadove. Reiškiasi kaip muzikos kritikė, rašo recenzijas ir esė, dalyvauja medių projektuose. Nuo 2007 m. Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjungos (LKS) narė. 2009 m. išrinkta į LKS tarybą bei muzikologų sekcijos biurą, dvi kadencijas ėjo šios sekcijos pirmininko pareigas. Nuo 2017 m. Valstybinės lietuvių kalbos komisijos ir Nacionalinių kultūros ir meno premijų komisijos narė. Nuo 2018 m. – Lietuvos nacionalinio operos ir baleto teatro Meno kolegijos narė. Už monografiją „Karalių kuria aplinka. Operos artistas Vaclovas Daunoras“ (2018) pelnė Onos Narbutienės premiją. Kaip organizacinio ir programų komiteto narė dalyvavo rengiant tarptautines konferencijas. Moksliniai interesai – operos ir sovietmečio tarpdalykinės studijos.

Jānis Kudiņš – humanitarinių mokslų (muzikologija) daktaras, Latvijos J. Vītolio muzikos akademijos Muzikologijos katedros profesorius, Latvijos mokslų tarybos tarptautinis ekspertas, Tarptautinės muzikologų draugijos (IMS) narys. 2008 m. įgijo daktaro laipsnį (disertacija apie neoromantizmo tendencijas latvių simfoninėje muzikoje XX a. paskutiniiais dešimtmečiais). Jo pagrindiniai muzikologiniai interesai susiję su Latvijos ir Baltijos šalių muzikos istorija XX a., estetinėmis muzikos problemomis (modernizmo ir postmodernizmo kategorijos), muzikos stiliumi (tarpdalykinė prieiga) ir populiariąja muzika XX a. pirmosios pusės Europoje. Parašė dvi monografijas apie Latvijos šiuolaikinę muziką, paskelbė straipsnių savo šalies muzikos istorijos ir stiliaus klausimais. Su moksliniais pranešimais dalyvauja tarptautinėse konferencijose ir seminaruose įvairiose Europos ir Azijos šalyse.

Iván César Morales Flores (g. 1975 m.) 2015 m. apgynė daktaro disertaciją (muzikologija) Oviedo universitete (Ispanija). 2016 m. už knygą „Tapatybė procese. Penki kubiečių diasporos kompozitoriai (1990–2013)“ („Identidades en Proceso. Cinco Compositores Cubanos de la Diáspora, 1990–2013“) Havanoje apdovanotas Amerikos namų muzikologijos premija (Premio de Musicología Casa de las Américas). 2006 m. Kubos nacionalinė rašytojų ir menininkų sąjunga jam skyrė Argeliero Leóno (Kubos kompozitoriaus ir muzikologo, 1918–1991) vardo nacionalinę muzikologijos premiją. 2005–2009 m. buvo Havanos aukštojo menų instituto Muzikologijos katedros profesorius ir vedėjas; šiuo metu yra Oviedo universiteto docentas. Stažavosi ir dėstė Naujajame Sorbonos universitete (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3), Havanos (Kuba), Buenos Airių (Argentina) ir Ca'Foscario (Venecija, Italija) universitetuose. Darbai spausdinti prestižiniuose mokslo žurnaluose, tokiuose kaip „Boletín Musica“ (Havana, Kuba, 2008), „Acta Musicologica“ (Kaselis, Vokietija, 2018), „Revista de Musicología“

(Madridas, Ispanija, 2018), „Resonancias“ (Santjagas, Čilė, 2019) ir „Twentieth-Century Music“ (Kembridžas, Didžioji Britanija, 2020). Mokslinių interesų sritys: XX–XXI a. Kubos ir Lotynų Amerikos profesionalioji muzika, kubiečių muzikinė diaspora ir muzikiniai-kultūriniai mainai tarp Kubos ir buvusio socialistinio bloko šalių.

