

Lietuvos muzikologija

*Lithuanian
Musicology*

26



Vilnius 2025

Redakcinė kolegija / Editorial Board

Vyriausioji redaktorė / Editor-in-chief

Prof. dr. Rūta Stanevičiūtė (Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija / Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre)

Vyriausiosios redaktorės pavaduotoja / Deputy Editor-in-chief

Prof. dr. Rima Povilionienė (Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija / Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre)

Nariai / Members

Prof. habil. dr. Eero Tarasti (Helsinkio universitetas / University of Helsinki)

Prof. habil. dr. Helmut Loos (Leipcigo universitetas / University of Leipzig)

Habil. dr. Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak (Lenkijos mokslų akademijos Meno institutas, Lenkija / Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland)

Prof. dr. Kevin C. Karnes (Emory universitetas, JAV / Emory University, USA)

Prof. dr. Mart Humal (Estijos muzikos ir teatro akademija / Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre)

Prof. dr. Marina Frolova-Walker (Kembridžo universitetas / University of Cambridge)

Prof. dr. Leon Stefanija (Liublianos universitetas / University of Ljubljana)

Prof. dr. Janis Kudinš (Latvijos J. Vytuolio muzikos akademija / Jāzeps Vītols Latvian Academy of Music)

Prof. habil. dr. Gražina Daunoravičienė (Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija / Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre)

Prof. habil. dr. Daiva Vyčiniene (Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija / Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre)

Prof. dr. Danutė Petrauskaitė (Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija / Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre)

Prof. dr. Audronė Žukauskaitė (Lietuvos kultūros tyrimų institutas; Europos humanitarinis universitetas / Lithuanian Culture Research Institute; European Humanities University)

Žurnalas „Lietuvos muzikologija“ referuojamas tarptautinėse duomenų bazėse:

SCOPUS; ERIH PLUS; EBSCO Humanities International Index; EBSCO Humanities International Complete; British Humanities Index; MLA International Bibliography; RILM Abstracts of Music Literature with Full Text

Viršelyje / Cover

Antifona Švenčiausiajai Dievo Motinai, 1452–1469 (Graikijos Nacionalinė biblioteka, Atėnai, fol. 136r, EBE 2401) |

The antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos, 1452–1469 (National Library of Greece, Athens, fol. 136r, EBE 2401)

Kalbos redaktoriai / Language Editors Ilona Čiužauskaitė, Gemma Lloyd

Redakcijos adresas / Address

Gedimino pr. 42, Vilnius, LT-01110 Lietuva

El. paštas / Email ruta.staneviciute@gmail.com, rima.povilioniene@gmail.com

Interneto adresas / Website zurnalai.lmta.lt

Finansavimą skyrė Lietuvos mokslo taryba (LMTLT), sutarties Nr. S-LISs-25-6.



Lietuvos mokslo taryba

© Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 2025

Mokslo straipsniai © Julija Bagdonavičiūtė, Francesco Finocchiaro, Vytautas Germanavičius, Yevgeniya Ignatenko, Fiona Jackson, Lora Kmieliauskaitė, José Miguel Pérez Aparicio, Danutė Petrauskaitė, Heli Reimann, Simas Gabrielius Sapiega, Rūta Stanevičiūtė, Jan Temme de Vries, Monika Voithofer, 2025

Turinys / Contents

Pratarmė	4
Foreword	6
Monika VOITHOFER.....	8
Glocalization—Cosmopolitanism—Contemporaneity. On Three Ambivalent Criteria of the ISCM/SIMC/IGNM <i>Glokalizacija, kosmopolitizmas, šiuolaikiškumas. Apie tris ambivalentiškus ISCM/SIMC/IGNM kriterijus</i>	
Fiona JACKSON	19
Musical Exchange Between Scotland and the Baltic States During the Final Decades of the Soviet Union <i>Muzikiniai Škotijos ir Baltijos šalių mainai paskutiniaisiais Sovietų Sąjungos dešimtmečiais</i>	
Francesco FINOCCHIARO.....	32
Film Music Across Borders. Localizing Music in the Silent Era <i>Kino muzika abipus sienų. Muzikos lokalizavimas nebyliojo kino eroje</i>	
Heli REIMANN	45
“Spatialized” Musical Biography of Estonian Music Popularizer and Historian Valter Ojakäär <i>„Erdvinė“ muzikinė estų muzikos populiarintojo ir istoriko Valterio Ojakääro biografija</i>	
Jan TEMME DE VRIES	59
Negotiating National Identity through Music: The Orchestral Variations on “Den tapre Landsoldat” by Jørgen Ernst Simonsen (1803–1886) as a Case of Depolitization of Music in the Danish Province <i>Nacionalinės tapatybės derybos per muziką: Jørgeno Ernsto Simonseno (1803–1886) orkestrinės variacijos „Den tapre Landsoldat“ kaip muzikos depolitizacijos Danijos provincijoje pavyzdys</i>	
José Miguel PÉREZ APARICIO.....	75
National Awakenings Through Musical Theatre: A Comparative Perspective Between the Catalan and Lithuanian Revivals <i>Tautinis pabudimas per muzikinį teatrą: Katalonijos ir Lietuvos atgimimų lyginamoji perspektyva</i>	
Yevgeniya IGNATENKO.....	96
‘Bulgarian’ Polyeleos Refrains from Ukrainian and Belarusian Musical Manuscripts of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Their Origin and Adaptation <i>„Bulgariškų“ polielejų refrenai iš XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių muzikos rankraščių: jų kilmė ir adaptacija</i>	
Vytautas GERMANAVIČIUS.....	114
Naujas alteracijos simbolių šriftas mikrointervalams žymėti „Microsoft Word“ programoje <i>A Newly Developed Font of Accidental Symbols Designed for the Notation of Micro-Intervals in Microsoft Word</i>	
Julija BAGDONAVIČIŪTĖ, Lora KMIELIAUSKAITĖ	129
Naujos instrumentalumo teritorijos <i>New Territories of Instrumentality</i>	
Recenzijos Reviews	
Danutė PETRAUSKAITĖ	139
Darius Kučinskas ir čiurlioniana: Chronologinis Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio muzikos katalogas	
Simas Gabrieliūs SAPIEGA	143
Vitos Gruodytės monografija „Muzikinės lietuvių tapatybės pėdsakais“	
Apie autorius / About the authors.....	146

Pratarmė

Naujame, dvidešimt šeštajame žurnalo „Lietuvos muzikologija“ tome siekiama išplėsti vyraujančią muzikos tyrimų paradigmą, peržengiant valstybių sienas ir sutelkiant dėmesį į geografiniu ir kultūriniu požiūriu įvairuojančius mikro-, mezo- ir makroregionus muzikos istorijoje. Tokia prieiga priešpriešinama nacionalizmui, t. y. šiandieninėmis valstybių sienomis ir etnocentrine perspektyva grindžiamai muzikos istorijos sampratai. Požiūrio kaita skatina įdėmiai išžvalgyti ir interpretuoti muzikos reiškinių įvietinimą ir įtinklinimą, muzikos žanrų ir praktikų kultūrinius arealus nuo mažųjų tėvynių (mikroregionai) iki pasaulio kontekstų. Vietiškumo ir globalumo sampynos persmelkia Tarptautinės šiuolaikinės muzikos draugijos (ISCM), vienos seniausių ir didžiausių šiuolaikinės muzikos organizacijų pasaulyje, ideologiją ir istoriją nuo pat jos įkūrimo 1922 m. Straipsnyje „Glokalizacija, kosmopolitizmas, šiuolaikiškumas. Apie tris ambivalentiškus ISCM/SIMC/IGNM kriterijus“ Monika Voithofer teigia, kad per daugiau nei šimtmečio istoriją ISCM atspindėjo skirtingus vietinius estetinius diskursus ir jų susipynimą su platesniais laiko ir erdvės naratyvais. Todėl draugijos istorija nuolat svyruoja tarp globalios organizacijos makrokosmoso ir jos vietinių mikrokosmosų. Autorės požiūriu, „žvilgsnis į įvairių tradicijų ir kultūrų susipynusias istorijas neturėtų būti vertinamas iš pliuralistinio diferencijavimo perspektyvos, priešingai, reikėtų kritiškai pabrėžti marginalizacijos tendencijas ir galios struktūrines hierarchijas, kurios įtvirtintos muzikos istorijos naratyvuose“.

Siekiant įveikti tradicinį (vakarietišką) centro ir periferijos atskyrimą muzikos istorijai yra svarbūs regioniniai tyrimai, sutelkti į apibrėžtas geografines teritorijas arba konkrečias kultūras. Laiko ir erdvės požiūriais įvairuojančias perspektyvas muzikos tyrimuose atskleidė 2024 m. spalio 29–31 d. Vilniuje įvykusi Baltijos muzikologų konferencija „Muzikos istorija peržengia valstybių sienas: muzikos kultūra ir mikro-, mezo-, makroregionai“. Mezoregionas apibrėžiamas kaip tam tikru „laiku susietas regionas, peržengiantis valstybės, visuomenės, tautos ir civilizacijos ribas“ (Troebst 2012). Terminas „mezoregionas“ reiškia kelių valstybių, sudarančių regioną, grupę – pavyzdžiui, Baltijos regioną, Balkanus ar Artimuosius Rytus – istorine ir politine prasme. Mezoregionas skiriasi nuo mikroregiono (subnacionalinio vieneto) ir makroregiono (žemyno: Afrikos, Azijos, Lotynų Amerikos). Mezoregionas suprantamas kaip santykinė kategorija konceptualiosios istorijos kontekste ir „kaip jos socialinės produkcijos prielaidos, ideologiniai pagrindai, taip pat įvairios interpretacijos ir reprezentacijos formos, kurias ji įkūnija“ (Mishkova, Trencsényi 2017). Be to, mikro- ir mezoregioninė perspektyva gali skirtis išorėje ir viduje dėl tam tikros muzikinės kultūros recepcijos ir jos savireprezentacijos. Šis požiūris suteikia giluminių išvalgų apie subregioninius ir supraregioninius kultūrinio ir muzikinio gyvenimo aspektus bei susipinančių regioninių kultūrinių ir muzikinių tradicijų tinklą. Fiona Jackson straipsnyje „Muzikiniai Škotijos ir Baltijos šalių mainai paskutiniaisiais Sovietų Sąjungos dešimtmečiais“ analizuoja politinių procesų poveikį Škotijos ir Baltijos šalių muzikiniams mainams vėlyvuosiu sovietmečiu. Didžioji Britanija *de jure* nepripažino Baltijos valstybių sovietinės aneksijos, todėl muzikų ryšiai labiau plėtojosi per neoficialius kanalus. Baltijos šalių kompozitorių muzikos ir atlikimo meno sklaidą iš dalies paskatino tokie skirtingi veiksniai kaip stipri lietuvių diaspora Škotijoje ar škotų nacionalizmas. Vis dėlto, mano autorė, „Baltijos ir Škotijos meno paralelės, kurių aptiko Škotijos žiniasklaida ir menininkai, atspindėjo jų pačių norą stiprinti Škotijos kultūrinę tapatybę, skirtingą nuo Anglijos, o ne [supratimą apie] Baltijos kultūros veikėjų siekiamą autonomijos atkūrimą“.

Permąstydamas semiotinę nebyliojo kino kaip hibrido apibrėžtį, Francesco Finocchiaro analizuoja paradoksalų santykio tarp „uždaro“ teksto, kurio vizualinė sfera „išaldyta“ kino juostoje, ir „atviro“ teksto, kurio muzikinis akompanimentas „atkuriamas“ iš naujo kiekvieno gyvo pasirodymo metu, praktiką („Kino muzika abipus sienų. Muzikos lokalizavimas nebyliojo kino eroje“). Autorius pabrėžia, kad „muzikos lokalizavimo reiškinys atskleidžia, jog filmų muzikos gamyba ir platinimas yra iš esmės tarpkultūriniai procesai. Daugybė muzikinių versijų, suvokiamų kaip transkultūriniai adaptavimai, dalyvavo tapatybės kūrimo ir kultūrinio perdavimo procesuose – kartais kaip įvietinimas, užsienio kultūros įsisavinimas, internacionalizacija ar vietos asimiliacija“. Sovietų Sąjungoje džiaz scena ypač raiškiai atspindėjo vietiško ir globalumo sampynas, kėlusias rūpestį kultūros prievaizdams ir oficialiosios ideologijos skleidėjams. Straipsnyje „Erdvinė“ muzikinė estų muzikos populiarintojo ir istoriko Valterio Ojakääro biografija“ Heli Reimann per estų muzikos istoriko, populiarintojo ir kompozitoriaus Valterio Ojakääro muzikinę biografiją atskleidžia jo asmeninio gyvenimo, socialinės aplinkos ir kultūrinio poveikio sąryšius, padėjusius aktyviai plėtoti veiklą vietiniame (Estijos muzikos scena), regioniniame (Sovietų Sąjungos populiariosios muzikos laukas) ir globaliame kontekstuose.