Oleksandras Perepelytsia (Perepelica, g. 1983) – pianistas, dirigentas ir muzikologas. Muzikologijos daktaro laipsnį įgijo Odesos A. V. Neždanovos muzikos akademijoje, kur studijavo fortepijoną ir orkestro dirigavimą. Dalyvavo tarptautiniuose pianistų meistriškumo kursuose Šveicarijoje (prof. Klausas Hellwigas, prof. Kristina Steinegger, prof. Colette Zerah), tapo tarptautinio konkurso laureatu. Drezdeno šiuolaikinės muzikos centro įgyvendinto tarptautinio Drezdeno muzikos stipendijų projekto ir daugelio tarptautinių festivalių narys (kaip pianistas, dirigentas ir šiuolaikinės muzikos ansamblio „Senza Sforzando“ vadovas). Dalyvauja šiuolaikinės ir klasikinės muzikos koncertuose kaip solistas, ansamblio dalyvis ir dirigentas. 2014 m. apgynė daktaro disertaciją „Aktualios stiliaus ir žanro tendencijos atliekant šiuolaikinę fortepijoninę muziką (B. Bartoko, V. Silvestrovo, V. Runchako ir K. Čepkoleno kūriniių atlikimo atvejai)“. Tyrimuose nagrinėjamos temos, susijusios su gesto reikšmės, atliekant šiuolaikinę fortepijoninę muziką, formavimo funkcija. Nuo 2016 m. Odesos nacionalinės A. V. Neždanovos muzikos akademijos Operinio rengimo katedros vedėjas; nuo 2014 m. Odesos nacionalinės filharmonijos Orkestrinės muzikos skyriaus vadovas. Tarptautinės viešosios organizacijos „Naujos muzikos asociacija“ (Tarptautinės šiuolaikinės muzikos draugijos / ISCM Ukrainos skyrius) narys.

Danutė Petrauskaitė yra Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos vyriausioji mokslo darbuotoja. 1978 m. ji baigė muzikologijos studijas Lietuvos valstybinėje konservatorijoje (dabar – Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija), 1993 m. – doktorantūrą Vilniaus universitete. Petrauskaitė 38 metus dirbo Klaipėdos universitete, kur įgijo profesorės pedagoginį vardą, 2001–2015 m. vadovavo šiame universitete veikusiam Muzikologijos institutui. Jos mokslinių interesų sritys yra lietuvių muzika, muzikos pedagogikos istorija, lietuvių išėjimo muzikinė kultūra JAV, Lietuvos ir kitų šalių muzikinės sąsajos, muzika ir politika. Publikavo keturias knygas ir apie 70 mokslinių straipsnių Lietuvos ir užsienio spaudoje, dalyvavo tarptautinėse konferencijose, kaip vizituojanti profesorė skaitė paskaitas daugelyje Europos universitetų ir konservatorių, stažavosi JAV ir Rusijoje.

Gregoras Pompe (g. 1974) studijavo komparatyvinę literatūrą, vokiečių kalbą ir muzikologiją Liublianos universiteto Menų fakultete, kur gavo daktaro laipsnį. Šiuo metu Liublianos universiteto Menų fakulteto Muzikologijos katedros profesorius, dėstė Mariboro pedagogikos akademijoje ir Karlo-Franzenso universiteto Muzikologijos institute (Gracas, Austrija). Moksliniai interesai daugiausia susiję su muzikos semantika, taip pat operos ir šiuolaikinės muzikos istorija. G. Pompe yra Monografijų „Postmodernism and the Semantics of Music“

(Liubliana, 2011), „New strands in the Music of 20th Century“ (Liubliana, 2014), „Sounding metaphysics“ (Liubliana, 2014), „Sketches for the New History of Slovenian Music“ (Liubliana, 2019), „History of Music on the Slovenian Ground IV“ (Liubliana, 2019) autorius, bendradarbiavo su Juriju Snoju rašant dvikalbę knygą „Music in Slovenia through the Aspect of Notation“ (Liubliana, 2003), redagavo knygas „History and its Literary Genres“ (Kembridžas, 2008) ir „From Modernism to Postmodernism: Between Universal and Local“ (Frankfurtas prie Maino, 2016). Straipsniai publikuoti keliuose tarptautiniuose leidiniuose, aktyviai reiškiasi kaip kompozitorius ir muzikos kritikas.

Heli Reimann 2015 m. Helsinkio universiteto Muzikologijos katedroje įgijo mokslo daktaro laipsnį. Jos disertacija „Džiazas sovietinėje Estijoje 1944–1953: prasmės, erdvės ir paradoksai“ buvo tarpdisciplininis tyrimas, pateikęs naują požiūrį į džiazą sovietinėje visuomenėje. Reimann mokslinių interesų diapazonas platus: susipina džiazas, kultūros, sovietizmo, Estijos kultūros istorijos ir populiariosios muzikos studijos. Būsimoji monografija apie Talino 1967 m. džiaz festivalį turi pasirodyti 2021 m. kaip podoktorantūros projekto Helsinkio menų universitete dalis.

Nana Sharikadze (g. 1972) – muzikos istorijos daktarė, Tbilisio V. Sarajishvili valstybinės konservatorijos rektorė ir docentė. Pagrindinės jos mokslinių tyrimų ir dėstomų paskaitų temos: XX a. avangardinė muzika, šiuolaikinis muzikinis teatras, totalitariniai režimai ir muzika, amerikiečių muzika, tautinė tapatybė. Muzikologė dalyvauja nacionalinėse ir tarptautinėse konferencijose. Sharikadzės tyrimus parėmė DAAD stipendijų fondas, jai suteiktos Gruzijos prezidento bei Lenkijos kultūros instituto stipendijos. Ji yra Gruzijos nacionalinės kompozitorių ir muzikologų sąjungos narė, Gruzijos mokslų elektroninio žurnalo (GESJ) vykdomoji sekretorė, 2016–2018 m. buvo Tbilisio valstybinės konservatorijos Mokslų tarybos narė, taip pat vadovauja Tbilisio valstybinės konservatorijos Tarptautinių santykių skyriui.

Muzikologas ir atlikėjas **Kirilas Smolkinas** (g. 1995) baigė Maskvos valstybinės Piotro Čaikovskio konservatorijos akademinę muzikos mokyklą kaip choro dirigentas (diplomas su pagyrimu). Šiuo metu studijuoja šios konservatorijos Muzikos istorijos ir teorijos katedroje. Yra gavęs apdovanojimus Rusijos jaunųjų talentų konkurse (sidabro ženklas „Nacionalinis Rusijos lobis“), 5-ajame tarptautiniame Viktoro Meržanovo pianistų konkurse Bulgarijoje (II vieta), 6-ajame visos Rusijos jaunųjų mokslininkų meno ir kultūros konkurse (II vieta). Maskvos konservatorijos akademinės tarybos ir „Gazprom“ labdaros fondo „Kuriame ateitį“ (2019) stipendijos laimėtojas.

Karolina Šaltmirytė bakalauro laipsnį 2020 m. įgijo Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos Muzikos teorijos katedroje. Jos bakalauro darbe „Modernėjimo aspektai Lietuvos kompozitorių muzikoje ikinepriklausomybiniu laikotarpiu (XX a. 7–9 deš.): mikrotonalumo raiška“ (vad. prof. dr. Rima Povilionienė) buvo nagrinėjamas mikrotonalumo reiškinys, kuris šiandien yra kaip diskusijų objektas dėl savo definicijos, interpretacijos, atlikimo bei pritaikymo galimybių kūrinyje. Karolina yra pristačiusi pranešimus jaunųjų muzikologų konferencijose-konkursuose; 2018 m. konferencijoje-konkurse už pranešimą ji pelnė pirmą vietą, 2019 m. – antrą vietą. Šiuo metu dirba mokytoja Vilniaus Naujosios Vilnios muzikos mokykloje bei garso režisierė Nacionalinės M. K. Čiurlionio menų mokyklos fonotekoje.

Eva Vičarová (g. 1973) įgijo muzikologijos magistro (1996), žurnalistikos bakalauro (1996) ir muzikos teorijos ir istorijos mokslo daktaro (1999) laipsnius Palackio universiteto Menų fakultete (Olomoucas, Čekija). Nuo 2000 m. dirba šio universiteto Menų fakulteto Muzikologijos katedroje; 2013 m. jai suteiktas docento vardas. Eva skaito paskaitas apie muzikos istoriją, muzikos analizę, muzikos kritiką ir muzikos didaktiką. Yra paskelbusi nemažai studijų bei straipsnių ir tris monografijas: „XIX amžiaus austrų karinė muzika ir Olomoucas“ (Olomoucas, 2002), „Muzika Olomouco katedroje, 1872–1985“ (Olomoucas, 2012) ir „Dainavimo ir muzikos draugijos Pirmojoje Respublikoje ir Olomouce“ (Olomoucas, 2016).

About the authors

Editor-in-chief

Rūta Stanevičiūtė, PhD in musicology, is a full-time professor at the Department of Music History of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. Her current fields of interest are modernism and nationalism in twentieth- and twenty-first-century music, philosophical and cultural issues in the analysis of contemporary music, music and politics, and studies of music reception. She has conducted research at the universities of Warsaw, Cambridge, and King's College London, the Berlin University of Arts, and other institutions. She is the author of the book *Modernumo lygtys. Tarpautinė šiuolaikinės muzikos draugija ir muzikinio modernizmo sklaida Lietuvoje* (*The Figures of Modernity. The International Society for Contemporary Music and the Spread of Musical Modernism in Lithuania*, 2015) and co-author of *Nailono uždanga. Šaltasis karas, tarpautiniai mainai ir lietuvių muzika* (*The Nylon Curtain: Cold War, International Exchanges and Lithuanian Music*, 2018) and *Microtonal Music in Central and Eastern Europe: Historical Outlines and Current Practices* (Ljubljana University Press, 2020). She has also edited and co-edited twelve collections of articles on twentieth- and twenty-first-century musical culture and the history of music reception and prepared the college textbook *Muzika kaip kultūros tekstas* (*Music as a Cultural Text*, 2007). She is a member of the Music and Cultural Studies study group at the International Musicological Society and a member of the International Project on Musical Signification. From 2005 to 2010, she was chair of the Musicological Section at the Lithuanian Composers' Union and from 2003 to 2008 chair of the Lithuanian Section of the International Society for Contemporary Music.