Muzikos kaip politinės komunikacijos reiškinys dažniausiai siejamas su didžiaisiais kultūros centrais. Straipsnyje „Nacionalinės tapatybės derybos per muziką: Jørgeno Ernsto Simonseno (1803–1886) orkestrinės variacijos „Den tapre Landsoldat“ kaip muzikos depolitizacijos Danijos provincijoje pavyzdys“ Janas Temme de Vriesas įdėmų žvilgsnį nukreipia į XIX a. Danijos provinciją, kur darbavosi Jørgenas Ernstas Simonsenas, muzikos mokytojas, smuiko virtuozas

ir kompozitorius. Danijos politinio subjekto nuosmukis paskatino kultūrinius sąjūdžius, ir šio nacionalinio sąmonėjimo aplinkoje Simonsenas išplėtė savo kūrybos sklaidą provincijos scenose, pasinaudodamas poreikiu stiprinti tautinę tapatybę. Pasak muzikologo, Simonsenas „pasinaudojo politine doktrina ir savo auditorijos kukliu skoniu, orientuotu į patriotinę muziką, atlikti aukštos muzikinės vertės virtuoziškus kūrinius“. Regioniniai kultūriniai sąjūdžiai rečiau patenka į palyginamųjų tyrimų akiratį. José Miguelis Pérezas Aparicio analizuoja ir lygina katalonų ir lietuvių muzikinio teatro reiškinius nacionalinio atgimimo aplinkoje XIX ir XX a. sandūroje ir XX a. pirmaisiais dešimtmečiais. Straipsnyje „Tautinis pabudimas per muzikinį teatrą: Katalonijos ir Lietuvos atgimimų lyginamoji perspektyva“ tirdamas, ar „du regionai, neturintys tarpusavio ryšių ir priklausantys skirtingoms kultūrinės ir geopolitinės įtakos sritims, patirdami tą patį nacionalinio atgimimo procesą, išsiugdė panašias tendencijas konsoliduoti ir skleisti nacionalinę kultūrą ir ar jie naudojo tuos pačius simbolinius elementus nacionalinei tapatybei kultūriškai atstovauti“, muzikologas teigia, kad „nepaisant neišvengiamų stilistinių skirtumų [...] galima pastebėti bendrus struktūrinius modelius“. Muzikos repertuaruose migracija ir apropiacija nėra naujas reiškinys. Straipsnyje „Bulgariškų polielėjų refrenai iš XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių muzikos rankraščių: jų kilmė ir adaptacija“ Yevgeniya Ignatenko nagrinėja XVI a. pabaigos ir XVII a. Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos bažnyčių repertuaro atnaujinimą, sąveikaujant su Balkanų ortodoksų giesmių tradicijomis. Muzikologės tyrimas „rodo Rytų krikščionių bažnyčios giesmių tradicijų vienovę, kuri nėra akivaizdi dėl jų kalbinės ir muzikinės įvairovės. Melodijos, kurios buvo naudojamos kaip modeliai, per amžius buvo giedamos įvairiose krikščionybės srityse. Jos tapo šventos ir kanoninės. Jos užtikrina simbolinę visų tikinčiųjų vienybę jų maldose Dievui ir jų troškimuose šlovinti Viešpatį kartu su angelais“.

„Lietuvos muzikologijos“ žurnalas toliau išlieka atvira erdvė naujos mokslininkų kartos tyrimams. Meninių tyrimų naujoves šiame tome pristato Vytauto Germanavičiaus straipsnis „Naujas alteracijos simbolių šriftas mikrointervalams žymėti „Microsoft Word“ programoje“, Loros Kmieliauskaitės ir Julijos Bagdonavičiūtės studija „Naujos instrumentavimo teritorijos“. Abiejose publikacijose plečiamas muzikos kūrybos ir atlikimo supratimas, siūlomi originalūs modeliai, aptariantys technologiškai informuotos komponavimo notacijos ir atlikėjo praktikos postinstrumentalumo aplinkoje transformaciją.

Žurnale taip pat skelbiamos recenzijos apie naujus lietuvių muzikologų darbus. Danutė Petrauskaitė aptaria Dariaus Kučinsko parengtą atnaujintą leidinį „Chronologinis Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio muzikos katalogas“, kurį lietuvių klasiko 150-osioms gimimo metinėms išleido Lietuvos nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo bibliotekos Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos centras. Gabrieliūs Simas Sapiega apžvelgia Vitos Gruodytės monografiją „Muzikinės lietuvių tapatybės pėdsakais“ (Vaga, 2024).

Rūta Stanevičiūtė

Foreword

The new, twenty-sixth volume of the journal *Lietuvos muzikologija* (Lithuanian Musicology) seeks to expand the prevailing paradigm of music research by transcending national borders and focusing on micro-, meso- and macro-regions in music history that vary in terms of geography and culture. This approach is opposed to nationalism, i.e., the current concept of music history based on national borders and an ethnocentric perspective. This change in perspective encourages a careful exploration and interpretation of the localization and networking of musical phenomena, the cultural areas of musical genres and practices, from small homelands (micro-regions) to global contexts. The intertwining of locality and globality has permeated the ideology and history of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), one of the oldest and largest contemporary music organizations in the world, since its founding in 1922. In her article *Glocalization—Cosmopolitanism—Contemporaneity. On Three Ambivalent Criteria of the ISCM/SIMC/IGNM*, Monika Voithofer argues that throughout its more-than-a-century-old history, the ISCM has reflected different local aesthetic discourses and their intertwining with broader narratives of time and space. Therefore, the history of the society constantly oscillates between the macrocosm of a global organization and its local microcosms. In the author's view, "a look at the entangled histories of diverse traditions and cultures should not be approached from a perspective of pluralistic differentiation, but rather critically highlight marginalization tendencies and power-structural hierarchies that are perpetuated in music-historical narratives."

To overcome the traditional (Western) distinction between the center and the periphery, regional studies focused on specific geographical areas or cultures are important for music history. The Baltic Musicological Conference *Music History Beyond State Borders: Music Culture and Micro-, Meso-, and Macro-Regions*, held in Vilnius on October 29–31, 2024, revealed perspectives in music research that vary in terms of time and space. A mesoregion is defined as "connected by time that crosses the boundaries of a state, society, nation, and civilization" (Troebst 2012). The term 'mesoregion' refers to a group of several states that make up a region—for example, the Baltic region, the Balkans, or the Middle East—in a historical and political sense. A mesoregion differs from a microregion (subnational unit) and a macroregion (a continent: Africa, Asia, Latin America). A mesoregion is understood as a relative category in the context of conceptual history and "as the premises of its social production, its ideological underpinnings, as well as the various forms of interpretation and representation that it embodies" (Mishkova, Trencsényi 2017). Furthermore, the micro- and mesoregional perspectives may differ externally and internally due to the reception of a particular musical culture and its self-representation. This approach provides in-depth insights into subregional and supraregional aspects of cultural and musical life and the network of intertwining regional cultural and musical traditions. In her article *Musical Exchange Between Scotland and the Baltic States During the Final Decades of the Soviet Union*, Fiona Jackson analyzes the impact of political processes on musical exchanges between Scotland and the Baltic states in the late Soviet period. The United Kingdom did not recognize the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states *de jure*, so musical ties mostly developed through unofficial channels. The dissemination of Baltic composers' music and performing arts was partly driven by such diverse factors as the strong Lithuanian diaspora in Scotland and Scottish nationalism. However, according to the author, "the parallels, however, that the media and artists in Scotland found between Baltic and Scottish arts reflected their own desire for greater Scottish cultural identity, separate from England, not the resumption of autonomy being sought by Baltic cultural figures."

Rethinking the semiotic definition of silent cinema as a hybrid, Francesco Finocchiaro analyzes the paradoxical relationship between "closed" text, whose visual sphere is "frozen" on film, and "open" text, whose musical accompaniment is "recreated" during each live performance (*Film Music Across Borders. Localizing Music in the Silent Era*). The author emphasizes that "the phenomenon of music localization sheds light on film music production and distribution as inherently intercultural processes. Multiple musical versions, conceived as transcultural adaptations, participated in processes of identity construction and cultural transfer—sometimes in the form of domestication, foreignization, internationalization, or local assimilation of the Other." In the Soviet Union, the jazz scene particularly vividly reflected the intertwining of locality and globality, which raised concerns among cultural guardians and propagators of official ideology. In the article "*Spatialized*" *Musical Biography of Estonian Music Popularizer and Historian Valter Ojakäär*, Heli Reimann uses the musical biography of Estonian music historian, popularizer, and composer Valter Ojakäär to reveal the connections between his personal life, social environment, and cultural influences that helped him actively develop his activities in local (the Estonian music scene), regional (the field of popular music in the Soviet Union), and global contexts.

Music as a phenomenon of political communication is most often associated with major cultural centers. In the article *Negotiating National Identity through Music: The Orchestral Variations on “Den tapre Landsoldat” by Jørgen Ernst Simonsen (1803–1886) as a Case of Depolitization of Music in the Danish Province*, Jan Temme de Vries takes a close look at the Danish province in the nineteenth century, where Jørgen Ernst Simonsen, a music teacher, violin virtuoso, and composer, worked. The decline of Denmark as a political entity sparked cultural movements, and in this environment of national consciousness, Simonsen expanded the reach of his work on provincial stages, taking advantage of the need to strengthen national identity. According to the musicologist, Simonsen “used political doctrine and the modest taste of his audience—asking for patriotic music—to perform a virtuosic piece that was meant to be of high musical value.” Regional cultural movements are less likely to be included in comparative studies. José Miguel Pérez Aparicio analyzes and compares Catalan and Lithuanian musical theater phenomena in the context of national revival at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and in the first decades of the twentieth century. In his article, *National Awakenings Through Musical Theatre: A Comparative Perspective Between the Catalan and Lithuanian Revivals*, examining whether “two regions with no mutual contact and belonging to different areas of cultural and geopolitical influence, when undergoing the same process of substate national awakening, developed similar tendencies to consolidate and disseminate a national culture, and whether they used the same symbolic elements to culturally represent the national identity,” the musicologist argues that “despite inevitable stylistic differences [...] common structural patterns can be observed.” Migration and appropriation are not new phenomena in music repertoires. In her article “*Bulgarian*” *Polyeleos Refrains from Ukrainian and Belarusian Musical Manuscripts of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Their Origin and Adaptation*, Yevgeniya Ignatenko examines the renewal of the repertoire of Ukrainian and Belarusian churches in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, through interaction with Balkan Orthodox chant traditions. The musicologist’s research shows “the unity of the Eastern Christian church-chant traditions, which is not obvious due to the variety of their linguistic and sonic realizations. Melodies used as models were sung in different parts of the Christian world for centuries; they became sacred and canonical, providing a symbolic unity of all believers in their prayer to God and in their desire to praise the Lord together with the angels.”

The journal *Lietuvos muzikologija* continues to be an open space for research by a new generation of scholars. Innovations in artistic research are presented in this volume in Vytautas Germanavičius’ article *A New Font for Alteration Symbols to Mark Microintervals in Microsoft Word* and the study by Lora Kmieliauskaitė and Julija Bagdonavičiūtė, *New Territories of Instrumentality*. Both publications expand our understanding of music creation and performance, offering original models that discuss the transformation of technologically informed compositional notation and performer practice in a post-instrumental environment. The journal also publishes reviews of new works by Lithuanian musicologists. Danutė Petrauskaitė discusses the updated edition of Darius Kučinskas’ *Chronological Catalogue of Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis’ Music*, published by the Science and Encyclopedia Publishing Center of the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania to mark the Lithuanian classic’s 150th birth anniversary. Gabrielius Simas Sapiega reviews Vita Gruodytė’s monograph *Traces of Lithuanian Musical Identity* (Vaga, 2024).

Rūta Stanevičiūtė

Monika VOITHOFER

Glocalization—Cosmopolitanism— Contemporaneity. On Three Ambivalent Criteria of the ISCM/SIMC/IGNM

Glokalizacija, kosmopolitizmas, šiuolaikiškumas.

Apie tris ambivalentiškus ISCM/SIMC/IGNM kriterijus

University of Vienna, Department of Musicology, Spitalgasse 2, Hof 9 (Campus), A-1090 Vienna
monika.voithofer@univie.ac.at

Abstract

In 1922, with the trauma of the Great War still viscerally present in recent memory, a group of composers gathered in Salzburg to lay the foundation for their utopian project of a society that would transcend national and aesthetic borders and beliefs in order to perform and promote the most current musical tendencies of the present. Today, as one of the world's oldest and largest societies for contemporary music, the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) continues to aspire to these goals through its forty-seven section members in countries and regions around the globe.

By analyzing the formation, internal structures, and aesthetic debates within the ISCM, this paper draws conclusions about continuities and ruptures in the larger context of twentieth-century music historiography. In particular, three criteria that illustrate the aesthetic and political ambivalences of the society will be elaborated: First, the ISCM, as a glocal phenomenon, oscillates between local and global levels and has therefore inevitably underpinned mechanisms of marginalization since its foundation, contrary to its intention. Second, the idea of internationalization in the sense of cosmopolitanism cannot simply be read as a utopian ideal; it must also be (re-)interpreted as a necessity arising from the catastrophic developments of the two World Wars and the traumatic experiences of forced migration that followed. Third, the founding and institutionalization of the ISCM highlight the various temporalities and shifting conditions of the concepts “contemporary” and “contemporaneity,” which therefore require constant reexamination.

Keywords: ISCM, IGNM, International Society for Contemporary Music, Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, glocalization, cosmopolitanism, contemporaneity.

Anotacija

1922 m., kai Didžiojo karo trauma buvo dar labai gyva, grupė kompozitorių susirinko Zalcburge, kad padėtų pamatus savo utopiniam projektui – bendruomenei, peržengiančiai nacionalines, estetines sienas bei įsitikinimus ir atliepiančiai naujausias muzikos tendencijas. Tarptautinė šiuolaikinės muzikos draugija (*International Society for Contemporary Music*, ISCM), viena seniausių ir didžiausių šiuolaikinės muzikos draugijų pasaulyje, įvairiose pasaulio šalyse ir regionuose turinti keturiasdešimt septynias sekcijas, ir šiandien tebesiekia šių tikslų.