Deputy Editor-in-chief

Rima Povilionienė (b. 1975), PhD in musicology, is a full time professor at the Department of Music Theory of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, Assistant Editor-in-chief of the scientific yearly *Lithuanian Musicology* and an editor at the Lithuanian National Philharmonic. She is an author of the monograph *Musica mathematica. Traditions and Innovations in Contemporary Music* (Peter Lang, 2016, 288 p.). Rima is a co-editor (with Nick Zangwill and Rūta Stanevičiūtė) of *Of Essence and Context: Between Music and Philosophy* collection for Springer (2019). She held a researcher position at the International Semiotics Institute (ISI) at Kaunas University of Technology and at the Centre for Science at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. Rima held internships at the Institute of Musicology at Leipzig University (2004) and IRCAM (2012) and attended Eastman School summer courses in Paris, IRCAM (2019). She has edited over 15 collections and published more than 30 scientific articles and 150 critical reviews. She has been a guest lecturer at such institutions as Leipzig University, the Tbilisi Conservatoire, the Belgrade University of Arts, the J. Vitols Latvian Academy of Music, Vilnius University, and Kaunas University of

Technology. Her monograph *Musica Mathematica* (in Lithuanian, 2013) was awarded Prof. Vytautas Landsbergis Foundation Prize for the best musicological work of the year. She is an editor of two collections for Springer (2017 and 2019).

Authors

Ingrida Alonderė graduated from the Lithuanian Music and Theatre Academy with a bachelor's degree in choral conducting and a master's degree in music theory and criticism. At the moment Alonderė works as the acting manager of the Young Music Vilnius city professional chamber choir and expresses herself as music critic while writing about cultural life in newspapers and on the Internet.

At the moment, Alonderė is a PhD candidate at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre/Vilnius Academy for the Arts. The topic of her PhD dissertation is *(Re)Interpreting Choral Tradition: Lithuanian Choirs in the Context of the 21st Century Performative Practices*. The object of the study is the interdisciplinary choir art as a distinctive and multifaceted phenomenon in the field of musical performance as a creative practice, sociology, performance art, and the aesthetics of today.

Kristina Luna Dolinina (b. 1978) is a fourth-year PhD student of the Ethnomusicology Department of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. The subject of her studies is *Kathak* dance and *Kathak* performative communities. She teaches Hindi language, literature, and the performative traditions of South Asia at the Institute of Asian and Transcultural Studies of Vilnius University. Kristina graduated with an MA from the School of Indian Languages at Jawaharlal Nehru University and has practiced *Kathak* and *Odissi* dance forms in New Delhi, India, for more than ten years.

Charris Efthimiou (b. 1978) was born in Greece and has a Master in Composition and Music Theory from the University for Music and Performing Arts Graz in Austria (KUG). Efthimiou completed a Ph.D. in Musicology on Mozart's symphonies. Since 2020, Efthimiou has been a senior scientist at KUG and currently lectures on music history and on heavy metal music. Efthimiou has written monographs on Metallica's Riffs and Mozart's Symphonies and has contributed to publications on Honegger, Janacek, Mozart, Wagner, and heavy metal (Iron Maiden, Nightwish, Manowar, NWoBHM, and Black Metal).

Levon Hakobian (Akopyan, b. 1953 in Yerevan, Armenia), PhD, is the head of the Department of Music Theory at the Russian State Institute for Art Studies in Moscow, editor of the electronic journal *Art of Music: Theory and History* (<http://sias.ru/publications/magazines/musik/>), and a member of the editorial board for the *New Collected Works by Shostakovich* (Moscow, DSCHE Publishers). His major publications

(in Russian, unless otherwise stated) include *The Analysis of Profound Structure in Musical Texts* (Moscow, 1995), *Music of the Soviet Age, 1917–1987* (Stockholm, 1998, in English), the Russian version of *Grove's Concise Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Moscow, 2001, 2/2007), *Shostakovich: an Essay in the Phenomenology of his Work* (St Petersburg, 2004), *Mozart: a Guide-Book* (2006), *Music of the 20th Century. A Concise Encyclopaedia* (Moscow, 2010), *Shostakovich: Pro et Contra* (St Petersburg, 2016), *Music of the Soviet Era, 1917–1991* (London and New York, 2017, in English), and *Šarakan. Canons and Hymns of Armenian Church* (full translation from Classical Armenian into Russian, Yerevan, 2017) as well as a number of texts in Russian, Armenian, English, Polish, German, and French, dedicated to the medieval Armenian sacred chant, to topical problems of musical science, to the history of Soviet music and to lesser known twentieth-century composers.