Straipsnio autorė analizuoja ISCM formavimąsi, vidines struktūras, estetines diskusijas ir daro išvadą apie tęstinumą ir lūžius platesniame XX a. muzikos istoriografijos kontekste. Ypač išsamiai aptariami trys kriterijai, iliustruojantys estetinių ir politinių draugijos dvišarpiškumą.

Pirma, ISCM, kaip glocalus reiškiny, svyruoja nuo vietinio prie globaliojo lygmenų, todėl, priešingai nei buvo numatyta, nuo pat draugijos įkūrimo neišvengiamai stiprina marginalizacijos mechanizmus. Antra, internacionalizacijos idėja kosmopolitizmo prasme negali būti suprantama kaip utopinis idealas; ji taip pat turi būti (per)interpretuojama kaip būtinybė, kilusi iš katastrofiškų dviejų pasaulinių karų įvykių ir juos lydėjusių trauminių priverstinės migracijos patirčių. Trečia, ISCM įkūrimas ir institucionalizavimas pabrėžia „šiuolaikiškumo“ sąvokų laikinumą ir kintančias sąlygas, todėl sąvokas reikia nuolat peržiūrėti.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: ISCM, IGNM, Tarptautinė šiuolaikinės muzikos draugija, Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik, glokalizacija, kosmopolitizmas, šiuolaikiškumas.

Introduction

In 1922, pianist, composer, and musicologist Rudolph Réti spoke of the so-called “Salzburg idea” when he outlined his project of a much-needed new community in the form of an international alliance of composers and musicians (Réti 1922, 193–195). The traumas and turmoil

following the end of the Great War were still omnipresent, and in keeping with the basic idea of the League of Nations—founded only a short time before, in 1920—a cross-border exchange in a peaceful community of nations and peoples was to be initiated on a musical level as well. Regardless of national, political, and aesthetic interests, an international association was to be formed in order to

perform and reflect on the current tendencies of the musical present in an appropriate manner. With composer and musicologist Egon Wellesz, Rudolph Réti soon found an ally to implement his idea. Following their call, a group of more than twenty composers—among them Anton Webern, Bela Bartók, Paul Hindemith, Darius Milhaud and Ethel Smyth, to name but a few—gathered in Salzburg in August 1922 to lay the foundation for this alliance of musicians within the framework of the “Internationale Kammermusikaufführungen”—the “International Chamber Music Festival”—which featured fifty pieces from a total of forty-six composers of fifteen Nations (Haefeli 1982, 47–48). Encouraged by the positive response to this event, the constituent meeting of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM)—in French, Société Internationale pour la Musique Contemporaine (SIMC) and in German, Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM)—took place in London in January 1923 with musicologist Edward J. Dent as its first president.¹ In August of the same year, the first official ISCM music festival, the “1. Kammermusikfest,” was again held in Salzburg.

Today, the ISCM comprises forty-seven member sections² in countries and regions on all continents—with the sole exception of Antarctica—and is thus considered one of the oldest and largest institutions for the promotion of contemporary music. But more than one hundred years after its foundation, one must ask: can the utopian founding idea of transcending nations still be sustained, politically and aesthetically? Does the society’s continuation retain any relevance under completely changed geopolitical and sociocultural conditions? Or, to put it another way: does the ISCM still have a *raison d’être* apart from the rigid maintenance of continuity and a self-legitimized and museum-like institutional history?

Without a doubt, the early heyday of the young society was rooted in the spirit of optimism of the time, which came to an abrupt end with the rise of fascism and, eventually, the outbreak of World War II. The “Zero Hour” that followed was associated with the need to catch up and tie in with the musical developments of the historical avant-garde before the intellectual and cultural decay brought on by isolation, forced migration, and extermination under National Socialist dictatorship. Many artistic developments of the early twentieth century—neoclassicism, expressionism, jazz, and above all the twelve-tone technique—were ostracized and banned by the National Socialists as “degenerate” music (Dümling 1990, 95–96).

However, as the oft-repeated music-historical narrative goes, it was no longer the ISCM that provided the impetus, but rather the International Summer Courses for New Music Darmstadt, founded in 1946 by Wolfgang Steinecke,

and the International Music Institute Kranichstein, founded two years later (renamed the International Music Institute Darmstadt in 1963). There, the postwar reappraisal of musical developments at the beginning of the twentieth century, including the establishment of a documentation center with the International Music Institute Darmstadt, quickly turned into a radical extension of compositional techniques, driven in particular by a younger generation of composers.³ While the summer courses in Darmstadt provided a suitable institutional framework for a critical examination of aesthetic trends in composition (initially annually, then biennially from 1970), critical voices questioning the role and relevance of the ISCM grew louder. During a public discussion on the society’s future of the ISCM in Zurich in 1957, the society was almost unanimously judged in need of fundamental reform, and calls for greater consideration of young avant-garde movements grew ever stronger. This debate prompted ISCM President and musicologist Heinrich Strobel to initiate, in 1958, a survey in the journal *Melos* in which “well-known personalities in musical life” were asked about the “significance and mission of the ISCM” (Strobel 1958, 147).⁴ The published responses offered an equally disdainful diagnosis of the society’s condition. Pierre Boulez, for example, suggested to “let this aged and dilapidated society peacefully go to sleep” (Boulez 1958, 150), while Luigi Nono described an “effective ineffectiveness” (Nono 1958: 155).⁵ In his fundamental and important—yet now somewhat dated—history of the ISCM, published in 1982, Anton Haefeli also made the sobering statement of “hopeless inactivity” in which the ISCM had been languishing since the postwar period (Haefeli 1982: 288).

The general consensus, then, is that the ISCM has consistently lagged behind the avant-garde ideal of progress since the early second half of the twentieth century. Has its envisioned future long since failed? Does the society’s continuity consist merely in outliving its own future? And is the ISCM haunted by ideals it cannot, or can no longer, fulfill? During the centenary, much attention was rightly paid to the society’s great achievements in the spirit of cultural remembrance.⁶ Yet throughout its history, a narrative of great masters and masterpieces has been perpetuated, fueling a kind of self-legitimizing musealization and contradicting, in some ways, its founding ideals. The centenary should therefore also serve as an occasion for (self)-critical reflection: to reveal the political and aesthetic ambivalences within the society; to consider diverse, often site-specific, discourses and their interaction with broader music-historical narratives; and finally, to draw conclusions about the ISCM’s relevance and potential in the (musical) present. With these aims, this paper takes a closer look at three inextricably interwoven criteria that have shaped the society throughout its existence:

I. Glocalization

Since its foundation, the ISCM has been organized glocally. The globally active umbrella organization, with its international executive committee, is currently made up of forty-seven local sections, each with its own executive board, tasked with promoting contemporary music at the local level in their countries and regions. If we view the macrocosm of the umbrella organization as a pluralization of the individual, local sections—the site-specific microcosms—the universality and singularity of the ISCM is put into perspective. The Austrian IGNM section, for example, continued after its foundation in 1922⁷ the aesthetic ideals of the Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen (“Society for Private Musical Performances”), which had been dissolved one year earlier and was founded by Arnold Schönberg only two weeks after the end of World War I in November 1918, with him as its president. Many of the ISCM’s co-founders—Rudolph Réti and Egon Wellesz, Alban Berg, Anton Webern, Hanns Eisler, Josef Polnauer, Paul Amadeus Pisk, and Olga Novakovic—had been members of that society.⁸ Because of the “conservative spirit that did not allow the new to emerge in Vienna’s musical life [...]”, as Wellesz stated (Wellesz 1958, 28), and since “the recognized conservative musicians who held official positions pleased themselves with the presumption of the natural succession of a music from a glorious past,” as Réti remarked (Réti 1957, 114), performances of modern works, especially by the Viennese School, increasingly turned into scandalous concerts. For this reason, progressive, future-oriented composers, musicians, and listeners felt compelled to acquire precise knowledge of modern music by retreating into a closed, private space resembling a study community rather than a public concert audience, free from public expressions of approval or disapproval (Krones 2005, 45). Due to the deteriorating economic situation, the Schoenberg-Verein was forced to discontinue its activities just two years after its founding in 1921. Yet just one year later, “the newly founded International Society for Contemporary Music [...] took up the legacy of the ‘Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen’—albeit in a much watered-down form, noticeably stripped of its artistic and spiritual ideals—a legacy that is essentially the quintessence of the spirit of the Schönberg circle,” notes Friedrich Wildgans, composer, clarinetist, and president of the Austrian section of the ISCM from 1948 to 1961 (Wildgans 1967, 79). In this context, it is worth noting Rudolph Réti’s comment on Arnold Schönberg’s role in the ISCM:

However, one simple negative observation should not be suppressed. Schönberg did not personally take part in the first festival. Apparently he was too much of an individualist to be part of a programme conducted by others. But he not

only took part in the later music festivals, his group even took control of the Austrian section, and successively that of several others as well. The air of exclusivity towards other modern movements that this development evoked later led to some disagreements within the society. (Réti 1957, 116–117)

Thus, the Austrian section pursued a clear aesthetic orientation towards the Viennese School, marginalizing other aesthetic compositional techniques in concerts organized by the section⁹—a contradiction of the ISCM’s statutes, which stipulated the society’s role was to reflect and launch the latest trends in contemporary music across *all* aesthetic currents (Haefeli 1982, 53). This orientation towards the Viennese School was continued in postwar Austria with the re-institutionalization of the IGNM. As early as April 1945, the Austrian section of the International Society for New Music resumed its activities. A transcript of its initial plans reads:

Only with completely united positive forces can we successfully work towards the resurrection of Vienna’s old reputation as a true international city of music. The position of President of the IGNM, Austrian Section, is intended for Dr. Anton Webern. We hope he agrees with our goals and plans and look forward to seeing him in Vienna as soon as possible.¹⁰

Plans for Anton Webern’s presidency failed due to his well-known tragic death on September 15, 1945, and the position was filled by Hans Erich Apostel. Already in mid-June 1945, the Austrian section organized its first event in the Brahms-Saal of the Vienna Musikverein (Szmolyan 1982, 624). The IGNM was thus one of the first art and cultural institutions to be reconstituted after the war, resuming its role in Austrian cultural life, which had begun in 1922 but was cut short by its forced dissolution under National Socialism in 1938. The society played a decisive role in reconstructing postwar concert life, especially in Vienna. It was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that its aesthetic orientation broadened significantly, mainly due to a generational shift when Friedrich Cerha succeeded Josef Polnauer (a close associate of the Viennese School) as president in 1968, a position he held until 1975 (Cerha 2001, 45). Today, the IGNM comprises five local groups in Austria’s federal provinces (Carinthia, Salzburg, Styria, Tyrol, and Upper Austria)—nanocosms within the local IGNM-Austria microcosm, in turn within the global ISCM macrocosm. With around four hundred members, the section realizes and financially supports approximately fifty artistic projects each year, involving artists working predominantly in Austria with diverse aesthetic backgrounds.¹¹ Its presence and relevance in Austria’s contemporary music scene since its re-institutionalization in 1945—not only in an active performing role, but also (perhaps even more so) in a passive, supporting function—should therefore

be evaluated independently of other local sections, which operate under completely different historical circumstances, institutional structures, and funding networks. Hence, the sections in their activities act independently of the macrocosm ISCM, each functioning according to its own traditions and site-specific conditions in the microcosm of their respective regions and countries.¹²

Accusations of irrelevance and lack of topicality, which have not abated since the second half of the twentieth century, often focus on the rigid structures and opaque mechanisms behind programming for the annual ISCM Music Festivals. Since 1974, the festivals have been known as the ISCM World (New) Music Days. They take place every year (the only cancellations so far were in the years 1943–1945 due to World War II and in 2020 and 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic) at different locations, hosted and organized by different sections (Haefeli 1982, 326). Their stated central aim is to showcase “international contemporary music, without prejudice or bias towards different forms of musical expression, styles, genres or formats; nor regarding race, gender, religion or politics.”¹³ A jury selects a set number of works from the submissions (at least one submitted piece from each section must be represented in the festival). Nevertheless, the criteria—both in terms of the constitution of the jury and the selection criteria for the pieces (apart from the quantitative balance of pieces in the individual sections, whereby individual submissions can also be made)—are anything but transparent, let alone specified. Unsurprisingly, one of the main points of criticism is directed precisely at this selection process, according to which aesthetic and local (and hence partly also inevitably political)¹⁴ interests undeniably play a decisive role (Haefeli 1982, 190–232).

However, if we take a closer look at precisely this aspect and understand the selected works as manifestations of various artistic practices in different regions—each with its specific aesthetic discourses—interesting conclusions can be drawn about a global approach to music history. Björn Heile remarks on such an approach:

For better or worse, our histories are ‘entangled’, and our historiography has to reflect this. The notion of entangled histories emphasizes the relations between different traditions, cultures and areas, and the reciprocity of their impacts on one another; it thus seeks to correct the emphasis on autonomy in traditional historiographies with their focuses on nation, tradition or culture. (Heile 2019, 179)

Heile also identifies great potential specifically in the ISCM’s international, which offers an important platform for participants from comparative peripheries alongside established centers—even if such contributions are still only gradually being given increasing consideration in

reception and research (Heile 2019, 182). A synchronous, poly-perspective approach to diverse musical practices, compositional techniques, and networks allows for a better understanding of continuities and ruptures beyond a Eurocentric Western art music tradition. Crucially, it requires analyzing entangled power structures in order to highlight marginalized tendencies, rather than presenting diversity uncritically.

In this context, George Lewis proposes applying the concept of “creolization” to the study of contemporary music. Lewis draws on *Éloge de la créolité* (1989), the manifesto by Caribbean writers Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphaël Confiant, who in turn developed the concept of “creolization” coined by the French philosopher Édouard Glissant. Originally a linguistic concept describing the intermingling of different linguistic influences, through which new, hybrid creole languages have emerged (and continue to emerge), creolization has evolved historically and culturally since the era of colonialism. The formation of new identities went hand in hand with the enslavement and traumatic uprooting of various ethnic groups (Müller/Ueckmann 2013, 7–42). In their manifesto, Bernabé, Chamoiseau, and Confiant state:

We declare ourselves Creoles. We declare that Creoleness is the cement of our culture and that it ought to rule the foundations of our Caribbeanness. Creoleness is the interactional or transactional aggregate of Caribbean, European, African, Asian, and Levantine cultural elements, united on the same soil by the yoke of history. For three centuries the islands and parts of continents affected by this phenomenon proved to be the real forges of a new humanity, where languages, races, religions, customs, ways of being from all over the world were brutally uprooted and transplanted in an environment where they had to reinvent life. [...] Because of its constituent mosaic, Creoleness is an open specificity. It escapes, therefore, perceptions which are not themselves open. Expressing it is not expressing a synthesis, not just expressing a crossing or any other unicity. It is expressing a kaleidoscopic totality, that is to say: the nontotalitarian consciousness of a preserved diversity. (Bernabé/Chamoiseau/Confiant 1989, 87–89)

Following this, Lewis suggests that a “new sonic créolité” can be heard in contemporary music, nourished by conditions of mobility—whether forced, resistant, or voluntary (Lewis 2018, 445–446). Only through such “mental creolization,” in which the mere, uncritical and limited pluralistic and Eurocentric conception of new music is overcome, can contemporary music become a “true world music”:

A creolized contemporary music culture would be race-aware, not race-deaf, establishing a mosaic identity that recognizes historical, geographical and cultural cross-connections—not so much to achieve diversity as to pursue a new complexity that promises far greater creative depth. (Lewis 2020)

Taking up Lewis' proposition, it could be argued that the annual ISCM *World (New) Music Days*—with a special emphasis on the word “World” on the one hand and the bracketing of the word “New” on the other—has obviously reflected this aspiration (and not only in their name) with its goal to provide an aesthetic and national border-crossing reflection of currents in contemporary music with a global claim. This perspective also relativizes the discourse surrounding the society since the second half of the twentieth century with regard to its lack of topicality and relevance. As mentioned, the ISCM—at least since the 1950s—has been accused of lagging behind the musical avant-garde and its paradigm of progress. Yet here the critical question must be asked: which avant-garde? As is well known, the idea of the “progress of musical material” derives from Theodor W. Adorno, who developed his theory on the basis of the compositional techniques of the Viennese School centered around Arnold Schoenberg.¹⁵ Musical serialism in the postwar avant-garde extended this idea, and the discourse took place primarily in the German-speaking realm, around the Darmstadt Summer Courses. It is thus no coincidence that the ISCM's most vocal critics mentioned above—Boulez and Nono—are attributed with their serial compositional techniques as the main representatives of the so-called Darmstadt School.¹⁶ The discourse of (material) progress is thus limited to specific avant-garde compositional developments, which in their discursiveness are bound to certain traditional and local references and differ from other time- and place-specific perspectives from a global point of view.

If we compare, for example, the ISCM section of the Faroe Islands—where the ISCM World (New) Music Days were held in June 2024—with that of Austria, the diversity of time and place specifics, which are of essential importance in the manifestations of music-historical traditions, becomes clear: Unlike the Austrian section of the IGNM, which has been active since 1922 and about whose history a lot has already been said, the Faroese section has only existed since 2004. Due to geopolitical factors and their isolated location, oral traditions—especially ethnic ballad dancing, hymns, and rhymes—were predominant on the Faroe Islands for a long time. The oldest works oriented towards a Western, emphatic ideal of art music appeared only in the late nineteenth century in the form of strophic songs, inspired by the rising nationalist movement, and peaked in the late 1940s. It was also at this time that the Faroese written language first developed, and a more conscious effort was made to create a “national style” of expression. Hence, the first instrumental music compositions only emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, and a concert music tradition only since the 1980s.¹⁷ Thus, the history of Faroese music is closely linked to the islands'

own (colonial) history. The completely different artistic traditions and structures must be considered from a global perspective, both in musicological research and in the standards applied to the criticism of the pieces performed, since aesthetic and political tendencies on a local level are inevitably interwoven.

II. Cosmopolitanism

At the same time that the ISCM was founded with the intention of creating an international, cross-border musical exchange based on the ideals of the League of Nations, the idea of a pacifist cosmopolitanism experienced a revival; the Salzburg Festival, which had existed since 1920, also followed this ideal in its conception. In the geographical heart of the newly organized Europe, its idea of a festival sought not only to bring together the arts, but also nations, spaces, worldviews, and cultures (Steinberg 2000, 84–115). It was here that the suitable breeding ground germinated to lay the foundation of the project of an international community of musicians, only two years later, in the form of the ISCM.

In his article on the significance of “internationalism” in the International Society for Contemporary Music, Giles Masters points out that at the time of the ISCM's foundation, its internationalist claim could not be understood as the equivalent of globalism. Furthermore, Masters does not see the significance of the internationalism of the society as synonymous with transnationalism or cosmopolitanism. He writes:

To label oneself ‘international’, in 1922, signified a moral-political commitment (an internationalism) and an associated subject position (as an internationalist) that were closely related to, and perhaps ultimately derived from, the ethics of cosmopolitanism (the belief in a single human community). But whereas the cosmopolitan world view foregrounds the rights and responsibilities of ‘world citizens’, the liberal internationalist one upheld the principle of national sovereignty [sic!]. (Masters 2022, 561)

In fact, as Masters rightly recognizes, the internationality of the ISCM in its structure can in no way be equated with the claim of globalism. Rather—seen against the historical context of the reorganized Europe after the end of World War I—nation-statehood was emphasized, and the founding idea of the ISCM aimed at an exchange between nations across borders.¹⁸ The aim of the foundation was to showcase contemporary music from the individual nations without enforcing aesthetic, national, ethnic, religious, or political ideals. The internationality of the ISCM is therefore, in the words of Ernst Krenek, a “summation of national individualities,” and furthermore “its internationality refers to its organization, not to the object of its activities” (Krenek

1934, 40–41). The core idea of the ISCM is reflected primarily in the organization's structure. The individual country and regional sections are the "constitutive element" of the society per se, as Haefeli rightly emphasizes (Haefeli 1984, 73). Globalism can therefore not be understood as an intended condition intrinsic to the society.

From a music-historical perspective, however, an approach toward a global music history is productive, offering a differentiated analysis of the local sections and their embedding in the global context, and identifying various time- and place-specific characteristics of composing. A global approach to music history reveals diverse sociopolitical conditions, structures, networks, cross-connections, and fusions of various aesthetic approaches in the individual sections. As mentioned, George Lewis suggests applying the concept of "creolization" to the study of contemporary music. In this context, the concept of mobility is particularly central—whether forced, as an act of resistance, or voluntary (Lewis 2018, 445–446).

Cosmopolitanism is usually associated with privileged, positively connoted powers or competences of transgression. Masters's definition of cosmopolitanism as the "belief in a single human community" and the underlying idea of "world citizens" also resonates with the outline of a desirable utopia in connection with the concept of cosmopolitanism. However, the mobility of musicians often did and does not happen voluntarily, but must be understood as a consequence of dystopian developments such as the rise of fascism and dictatorships, and in this respect as forced migration due to threats to the lives of certain groups of people. The concept of cosmopolitanism then necessarily undergoes a significant reinterpretation in the twentieth century, in that it can no longer be associated exclusively with privileged standpoints and transgressive capabilities; rather, attention must be directed more strongly to facts such as uprooting, memory, expulsion, flight, trauma, (forced) assimilation and minority experiences, as musicologist Brigid Cohen pointed out in her study of Stefan Wolpe and the avant-garde diaspora in relation to twentieth century music history (Cohen 2012, 1–31). "At a time when this life threatens to die every day, when the spectre of inner ruin [...] lays itself over humanity like the burden of a terrible homelessness [...]", Rudolf Réti already noted in 1922 with regard to the *zeitgeist* on which he based his project of the ISCM (Reti 1922, 195). The utopian founding idea of border-crossing exchange between nations in the explicitly non-political, neutral ISCM soon gave way to disillusionment, based on political and national interests that manifested themselves particularly between the Nazis' seizure of power in 1933 and the outbreak of World War II. The founding of the Ständige Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten (the "Permanent Council for the International Cooperation of Composers") by the then President

of the Reichsmusikkammer, Richard Strauss, in 1934, and the disputes over the location of the ISCM Music Festival in 1935 are just two briefly mentioned examples, which have been described in detail elsewhere (see Haefeli 1982; Shreffler 2015).

The Austrian section of the IGNM was forcibly dissolved by the National Socialists in 1938. The dissolution was less due to aesthetic judgments than to the large number of Jewish members. "Significantly, the music of the Second Viennese School was not primarily opposed on strictly musical grounds, for example because of its rich dissonance or complexity, but because of its connection with the Jew Arnold Schönberg," explains Albrecht Dümling on the anti-Semitic ostracism of the Viennese School around the composer Arnold Schönberg (Dümling 1990: 95–96). Arnold Schönberg was forced to emigrate to the United States in 1933 and never returned to Europe from his exile. Rita Kurzmann, a board member of the Austrian IGNM section in the 1930s, was also able to emigrate to Argentina in 1936 with her second husband, the conductor Erwin Leuchter—a fortunate circumstance denied to many IGNM members, who were forced to go into hiding, such as Josef Polnauer, or were arrested by the GESTAPO, such as Friedrich Wildgans (Voithofer 2015, 55–62). The pianist and musicologist Rita Kurzmann—now largely forgotten—earned great merit as an interpreter of works of the Viennese School in the interwar period (especially in the context of ISCM Music Festivals). It was she who prepared the piano reduction of Alban Berg's *Violin Concerto* in September 1935 and rehearsed the piece with Louis Krasner, the soloist at the premiere conducted by Anton Webern at the ISCM Music Festival in Barcelona in April 1936. After her emigration to Buenos Aires, her active concert career increasingly gave way to music-education work, including publications on piano pedagogy. Around thirty students—including the conductor Michael Gielen and the pianist Claus Cabjolsky—can be traced until her early death in 1942 in Buenos Aires.¹⁹ The extent to which Rita Kurzmann-Leuchter was active in the Argentine section of the ISCM,²⁰ or to what extent she influenced the performance practice of works by the Viennese School in Argentina through her teaching, remains a research desideratum regarding a transatlantic cultural transfer through forced mobility.

Such research desiderata are made more difficult by the problematic source situation, as the ISCM had no central archive for association documents since its foundation in 1922. Moreover, many documents were lost during the turmoil of the world wars or were deliberately destroyed due to internal disputes and the personal sensitivities of members (Haefeli 1982, 14). Anton Haefeli has deposited the research materials he collected at the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen, which continues to expand this archive with programs from the annual ISCM World (New) Music Days

and minutes of the General Assemblies. However, collecting materials on the activities of the association was—and still is—at the discretion of the respective sections. It is therefore all the more necessary to consult local archives (where available) and region-specific structures in order to identify supraregional transfer processes. In this respect, any view dedicated to cultural reconstruction and artistic production since the postwar era must also reflect on and contextualize the traumatic experiences of forced mobility. Such experiences cannot be universalized but must be reevaluated again and again over the course of time—right up to the present. More than a hundred years later, this seems more relevant than ever: in the now globalized age of the Anthropocene—characterized by fluid identities and places of living that increasingly unsettle concepts such as “nationality” and “origin”—the individual ISCM sections themselves, the site-specific microcosms, can no longer be understood as homogeneous, nationally characteristic associations, but rather as cosmopolitan networks of a heterogeneous collectivity that promote artistic engagement with, and processing of, experiences from the present.

III. Contemporaneity

But what does the present—and artistic engagement with it—mean? A deep ambivalence is inherent in the concept of contemporary music and art, which is particularly evident in the name of the ISCM: while the name “Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik” (IGNM) prevailed in German when the society was founded, the English “International Society for Contemporary Music” (ISCM) and the French “Société Internationale pour la Musique Contemporaine” (SIMC) reveal a fundamental programmatic dispute of direction within the association: “New Music”—a term coined at the same time in the early 1920s and institutionalized in the IGNM as a designation for an artistic movement—is inextricably linked to a radically progressive orientation in musical modernism and, to that extent, to the aesthetic approaches of the Viennese School. New Music was introduced as an epochal term intended to usher in a new era and mark a caesura, emphasizing its revolutionary, progressive, avant-garde claim to novelty (Haefeli 1982, 262–273). Adorno highlighted the difference between the “polemical new,” on the one hand, and the “neutral-chronological contemporary,” on the other, as an inherent aesthetic ambivalence in the society’s program, because the “new” is characterized by a “sudden qualitative leap” with new categories (Adorno 1978, 477–478). This presupposes a new language that is, as it were, a critique of the traditional (Adorno 1978: 486).