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Heli Reimann gained her PhD in 2015 in the Department of Musicology of the University of Helsinki. Her thesis *Jazz in Soviet Estonia from 1944 to 1953: Meanings, Spaces and Paradoxes*, was an interdisciplinary study providing new perspectives on jazz in Soviet society. Reimann's research interests lie in the interstices between jazz studies, cultural studies, Soviet studies, Estonian cultural history, and popular music studies. Her forthcoming monograph on the Tallinn '67 jazz festival will be published in 2021 as a part of her postdoctoral project at the University of the Arts in Helsinki.

Nana Sharikadze (b. 1972), Ph.D, is an associate professor and the rector of the V. Sarajshvili Tbilisi State Conservatoire. Her research and teaching are focused on twentieth-century music, and totalitarian regimes and music. She participates in various national/international conferences. Her research has been supported by the DAAD, the Georgian Presidential Scholarship, and the Polish Institute of Culture research scholarship. She was a guest lecturer at the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences. She is a frequent speaker on the problems of higher art education through AEC, Diku. She

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Kirill Smolkin (b. 1995) is a musicologist and performer. He graduated from the Academic Music College of the Moscow State Tchaikovsky Conservatory as a choral conductor (diploma with distinction). Currently, he studies at the Department of Music History and Theory of the Moscow State Tchaikovsky Conservatory. He is a prizewinner of the All-Russian Achievements of Talented Youth Competition (awarded the silver mark of distinction "National Treasure of Russia"), the 5th International Viktor Merzhanov Piano Competition in Bulgaria (second prize), the 6th All-Russian Young Scholars Competition in the Field of Arts and Culture (second prize). He holds a scholarship from the Moscow Conservatory Academic Board and the Gazprom Charity Foundation "Creating the Future" (2019).

Karolina Šaltmirytė earned her bachelor's degree in 2020 from the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre's Department of Music Theory. Her bachelor's thesis *Aspects of Modernization in Lithuanian Composers' Music in the Years of Pre-Independence, 1960s-1980s: The Manifestation of Microtonality* (supervised by Prof. Dr. Rima Povilionienė) examined the phenomenon of microtonality, which today remains an object of discussion regarding its definition, interpretation, performance, and application possibilities in music pieces. Karolina has made her presentations at the conference-competitions for young musicologists; in 2018 she was awarded the 1st prize, and in 2019 – the 2nd prize for her papers. Currently she is working at the Naujoji Vilnia School of Music for children and the National M. K. Čiurlionis School of Arts.

Eva Vičarová (b. 1973) studied musicology (MA, 1996), journalism (BA, 1996), and the theory and history of music (PhD, 1999) at the Faculty of Arts, Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic. She has been working for the Department of Musicology of the Faculty of Arts of Palacký University in Olomouc since 2000. She became an associate professor in 2013. Eva lectures on the history of music, music analysis, music criticism, and music didactics. She has published a great number of studies and articles and the three following monographs: *Austrian Military Music of the 19th Century and Olomouc* (Olomouc, 2002), *Music in the Olomouc Cathedral, 1872–1985* (Olomouc, 2012), and *Singing and Music Associations of the First Republic and Olomouc* (Olomouc, 2016).

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Landsbergis Vytautas, *Geresnės muzikos troškimas*, Vilnius: Vaga, 1990. ISBN 5-415-00635-4.

Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniienė Daiva, Vienbalsumas šiaurės rytų Aukštaitijoje: vėlesnės monofoninės dainos, in: *Lietuvos muzikologija*, Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 2005, t. 6, p. 150–160.

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Kramer Lawrence, Perspektyvos: postmodernizmas ir muzikologija, in: Goštautienė, Rūta (sud.), *Muzika kaip kultūros tekstas*, Vilnius: Apostrofa, 2007, p. 124–160.

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Paulauskis Linas, Bronius Kutavičius: jeigu nėra paslapties – nėra ir muzikos, in: *Lietuvos muzikos link* [interaktyvus], 2005–2006, Nr. 11, <<http://www.mx.lt/lt/classical/info/251>> [žiūrėta 2007 11 05].

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