Hence, “contemporary” music, on the other hand, was considered moderate, conventional, traditional, pluralistic

and, in a pejorative sense, harmless, even regressive. The English and French names of the ISCM can therefore be interpreted as an effort to represent a more compromising course with regard to the society’s aesthetic orientation. Sarah Collins elaborates in detail that the term “contemporary” in this context pursued a deliberate ideal of a neutral, (supposedly) apolitical, and compromising guiding idea. This line was also taken by the first ISCM president, the musicologist and critic Edward Dent of the British section, as Collins notes:

On a practical level, the ‘contemporary’ provided an apparently non-partisan category that seemed to offer an equalization of the playing field and to ensure that emerging composers, regardless of their nationality or style, would have an international forum in which to present their new work. (Collins 2019, 64)

However, if we take a look at musical modernism in Austria, the term “contemporary” must be seen less as a moderate, pluralistic approach to musical tendencies than as a clear aesthetic as well as political opposition to (compositional) ideals associated with “new music.” In this respect, new music was perceived as an aesthetic provocation that needed to be countered with neoclassical approaches. The founding of the ÖGZM, the Österreichische Gesellschaft für zeitgenössische Musik (Austrian Society for Contemporary Music) in 1949, which still exists today, may be interpreted as a relic of this regional trench warfare that characterized musical modernism in postwar Austria—its split between the radical avant-garde of new music on the one hand and the reactionary traditionalism of contemporary music on the other. Joseph Marx played a leading role in the founding of the ÖGZM. A “romantic idealist,” as Friedrich Cerha characterizes him, who “[...] also acted as president and advisor in many institutions—consciously and emphatically steering their fortunes in a conservative direction [...]” (Cerha 2001, 49). The ÖGZM constituted itself as a counter-society to the IGNM in its aesthetic orientation and nationally oriented activities, as is also stated in the association’s statutes:

The Society aims to stimulate, promote and cultivate a new Austrian music that continues the great traditions of European and especially Austrian music in a progressive, contemporary spirit. In accordance with these traditions, it sees the future of our musical art in a close connection with the life of society, especially with the people [...].²¹

The founding goals express a distinctly national orientation, opposing the internationally oriented ISCM and advocating a return to the European tradition of art music. Incidentally, Joseph Marx was also involved in founding the Ständige Rat in 1934—an association which, as already

mentioned, was formed as a conscious counterparty to the ISCM. Ernst Krenek referred to its members as the “Blubo-Brodler”—a neologism derived from the “Blut-und-Boden-Ideologie (“blood and soil ideology”), as a reference to their sentiments. (Krenek 1934: 21).

It was not until the early 1990s that there was a significant change in the meaning of the term “contemporary.” Artistic modernism (and postmodernism) was replaced by contemporary art. Art becomes a contemporary that critically reflects the current status quo and opposes it by necessarily prompting reflection on the future, opening up and constantly redefining itself (Smith 2019, 27–50). In this sense, the terms “new music” and “contemporary music” are often used synonymously today, contrary to their antagonistic meaning at the beginning of the twentieth century. The different titles in the name of the ISCM/SIMC/IGNM are the legacy of an aesthetic dispute in musical modernism. The inherent temporality of our present, characterized by diverse multidimensional relations, in this respect contrasts with the temporality of modernity. A contemporary, transnational, and global contemporaneity is a complex interweaving of specific temporal dimensions in certain regions, based on historical events and genealogies (Osborne 2018). “In its most basic form, the concept of the contemporary is simply that of the coming together, hence the unity in disjunction, or the living disjunctive unity of multiple times. [...] That is to say, the concept of the contemporary projects a single temporal matrix of a living present—a common, albeit internally disjunctive, ‘living’ historical present.”, philosopher Peter Osborne writes (Osborne 2013, 79). And for Osborne, this “co-presentness” is the main difference from modernity:

It is the fictional ‘co-presentness’ of the contemporary that distinguishes it from the more structural and dynamic category of modernity, the inherently self-surpassing character of which identifies it with a permanent transitoriness, familiar in the critical literature since Baudelaire. In this respect, the contemporary involves a kind of internal retreat of the modern to the present. If the primary value of the modern is ‘the new’, in its distinction from ‘the old’ (which it produces), the primary value of the contemporary is its actuality, in distinction from the fading existential hold of what is still present but ‘out-of-date’—that is, no longer articulating living relations between a multiplicity of spatially distributed standpoint. In its current, global variant, the idea of the contemporary thus poses the problem of the disjunctive unity of the geo-politically historical: temporal unity/spatial disjunction—in contrast to modernity’s temporal differentiation within a unified space. Or to put it another way, the fiction of the contemporary is necessarily a geo-political fiction. (Osborne 2013, 81–82)

The dictum of internationality in modernity is being replaced by that of a global transnationality with a present

that extends across the entire world. Concepts such as “nations” are becoming increasingly useless as systems of order. However, the fact that this temporal unity is a “fiction” is also evident in the history of the ISCM: modernism itself already split into ambivalent directions of “the new” vs. “the contemporary,” and this split is revealed in the society. Different local sections pursue different aesthetic directions (which in turn are linked to political aspects) and thus marginalize other aesthetic ideals. Mobility (whether forced or voluntary) leads to mutual influence on different temporal and spatial levels. Only through a synchronous polyperspective, in the sense of a global music-historical approach, can the specific connecting lines between traditions and cultures and their mutual influence be revealed.

Conclusion

Accordingly, the ISCM has brought together and reflected different, often ambivalent temporal and spatial dimensions throughout its one-hundred-year history. As has been shown, these ambivalences allow conclusions to be drawn about the historiography of music, different local aesthetic discourses, and their interweaving with larger temporal and spatial narratives—and this is precisely where the ISCM’s topicality lies. Various (musical) traditions, structures, and networks are subject to different time- and place-specific conditions, in which aesthetic and political dimensions must in turn be seen in an inseparable context. Musical Avant-Gardes are therefore conditioned by different traditions and geo- and sociopolitical factors. The institutional history of the ISCM reflects transnational cultural exchange through the condition of mobility, which in many cases is not to be understood as a privileged cosmopolitan claim to “world citizenship” but must be seen as forced mobility linked to flight, expulsion, and homelessness. However, a look at the entangled histories of diverse traditions and cultures should not be approached from a perspective of pluralistic differentiation, but rather critically highlight marginalization tendencies and power-structural hierarchies that are perpetuated in music-historical narratives. The still predominant work-centered reflection of the ISCM World (New) Music Festivals should therefore not only be criticized from the perspective of reception but must also include the various conditions of production. Such a perspective inevitably oscillates between the global macrocosm ISCM and its local microcosms. And in contrast to the founding idea of the ISCM, these sections can no longer be regarded as self-contained national formations, but rather as globalized, heterogeneous, cosmopolitan networks that unite diverse aesthetic tendencies shaped by different temporal and spatial conditions.

References

- 1 The choice of the Society's headquarters in London was preceded by lengthy discussions and disputes at the first constituent preliminary meeting for the founding of the ISCM at Café Bazar in Salzburg in August 1922, which in turn revealed national and aesthetic interests. In any case, the choice of headquarters in London was a solution acceptable to almost all parties—unanimous with the sole exception of the Austrian votes (Haefeli 1982, 52–53).
- 2 Many thanks to the current ISCM Secretary General Olga Smetanová for the information (email correspondence, August 1, 2024).
- 3 In her study, musicologist Amy C. Beal also points out the great importance of generous exchange and funding programs on the one hand and radio stations with their associated New Music festivals on the other, which made it possible for composers to work in a structurally secure manner, especially in postwar West Germany (Beal 2006).
- 4 In this context, it should be critically noted that no further information is given on the criteria for selecting the very limited group of 20 personalities interviewed, including Luigi Nono, Pierre Boulez, Karlheinz Stockhausen, Gerhard Wimberger, Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, Alfred Schlee, Willi Reich, and Alois Hába.
- 5 Translations, if not otherwise indicated, are by the author of this paper. Boulez, original: “Für mich heißt die Lösung—falls es eine gibt—, diese gealterte und baufällige Gesellschaft friedlich entschlafen zu lassen [...]” Nono, original: “Sie ist effektiv wirkungslos.”
- 6 As an example, cf. Laura Tunbridge, “Milestones, Premieres & Notable Scandals,” in *Achtung International! Salzburg & 100 Years of the International Society of Contemporary Music*, ed. University Mozarteum Salzburg in collaboration with the International Society for Contemporary Music, Austrian Section (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2024), 335–46.
- 7 Although the section was not entered into the official Austrian register of associations until 1926.
- 8 In the course of this paper, I will repeatedly refer to the Austrian section of the ISCM, as I have primarily dealt with this section in my research and, as a member of its board, can draw on documents from its archives that I have processed.
- 9 This aspect will be considered in greater detail in Chapter III.
- 10 Quoted and translated into English by the author from an original document in the estate of the composer Sophie-Carmen Eckhardt-Gramatté, held in the Archives of Manitoba, Canada: “Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik,” in *Box Sophie-Carmen Eckhardt-Gramatté personal and professional papers, 1862–1995*.
- 11 International Society for Contemporary Music, Austrian Section, <https://www.ignm.at/>, accessed September 18, 2024.
- 12 The histories of the individual country sections are increasingly becoming the focus of research. With regard to the Lithuanian section, see Rūta Stanevičiūtė, *Figures of Modernity: International Society for Contemporary Music and the Modern Music Movement in Lithuania*, trans. Laimutė Servaitė (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2024).
- 13 See *Rules of Procedure for the Organization of the ISCM World (New) Music Days Festival (2022)*, https://iscm.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/rules22_iscm_wmd.pdf (accessed September 2, 2024).
- 14 The political aspects will be discussed in detail in Chapter II.
- 15 To cite just one of Adorno's central writings on the subject: Theodor W. Adorno, *Philosophie der neuen Musik*. 12th ed. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2017 [1948].
- 16 Luigi Nono himself used the term “Darmstadt School” in a lecture in Darmstadt in 1957. However, the notion of a “Darmstadt School,” due to its lack of a unified serial compositional technique, is an untenable myth that can only be invoked, if at all, for the short period from 1955 to 1957, since any sense of unity with regard to serial techniques dissolved at the latest with John Cage's historic appearance in Darmstadt in 1958. See Hermann Danuser, “Die ‘Darmstädter Schule’—Faktizität und Mythos,” 333–80; and Martin Iddon, *New Music at Darmstadt: Nono, Stockhausen, Cage, and Boulez* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
- 17 See <https://composers.fo/about/> (accessed September 18, 2024).
- 18 It should also be mentioned, and must be taken into account, that early musicology as a subject emerged from the zeitgeist in which the concept of the nation was establishing itself as a form of cultural identity and political sovereignty, particularly in Europe. This also resulted in the endeavor to define one's own music-historical nation—sometimes with drastic methodological and political consequences: supposed (national) currents and composers (even if these cannot be reduced to a single national or music-cultural identity) were overemphasized in historical research with its strong focus on the musical “work.”
- 19 See Herbert Henck, *Rita Kurzmann-Leuchter: Eine österreichische Emigrantin aus dem Kreis der Zweiten Wiener Schule*, http://www.herbert-henck.de/Internettexte/Kurzmann_II/kurzmann_ii.html#K15 (accessed October 10, 2024).
- 20 An Argentine section of the ISCM existed from 1924 to 1977 (its activities ceased due to financial difficulties) and then again from 1979 (Haefeli 1982, 621). It is not possible to determine when the section disbanded, but as of 2024 there is no active Argentine section of the ISCM.
- 21 *Statutes of the Österreichische Gesellschaft für zeitgenössische Musik*, 1. Quoted and translated into English by the author from an original document in the estate of the composer Sophie-Carmen Eckhardt-Gramatté, held in the Archives of Manitoba, Canada, box “Sophie-Carmen Eckhardt-Gramatté professional correspondence 1913–1994.”

Bibliography

- Adorno, Theodor W. *Philosophie der neuen Musik*. 12th ed. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2017 [1948].
- Adorno, Theodor W. “Musik und neue Musik.” In *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 16, *Musikalische Schriften I–III*, edited by Rolf Tiedemann, 476–492. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978.
- Beal, Amy C. *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Bernabé, Jean, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphaël Confiant. *Éloge de la Créolité*. Bilingual edition. Translated by M. B. Taleb-Khyar. Paris: Gallimard, 1989.
- Cerha, Friedrich. “Die alte Wiener IGNM-Garde in den Nachkriegsjahren.” In *Schriften: ein Netzwerk*, 39–46. Vienna: Lafite, 2001 (= Komponisten unserer Zeit 28).

- Cerha, Friedrich. "Komponist sein in Wien." In *Schriften: ein Netzwerk*, 47–55. Vienna: Lafite, 2001 (= Komponisten unserer Zeit 28).
- Cohen, Brigid. *Stefan Wolpe and the Avant-Garde Diaspora*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Collins, Sarah. "What Was Contemporary Music? The New, the Modern and the Contemporary in the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM)." In *The Routledge Research Companion to Modernism in Music*, edited by Björn Heile and Charles Wilson, 56–85. Abingdon, Oxon/New York: Routledge, 2019.
- Danuser, Hermann. "Die 'Darmstädter Schule'—Faktizität und Mythos." In *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt 1946–1966*, vol. 2, edited by Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser, 333–380. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1997 (= Rombach Wissenschaften, Reihe Musicae 2).
- Dümling, Albrecht. "Zwölftonmusik als antifaschistisches Potential: Eislers Ideen zu einer neuen Verwendung der Dodekaphonie." In *Die Wiener Schule und das Hakenkreuz: Das Schicksal der Moderne im gesellschaftspolitischen Kontext des 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Otto Kolleritsch, 92–106. Vienna: Universal Edition, 1990 (= Studien zur Wertungsforschung 22).
- Haefeli, Anton. *Die Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik (IGNM): Ihre Geschichte von 1922 bis zur Gegenwart*. Zurich: Atlantis, 1982.
- Heile, Björn. "Musical Modernism, Global: Comparative Observations." In *The Routledge Research Companion to Modernism in Music*, edited by Björn Heile and Charles Wilson, 175–198. Abingdon, Oxon/New York: Routledge, 2019.
- Henck, Herbert. "Rita Kurzmann-Leuchter: Eine österreichische Emigrantin aus dem Kreis der Zweiten Wiener Schule." Accessed at http://www.herbert-henck.de/Internettexte/Kurzmann_II/kurzmann_ii.html#K15.
- Iddon, Martin. *New Music at Darmstadt: Nono, Stockhausen, Cage, and Boulez*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Krenek, Ernst. "Blubo-Sektion Österreich." 23: *Eine Wiener Musikzeitschrift* 17/19 (1934): 39–44.
- Krenek, Ernst. "Die Blubo-Internationale." 23: *Eine Wiener Musikzeitschrift* 17/19 (1934): 19–24.
- Krones, Hartmut. *Arnold Schönberg: Leben und Werk*. Vienna: Edition Steinbauer, 2005 (= Neue Musikportraits 1).
- Lewis, George E. "New Music Decolonization in Eight Difficult Steps." *Van Outernational*, 2020. <https://www.van-outernational.com/lewis-en/>.
- Lewis, George E. "The Situation of a Creole." *Twentieth-Century Music* 14, no. 3 (2018): 442–446.
- Masters, Giles. "Performing Internationalism: The ISCM as a 'Musical League of Nations.'" *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 147, no. 2 (2022): 560–571.
- Müller, Gesine, and Natascha Ueckmann. "Einleitung: Kreolisierung als weltweites Kulturmodell?" In *Kreolisierung revisited: Debatten um ein weltweites Kulturkonzept*, edited by Gesine Müller and Natascha Ueckmann, 7–42. Bielefeld: transcript, 2013 (= Postcolonial Studies 12).
- Osborne, Peter. "Global Modernity and the Contemporary: Two Categories of the Philosophy of Historical Time." In *Breaking up Time: Negotiating the Borders between Present, Past and Future*, edited by Chris Lorenz and Berber Bevernage, 69–84. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013 (= Schriftenreihe der FRIAS School of History 7).
- Osborne, Peter. "Temporalization as Transcendental Aesthetics: Avant-Garde, Modern, Contemporary." In *The Postconceptual Condition: Critical Essays*, 29–50. London/Brooklyn: Verso, 2018.
- Réti, Rudolph. "Die Entstehung der IGNM." *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 12, no. 3 (1957): 113–117.
- Réti, Rudolph. "Die Salzburger Idee: Worte zum Beginn." *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 4, no. 13–14 (1922): 193–195.
- Shreffler, Anne C. "The International Society for Contemporary Music and Its Political Context (Prague, 1935)." In *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, 58–90. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015.
- Smith, Terry. *Art to Come: Histories of Contemporary Art*. Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2019.
- Stanevičiūtė, Rūta. *Figures of Modernity: International Society for Contemporary Music and the Modern Music Movement in Lithuania*. Translated by Laimutė Servaitė. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2024.
- Steinberg, Michael P. *Austria as Theater and Ideology: The Meanings of the Salzburg Festival*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Strobel, Heinrich. "Bedeutung und Aufgabe der IGNM." *Melos: Zeitschrift für Neue Musik* 25, no. 5 (1958): 147–159.
- Szmolyan, Walter. "Wiederbeginn 1945 mit Anton Webern und Rückblick in die dreißiger Jahre." *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 37, no. 11 (1982): 623–630.
- Tunbridge, Laura. "Milestones, Premieres & Notable Scandals." In *Achtung International! Salzburg & 100 Years of the International Society of Contemporary Music*, edited by University Mozarteum Salzburg in collaboration with the International Society of Contemporary Music, Austrian Section, 335–346. Vienna: Hollitzer, 2024.
- Voithofer, Monika. *Die Rolle von Komponistinnen, Interpretinnen und Musikwissenschaftlerinnen in der Institution „Internationale Gesellschaft für Neue Musik“ (IGNM)*. Master's thesis, University of Music and Performing Arts Graz, 2015.
- Wellesz, Egon. *Arnold Schönberg*. New edition with a postscript by Carl Dahlhaus. Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1958 (= Taschenbücher zur Musikwissenschaft 101).
- Wildgans, Friedrich. *Anton Webern: Eine Studie*. Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1967.

Santrauka

Straipsnyje kritiškai nagrinėjama Tarptautinė šiuolaikinės muzikos draugija (ISCM) – viena seniausių ir didžiausių šiuolaikinės muzikos draugijų pasaulyje, turinti keturiasdešimt septynias nares įvairiose pasaulio šalyse ir regionuose – kaip XX ir XXI a. muzikos istorijai būdingų estetinių, geopolitinių, sociokultūrinių ir institucinių prieštaravimų atspindys. Sutelkiant dėmesį į tris tarpusavyje susipynusius aspektus – glocalizaciją, kosmopolitizmą ir šiuolaikiškumą – analizuojama, kaip ISCM utopiniai steigimo idealai, susiję su tarptautiniais, sienas peržengiančiais naujausių muzikos tendencijų mainais, nuolat susidurdavo su išskirtinumo mechanizmais, estetinėmis hierarchijomis ir kintančiomis „šiuolaikiškumo“ sąvokomis ir buvo jų

silpninami. ISCM, įsteigta 1922 m. po Didžiojo karo, siekė sukurti tarptautinį kompozitorių aljansą, kuris peržengtų nacionalinius, ideologinius ir estetinius skirtumus. Tačiau institucijos istorija atskleidžia struktūrinius vietinių tradicijų ir galios hierarchijų prieštaravimus.

ISCM organizacija, apimanti pasaulinę pagrindinę organizaciją ir daugelį vietinių skyrių, įkūnija globalizacijos koncepciją: dinamišką globalių struktūrų ir vietinių tradicijų bei praktikų sąveiką. Remiantis Austrijos skyriaus (IGNM), kuris yra glaudžiai susijęs su Vienos mokykla, pavyzdžiu, iliustruojama, kaip vietinės tradicijos formavo estetines darbotvarkes ir kanonus, taip marginalizuodamos periferines kompozicines praktikas. Kritika ISCM kasmetinėms Pasaulio (naujosios) muzikos dienoms – ypač neaiškiems atrankos procesams – atskleidžia nuolatinę kovą dėl atstovavimo ir aktualumo. Nepaisant to, muzikos istorijos perspektyvoje ISCM festivaliai gali būti būdas žvelgti į pasaulinę muzikos istoriją.

Diskusija apie kosmopolitizmą ISCM įkūrimą sieja su tarpukario laikotarpio pacifistinių ir humanistinių idealų atgimimu, susijusiu su Zolcburgo festivaliu ir Tautų lygos veikla. Tačiau distopinės politinės permainos netrukus atskleidė šio utopinio idealo trapumą: fašizmas, tremtis, priverstinė asimiliacija ir Antrasis pasaulinis karas mobilumą kaip privilegiją pavertė traumuojančiu priverstiniu veiksmu. Tokios asmenybės kaip Arnoldas Schönbergas ir Rita Kurzmänn-Leuchter įkūnija, kaip kosmopolitizmas virto perkėlimo ir priverstinės migracijos patirtimi. Todėl,

mano nuomone, pasaulinė ISCM istorija turi būti rekonstruojama remiantis vietos archyvais ir mikroistoriniais, konkrečių vietų tyrimais, kuriuose dėmesys sutelkiamas į mobilumo ir tremties politines sąlygas.

Paskutinėje straipsnio dalyje aptariama konceptuali ir istorinė terminų „naujoji“ ir „šiuolaikinė“ muzika įtampa ir transformacija. Nors XX a. I p. „Neue Musik“ reiškė avangardinį lūžį ir pažangą, „šiuolaikinė muzika“ bylojo apie nuosaikumą ir neutralumą. Šis skirtumas atspindi ideologinį radikalaus ir konservatyvaus estetikos požiūrio susiskaldymą, kurį iliustruoja 1949 m. įkurta Austrijos šiuolaikinės muzikos draugija (ÖGZM) kaip nacionalistinis kontrapunktas internacionalistinei IGNM. Remiantis Peterio Osborne'o šiuolaikiškumo teorija kaip daugialypio laikinumo „fiktyvaus bendrabūvio“ teorija, teigiama, kad dabartinė ISCM struktūra įkūnija globalizuotą kultūrinę padėtį, kurioje nacionaliniai skyriai nebegali būti suvokiami kaip homogeniškos struktūros. Atvirkščiai, jie veikia kaip transnacionaliniai, heterogeniški tinklai, kuriuose estetiškos praktikos kyla iš įvairių laikinių-istorinių ir erdvinių-geografinių kontekstų sankirtos.

Per šimtmetį ISCM apibendrino universalumo ir savitumo, globalumo ir lokalumo, modernumo ir šiuolaikiškumo įtampą. Tačiau ši įtampa turėtų būti vertinama ne kaip institucinio nuosmukio ženklas, o kaip ISCM nuolatinio aktualumo, kaip vietos, kurioje susilieja globalios ir lokalsios jėgos, sudedamoji dalis.

Delivered / Straipsnis įteiktas 2025 01 20

Fiona JACKSON

Musical Exchange Between Scotland and the Baltic Republics During the Final Decades of the Soviet Union

Muzikiniai Škotijos ir Baltijos šalių mainai paskutiniaisiais Sovietų Sąjungos dešimtmečiais

University of Bristol, Beacon House, Queens Road, Bristol, BS8 1QU, UK
rp21896@bristol.ac.uk

Abstract

This article examines musical exchange between Scotland and the Baltic republics in the late Soviet period, looking particularly at Scottish relations with Lithuanian and Estonian composers and musicians. This exploration of the relationships between musicians from Scotland and the Baltic republics focuses on activities in the city of Glasgow. It suggests that the Scottish nationalism and devolution debate helped create a sense of shared identity between these regions and provoked greater interest among Scottish artists, opinion formers, and media in relations with composers from the non-Russian Soviet republics, more than was evident from other regions of the United Kingdom. It assesses the possible influence of the significant Lithuanian diaspora within Scotland on musical relations, the impact of an individual émigré musician, Neeme Järvi, and explores how much Britain's *de jure* non-recognition of the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states influenced official responses to cultural exchange.

Keywords: cultural exchange, Baltic republics, non-state actors, Scotland, transition.

Anotacija

Straipsnyje nagrinėjami muzikiniai Škotijos ir Baltijos šalių mainai vėlyvuoju sovietmečiu, daugiausia dėmesio skiriant Škotijos santykiams su Lietuvos ir Estijos kompozitoriais bei muzikantais. Škotijos ir Baltijos šalių muzikantų santykių tyrimas telkiasi į menininkų veiklą Glazgo mieste. Teigiama, kad škotų nacionalizmas ir decentralizacijos diskusijos padėjo sukurti bendrą šių skirtingų regionų tapatybę ir sukėlė didesnę škotų, skirtingai nei kitų Jungtinės Karalystės regionų, menininkų, nuomonės formuotojų ir žiniasklaidos norą mezgti santykius su kompozitoriais iš nerusiškų sovietinių respublikų. Straipsnyje vertinama galima nemažos lietuvių diasporos Škotijoje įtaka muzikiniams santykiams, estų muziko emigranto Neeme Järvi įtaka ir tiriama, kiek Didžiosios Britanijos *de jure* sovietų aneksijos Baltijos valstybėse nepripažinimas paveikė oficialias reakcijas į šiuos kultūrinius mainus.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: kultūriniai mainai, Baltijos respublikos, nevalstybiniai subjektai, Škotija, pereinamasis laikotarpis.

Introduction

The Bolshoi Ballet at Covent Garden or Shostakovich at London's Royal Festival Hall may be the image British audiences historically associate with British-Soviet cultural exchange in the 1970s and 1980s, but these formal state-negotiated concert tours, focusing upon music from established and politically acceptable composers, overshadow the extensive musical relations taking place at grassroots level. A more nuanced portrayal of musical exchange demands both recognition of musical performances from the different republics of the USSR, and an awareness that, on an informal level, the countries that made up the United Kingdom did not adopt a uniform approach towards cultural exchange. An exploration of British contemporary arts festivals that featured more experimental new music that trickled out of

the Soviet Union from the late 1960s onwards demonstrates that British audiences were able to gain a broader picture of music from the USSR, and reveals different dynamics in how Soviet music was presented in Scotland, compared with in England. Among Scottish musicians, artistic directors, and the media, the earlier and broader presentation of music from the Soviet republics suggests a specific curiosity about music from the non-Russian regions, particularly the Baltics and the Caucasus.

The range of Soviet music presented in Britain had long been hampered by the Russia-centric interest of British audiences and the Soviet government's preference for presenting music abroad from prestigious and publicly recognized composers, predominantly Russian—Tchaikovsky, Rachmaninoff, Prokofiev, and later, Shostakovich. Examination of the more limited performances of Soviet contemporary

music, however, can provide a closer insight into the interplay between state-led and grassroots musical relations as the work of composers of ‘new music’, such as Edison Denisov and Alfred Schnittke, was not included within the Soviet state cultural propaganda machine and these composers encountered obstacles in trying to get their music performed in the West. This new music, when emanating from Soviet-Russian composers, has been termed “unofficial,” a label attached to composers such as Schnittke and Denisov, whose music did not conform to the type of Soviet music usually considered suitable for Western export, even though they still belonged to the Soviet Union of Composers (Schmelz 2009, 20). However, in considering the music from the non-Russian republics that was performed in Britain, such as that by Tigran Mansurian from Armenia and by Franghiz Ali-Zadeh from Azerbaijan, the designation “unofficial” is not wholly accurate. These composers’ frequent use of inspiration from local music traditions seemed to superficially adhere to the Soviet fondness for ethnographical musical traditions (loosely termed “folklore”), even if national rather than Soviet identity was pushed to the fore and modern compositional techniques were employed. It is fair to say, however, that whilst the contemporary composers from the Baltics and South Caucasus whose music was performed in Britain may sometimes have been prominent within their local Composers’ Union, they were not representative of officially promoted “Soviet” music abroad.

Although music from the non-Russian republics received less exposure among British audiences in general than that of Russian composers, British musical relations with composers from Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia were also impeded by the British government’s non-acceptance of the Soviet occupation of the Baltic states, a position adopted by much of Western Europe and the United States. This legal status of non-recognition prohibited British Embassy officials from liaising with officials in the Baltic republics. While cultural exchange arrangements with any of the Soviet republics were conducted through the Ministry of Culture and the Soviet concert agency, *Goskonsert* in Moscow, British Foreign Office representatives, such as the British Ambassador in Moscow, were forbidden from visiting the Baltics and supporting cultural exchange—as to do so, would have been to legally acknowledge these nations’ inclusion within the Soviet orbit. It was not until 1989 that the Assistant Cultural Attaché from the British Embassy in Moscow, Michael Bird, was permitted to visit Lithuania to support the visit of Catholic author Paul Piers Read to a book fair in Vilnius. By contrast, British Foreign Office files contain reports from embassy officials touring Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan while visiting different regions of the USSR.¹

Although the British government refused to acknowledge the Baltics’ absorption into the USSR, this was very

much a legal stance rather than *de facto* and one that, in times of smoother diplomatic relations with the USSR, was sometimes a subject of internal discussion within the British Foreign Office, especially after the deaths in office (and non-replacement) of the independent Baltic legations in London.² In 1971, British pianist John Lill and cellist Elizabeth Wilson performed in Riga as part of the official Days of British Music festival, although presumably without an official presence. Limited informal exchange was able to take place with the help of Russian intermediaries, such as composer Edison Denisov, who put English composer and pianist Susan Bradshaw in touch with Estonian composer Arvo Pärt; Bradshaw subsequently receiving scores from Pärt in the 1970s. These grassroots relations were also stymied, however, by the lack of official support on the ground from figures such as the British Cultural Attaché, who operated from within the embassy in Moscow, liaising with the Foreign Office and British Council in London.

In this way, despite their proximity to Western Europe and the significant number of émigrés from Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia who had fled to Britain—both at the turn of the twentieth century and again at the time of the Nazi and Soviet occupations—British cultural exchange with the Baltic nations failed to fully reflect these connections. Arvo Pärt was able to participate in the BBC Proms in London in 1979 for the premiere of his *Cantus in Memoriam Benjamin Britten*, as his personal attendance had been insisted upon by the Russian conductor Gennady Rozhdestvensky, who was at that time Chief Conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra.³ Yet, other than Pärt, who left Estonia for West Germany in 1980 (and whose music was then distributed by a German record label, ECM), and a successful tour to London in 1984 by The Ganelin Trio, a jazz ensemble from Lithuania, the music of Baltic composers received little visibility in England.

Excluding the music of Arvo Pärt, the participation of the New Music Ensemble of Vilnius in the Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival in November 1990 is usually regarded as the first major exposure of British audiences to Baltic contemporary music, prominently featuring the music of Lithuanian composers Osvaldas Balakauskas, Bronius Kutavičius, and Algirdas Martinaitis. Their inclusion has been attributed by the founder and then Director of this North of England festival, Richard Steinitz, as the result of a chance meeting in Brussels between himself and a Lithuanian musicologist, Violetta Tovianskaite, who introduced him to their music (Steinitz 2011, 124). It can’t be ignored, however, that the Huddersfield festival took place a year after the Berlin Wall had come down, and seven months after the restoration of Lithuanian independence had been declared by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet on March 11th, 1990—although formal independence from the USSR was not granted until September the following

year. Baltic musical freedom was already well underway by the time of the Huddersfield Festival.

By contrast, Baltic musical relations with Scotland appeared to develop earlier. This closer relationship between Baltic and Scottish arts cannot be attributed simply to the initiatives of the particularly active Soviet state-funded friendship society in Glasgow, which included a high proportion of Lithuanian émigrés among its members. It is also clearly evident in the performances and recordings of the Scottish Symphony Orchestra in the mid-1980s under Estonian conductor Neeme Järvi, and the groundbreaking *New Beginnings: Soviet Arts in Glasgow* festival in 1989.

In the 1980s, Scottish interest in Baltic culture—both among artists, festival organizers, and the press—seemed to be encouraged by identification with the Baltic nations' position within the Soviet empire, Baltic calls for the restoration of their independence, and the removal of control by Moscow, arriving at a time when the Scottish nationalist movement itself was becoming more vocal. Preoccupied with Scotland's position within the United Kingdom and its relationship with London, the enthusiasm of some of the Scottish press in profiling the non-Russian republics can be clearly seen in their response to the 1989 Soviet arts festival in Glasgow.

Baltic musical activities essentially seemed to be concentrated in Scotland's second city, Glasgow, however, which in the 1980s was striving to boost its cultural reputation to rival Scotland's capital, Edinburgh, home of the renowned Edinburgh International Festival. The surge of music, drama, and visual arts experienced by Glasgow in the 1980s culminated in Glasgow being made European City of Culture in 1990. For that reason, this article focuses on Baltic cultural events taking place in Glasgow during the latter decades of the USSR.

Cultural Advocates among the Baltic Diaspora in Scotland

The absence of official British representation in the Baltic republics until 1990 meant that British Cultural Attachés were unable to act as the “eyes and ears” in the region, identifying cultural exchange opportunities and interesting events. The successful visit of the Georgian Rustaveli Theatre company to the Edinburgh Festival in 1979 had been identified in this very way—the British Cultural Attaché, having seen them in Tbilisi, then recommended their innovative style to the Edinburgh Festival Director, John Drummond, and facilitated an introductory visit to Tbilisi for the director.⁴ The following year Drummond wished to find out more about the Estonian early music group, Hortus Musicus, about whom he had heard good reports coming back from Finland.⁵ His request to the

British Cultural Attaché to find out more information was, however, unsuccessful, possibly as it was not until 1989 that the first embassy representative obtained permission from the British Foreign Office to set foot in the Baltics. It took a decade for Hortus Musicus to finally appear in Scotland (or elsewhere in Britain), when they finally performed at the Early Music Festival in Glasgow in 1990.

Lithuanian Émigrés in Glasgow

The lack of British official engagement in the Baltic states, or the presence of a personal champion, as Pärt had had in the figure of Rozhdstvensky before he left Estonia, meant that the initial core source of cultural exchange between Scotland and the Baltics was the Soviet-funded Scottish-USSR Society, which had a strong presence in working-class Glasgow. By the 1950s, it was estimated that approximately 10,000 Lithuanians lived in the Glasgow area, predominantly having arrived in Scotland in the 1890s for economic reasons and finding employment in the coal mines of Lanarkshire (*The Guardian* 2006). Although their numbers had declined during the First World War, when many were conscripted by the Russian army (the British government regarded the Lithuanian émigrés as Russian and subject to their military service agreement with Russia), a new wave of Lithuanian émigrés arrived in Glasgow from the Displaced Persons (DP) camps after the Second World War (Gilbert 2017, xviii). It was this smaller group of Scottish-Lithuanian émigrés (estimated at around 400 individuals) that was credited for setting up the Lithuanian cultural center in Belshill in Glasgow, the Scottish Lithuanian Institute—as not regarding themselves as emigrants like the existing Glaswegian-Lithuanian community, they were keen to keep their homeland culture alive until they could return from ‘exile’ (Global Lithuania). Despite the presence of a large Lithuanian diaspora in Glasgow, however, by the later Soviet period this Lithuanian community does not seem to have exercised such a large cultural imprint as the more recent influx of Latvians in London, who had founded the London Latvian Choir, and whose conductor, composer Alberts Jērums, was instrumental in setting up Latvian song festivals across Britain, and then Europe.

The smaller contribution to musical life by the Scottish-Lithuanians can partly be explained by the fact that the original wave of Lithuanians who settled in Glasgow were not educated, but predominantly agricultural workers who had had to learn new skills to work in industry—the steelworks of Ayrshire, in addition to the coal mines. In contrast, educated and professional people comprised a large proportion of the refugees from the Displaced Person camps after the Second World War, including a significant number of academics, actors, musicians, writers and artists

(Gilbert 2017, 43). As Gilbert explains, such people “had figured disproportionately in the earlier 1941 deportations, having been categorized as enemies of the people by the Soviet regime” and had thus fled from the threat of a second Russian occupation in 1944. There were few professional opportunities available in Britain, and the British government was offering work to the occupants of the DP camps to rebuild the decimated British industrial sector after the war. The lifting of labor controls in 1951, accompanied by the émigrés’ growing realization that they would not be able to return to their homeland as they had hoped, resulted in many of the educated Baltic people from the DP camps re-emigrating—this time further afield to Canada, the United States, and Australia, where they hoped there were greater opportunities available to them. A higher proportion of Lithuanians are believed to have re-emigrated than Estonians and Latvians, due to family links with previous emigrants, but the loss of much of the artistic community impacted heavily across the board on the cultural life of the Baltic centers in Britain (Gilbert 2017, 143).

While the reporting of Lithuanian cultural events in Scotland is partly distorted by the tendency of local Glaswegians to classify Lithuanians and Polish people as one (many Lithuanians were referred to as Poles), especially as both were Catholic communities in Presbyterian Scotland, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the cultural bonds of the Scottish Lithuanian community to the homeland was weakened by the 1970s. This can be seen in the files of the KGB-funded and controlled “Association for Cultural Relations with Lithuanians Living Abroad”—“*Tėviškė*”. As with the equivalent organizations set up in Estonia and Latvia, *Tėviškė* was set up in 1960 to build Soviet Lithuanian cultural links with the diaspora community, with the aim of weakening their allegiance to émigré communities. This had been predominantly instigated by concern about the growing political influence of Baltic diaspora groups lobbying for independence. These associations distributed Soviet approved music, magazines, books, and other cultural material lauding republic-level Soviet achievements.

Due to the large size of their Lithuanian communities, it is not surprising that the majority of the *Tėviškė* files concern correspondence with émigrés in the United States and Canada. The organization’s correspondence with Lithuanians in Britain shows a high proportion of letters from Lithuanians living in the Glasgow area.⁶ These letters are mostly written in English, and include repeated requests for *Tėviškė* not to reply in Lithuanian as the authors did not understand the language and found it hard to get replies from *Tėviškė* translated in Glasgow.⁷ This reinforces the impression that by the latter decades of the Soviet Union, many of the Scottish Lithuanians had become integrated into the Scottish community and had lost their mother tongue. The failure of *Tėviškė* to find someone to reply in English contrasts with its

Estonian counterpart (*Veksa*), which employed people with excellent English to write and befriend Estonian émigrés in Britain, perhaps indicating that influencing the cultural allegiance of British Lithuanians was not a priority for the Soviet-Lithuanian association.⁸

Despite these caveats, the records of the Soviet friendship society in Glasgow suggest that the Scottish-Lithuanian community did still influence musical exchange events with Soviet Lithuania. The role of the Scottish-USSR Society was to build cultural relations between Scottish citizens and all the Soviet republics, and its records show reciprocal concert exchanges with Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Armenia, and Georgia in the 1970s and 1980s—in addition to two-way tours with Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. A preponderance of trips to Lithuania, however, is clearly evident, presumably because of interest from the local Lithuanian diaspora.⁹

In 1978, the Scottish concert group tour organized by the Scottish-USSR Society held one concert in Leningrad, one in Moscow, one in Estonia, one in Latvia, and four in Lithuania.¹⁰ The music played was traditional Scottish music and included bagpipe players and highland dancers, the politically influenced friendship society ignoring any contemporary Scottish composers in favor of folk music. In 1979, the society sent another group to Vilnius, to perform Gaelic music, including the ubiquitous Scottish piper. The reciprocal concert group of Lithuanians who came over to Scotland was a more prestigious group, comprising the Dean of Vilnius Conservatoire, soloists of the Lithuanian state opera, ballet dancers, and members of the Lithuanian Folk Instruments company. Their program was typical of the Soviet music exported from its republics, containing a strong element of the “folklore romanticism” genre, the type of music which the Soviet Ministry of Culture encouraged, but which at the same time held an emotional resonance for contemporary Baltic composers whose country was under occupation. Unlike the Scottish performers, the Lithuanian musicians performed music composed since the Second World War, within the Soviet-Lithuanian era. It included music for folk instruments by Jonas Švedas (1908–1971) and Vaclovas Paketūras (1928–2018), and songs by Lithuanian composers Juozas Indra (1918–1968), Antanas Belazaras (1913–1976), and Vytautas Barkauskas (1931–2020). Further research is needed to identify details of the music performed and any press coverage of its reception, but much of the music performed came from contemporary composers. As records suggest that the tours in both directions were paid for by the friendship society, and thus indirectly by the Soviet government, it is highly unlikely that any controversial music was performed. Barkauskas, however, was an unusual choice of composer to be promoted on a Soviet state-funded concert tour, having been described as “one of the most active adherents of avant-garde music and new compositional techniques in Lithuania [in the 1960s].”¹¹

A number of Glaswegian-Lithuanians became members of the friendship society, presumably not because of their political affiliations, but so they could take advantage of the Scottish-USSR Society tours to Vilnius (joining the concert groups on the charter boat *Baltika*), where they hoped to meet up with long-distant relatives. Personal accounts show they were often disappointed, however, as on arrival they were not allowed to travel beyond Vilnius. This caused concern among the society that it was causing hostility among members of the diaspora, a cohort they were keen to court.¹² International politics likewise intruded on the efforts of the friendship society as concert tours froze between 1968 and 1973, presumably because of the deterioration of diplomatic and cultural relations between London and Moscow after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.¹³ The tours, when they resumed, show that while experimental Lithuanian music may not have made its way to Glasgow before *glasnost*, Scottish-Lithuanians visiting the homeland did get the opportunity to hear innovative groups such as The Ganelin, Tarasov, Chekasin Trio while in Lithuania. Vladimir Tarasov, the jazz band's percussionist, recalls that when they were performing at the Neringa Hotel in Vilnius, numerous Lithuanian émigré groups would be staying there, and listened to the band from one of the booths around the room—booths which were bugged by the KGB, whose headquarters were conveniently located nearby across the street.¹⁴

Estonian Conductor Neeme Järvi

Individual members of the Baltic diaspora also played a key role in promoting Baltic music within Scotland. The appointment of Estonian Neeme Järvi (b.1937) as Chief Conductor of the Glasgow-based Scottish National Orchestra from 1984 to 1988 (while also Conductor of the Gothenburg Symphony Orchestra) encouraged the introduction of Estonian music to Scotland. Formerly conductor of the Estonian Radio and Television Orchestra, the Estonian National Symphony Orchestra, and Estonian National Opera, Järvi had left Estonia in 1980, around the same time as Arvo Pärt, for whom he had conducted the premiere of his *Credo* on November 16th, 1968. Based on religious texts (the word “credo” meaning “I believe” in Latin), the composition was quickly banned and the key figures involved in the performance questioned by the authorities for “political provocation.”¹⁵ The following month, Järvi's name appeared on the list of the Music Committee of the Estonian Association for Cultural relations with Estonians Living Abroad (*Veksa*).¹⁶ It must not be assumed, however, that this was necessarily the result of a concession Järvi was obliged to make following his participation in *Credo*, as participation in the Baltic ‘Culture Committees’

such as *Veksa* and *Tēviškē* was also viewed by musicians as offering opportunities to travel abroad and to build cultural relationships with musicians overseas. Irrespective of the reasons behind Järvi's involvement in *Veksa*, he was keen to pursue music in a less restrictive cultural environment, and after his departure from Estonia, he settled in the United States with his family. He found it easier, however, to get his first jobs in Europe, as he was at that stage unknown in the States but had first worked with the Scottish National Orchestra in 1962 (Badel 2012, 180).¹⁷

Järvi credits Gothenburg's second city status within Sweden in enabling him to work on more interesting repertoire when he first arrived there in 1982—an argument which applies equally to his appointment two years later in Glasgow—and he made recordings of Eduard Tubin, an Estonian composer then living in Sweden. Interviewed in 1990, Järvi explained:

For me it was some kind of national (sic)—I had to start to show music from my country [...]. I thought we had very interesting composers in Estonia, for example Arvo Pärt and Edward Tubin and Heino Eller, (who until quite recently) were unknown outside Estonia. (Badel 2012, 179).

Järvi's path to introducing new repertoire in his four-year role with the leading Scottish orchestra had been eased by his predecessor, Alexander Gibson's preference for Scandinavian music, especially Sibelius. Although Järvi conducted well-known Soviet composers such as Prokofiev, Shostakovich, and Khachaturian, he aimed to introduce their less popular repertoire. He also conducted concerts of contemporary Estonian music at the Henry Wood Hall in Glasgow in 1986 and 1987, followed by a two-volume record compilation with Chandos Records. Although Järvi had formerly recorded Estonian music with Melodiya, the Soviet state record company, he argued that it had not been distributed in the rest of the USSR, not even in Moscow—“that was some kind of local policy: if you do Estonian music, let's keep it in Estonia” (Badel 2012, 179). Järvi's recording with Chandos not only included turn of the century Estonian music from Rudolf Tobias (1873–1918) and Artur Lemba (1885–1963), but Heino Eller's (1887–1970) *Five Pieces for String Orchestra* (1953), Arvo Pärt's *Cantus in memoriam Benjamin Britten* (1977) and Kaljo Raid's (1921–2005) *Symphony No. 1*, first performed in Tallinn in 1944 before the Soviet reoccupation and Raid's subsequent departure to Sweden, then Canada. Järvi also recorded *Overture No.2* (1955) by contemporary Estonian composer Veljo Tormis (1930–2017), the first work from Estonia that had featured at the Warsaw Autumn Contemporary Music Festival in 1961.¹⁸

Discussing his long-term collaboration with Chandos, Järvi argued smaller record companies were more receptive to new ideas than the bigger labels, which “[repeat] each other” (Badel 2012, 183). In recording unknown Estonian

music, however, Chandos was taking a financial risk, and their willingness to support the project may also have had something to do with the fact that the recording was funded by the Estonian Music Fund in Canada, which would have reduced Chandos' commercial exposure and presumably widened their market to the large Estonian community in North America.

Commercial concerns of attracting audiences inevitably play their part in orchestral programming decisions, and in the mid-1980s, Baltic music was barely known in Britain, Arvo Pärt being the main representative and yet to gain the high profile he was to go on to achieve in Britain. Where possible, however, Järvi performed Estonian, Latvian, or sometimes Czech music in the encore of his concerts, even if they did not appear on the official program—a policy which was only feasible when working with his own orchestras, such as the SNO, so the orchestra could be fully prepared (Ajzenstadt 1993).

The contribution Järvi's work at the Scottish National Orchestra (and at Gothenburg) made to the promotion of Estonian music in the 1980s can be traced within the *Veksa* archives. Estonian archives appear to contain no initial written reaction to Järvi's departure from Estonia other than an instant resolution to remove him from *Veksa's* music committee in January 1980.¹⁹ There seems to be no further written reference to either Järvi or Pärt in either the Union of Composers or *Veksa* files, an almost airbrushed existence - until concern was raised in October 1986 about the propaganda damage being inflicted by Järvi and Pärt's continued work in the diaspora and *Veksa's* failure to mention it.²⁰ Discussion within the Music Committee about working more with Estonian musicians abroad, alongside bringing in younger Soviet artists to counterbalance their influence, suggests that despite official silence about Järvi's activities in Scotland and Sweden, concern had been mounting that diaspora musical achievements and promotion of Estonian music had undermined their own efforts to sell the Soviet Estonian story. Although the early stages of *glasnost* were underway by Autumn 1986 and figures such as contemporary composer Veljo Tormis now sat on the Music Committee of *Veksa*, the impact of Järvi's achievements cannot be underestimated.

Scottish Advocates of Baltic Cultural Exchange: the New Beginnings: Soviet Arts in Glasgow 1989 Festival

Yet it was not until the New Beginnings: Soviet Arts in Glasgow festival in autumn 1989, a festival spanning five weeks, that contemporary Baltic artists received significant attention in Britain. The brainchild of Chris Carrell, the director of Glasgow's visual arts organization, the Third Eye Centre, the festival took place when Gorbachev's *glasnost*

program was already noticeably increasing access to Soviet artists. The festival represented Soviet arts from across the spectrum—theater, film, visual art, dance, puppetry—along with an extensive music program. Over 500 Soviet artists participated in the festival, which attracted an audience of 200,000 over the five-week period (Campbell 1990, 152).

In London, Elizabeth Wilson had included Arvo Pärt's music in concerts at the Almeida Theatre in both 1986 and 1987 and had coordinated a festival of music from the Soviet republics within the Almeida International Festival in summer 1989, which had included music from the Latvian composer Georgs Pēletis—alongside music from Valentyn Sylvestrov from Ukraine, Tigran Mansurian from Armenia and Franghis Ali-Zadeh from Azerbaijan. The title of the festival was, however, "Music from the cities and republics of Soviet Russia," perhaps in recognition of continued audience interest in all things Russian.

Glasgow's New Beginnings festival marked a new direction in cultural exchange in its emphasis on the arts emerging from all the republics of the USSR. The music leaflet for the festival introduced its program with the statement:

Although Moscow is often thought to be the center of Soviet musical activity, there are many new and innovative groups working throughout the Soviet Union; often incorporating in their music their distinctive national trends.²¹

The festival featured musicians and contemporary composers from across the Soviet Union—not only better-known figures, such as the Russian composers Schnittke, Denisov, and Sofia Gubaidulina, but also British premieres by Edgar Oganessian, Simon Oganessian, and other Armenian composers performed by the Komitas Quartet, and by Georgian composer Josef Bardanashvili, performed by the Glasgow-based Paragon Ensemble.

Arvo Pärt's piano piece *Für Alina* also received its British premiere, despite Pärt having sent the score to Susan Bradshaw fourteen years earlier for her to play for his family friend, Alina—daughter of the Lithuanian human rights activist Irena Veisaitė—who was at that time a student in London. Popular music was represented by a rock concert featuring Estonian rock band Ne Zhadali, along with Ukrainian rock group Kollegian Assessor, Russian group Agata Kristie, and Scottish group The Beat Poets.

Armenian music was seen as the flagbearer of the festival's music program, not only through the high profile of the Komitas Ensemble, but also with composer Stepan Rostomyan's collaboration with Scottish composer William Sweeney and the world premiere of his Symphony No. 3 at the festival. Yet Baltic, particularly Estonian, music pervaded the festival as a whole. Alongside Rostomyan, Estonian composer Lepo Sumera (1950–2000) had spent the summer before the festival as composer-in-residence with Glasgow University's Electronic Music Studio. Together

with the Paragon Ensemble and local Glaswegian school-children studying music at the Douglas Academy, Sumera created a new piece to be premiered at the festival, *Music for Glasgow*. Sumera also performed the British premiere of his *A Play for Wind Instruments*, delighting the press with his “wit and humour” (Tumelty 1989).

The focus of the festival’s film program on Baltic cinema similarly introduced new Baltic music to Scottish audiences, including many films for which Sumera had composed the soundtrack, such as *Birdwatcher* and *Games for Teenagers*. British premieres were shown of a number of Lithuanian films, including Algimantas Puipa’s classic *Eternal Light* (1988), which highlighted the impact of Sovietization on rural Lithuania (soundtrack by Juozas Širvinskas). Sumera, wearing his dual hats as a film composer and Estonian Minister of Culture, introduced the opening of the film festival.

Lithuanian music received a smaller profile within the concert program, being solely represented by the rector of Vilnius Conservatoire, Vytautas Laurušas (1930–2019), the British premiere of whose organ sonata shared a concert program with Alfred Schnittke and Scottish composer John Maxwell Geddes. Yet Lithuanian theater formed the main focus of the festival’s drama section, including two plays, *Pirosmani, Pirosmani* (1981) and Chekhov’s *Uncle Vanya* (1986), the innovative director of the Lithuanian State Youth Theatre, Eimuntas Nekrošius, bringing to Glasgow his program which had successfully toured the United States the year before. The American tour had been the theater company’s first venture outside the Eastern bloc and American playwright Arthur Miller had described *Pirosmani, Pirosmani* (a metaphorical portrayal of the last days of the Georgian artist, Nico Pirosmani), as “one of the best things I had ever seen in my life ... [it is] avant-garde in the best sense” (Greenwald 1988, 562–564). Nekrošius used music as a core part of his productions, and in echoes of Georgian theater director Robert Sturua’s relationship with Giya Kancheli, worked closely with leading contemporary composers Algirdas Martinaitis (b. 1950), Faustas Latėnas (1956–2020), and Mindaugas Urbaitis (b. 1952). Martinaitis, known for his “introspective and nostalgic” music and use of “asymmetric sound structures,” was responsible for the score accompanying *Pirosmani, Pirosmani*.²² His music was to receive a higher profile in Britain the following November when his composition *The Life of the Dung Beetle* was to open the Lithuanian strand of the Huddersfield Festival.

Scottish press reviews of the festival reveal a mixed reception to the extensive music program. Reviewing a BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra concert of music by Denisov, Rodion Shchedrin, and Gubaidulina, the music critic of *The Scotsman*, Janet Beat, complained:

The festival of Soviet music drags on with yet another concert of music which amounted to very little. (Beat 1989, 11)

Yet across the board, Armenian and Estonian contributions to the music program received a warm reception. This could be attributed to enthusiasm among Scottish reviewers of hearing something fresh from the periphery, as the music of Russian composers such as Denisov, Schnittke, and, less extensively, Gubaidulina, had already received significant exposure at festivals in Huddersfield, Bath, Cheltenham, and at the Almeida, and been recorded by the BBC. It could arguably, however, be due to the different types of new music performed by the Armenian and Estonian artists. Trying to pinpoint the difference at the end of the festival, Michael Tumelty of *The Glasgow Herald* observed:

What was striking [...] was the seriousness, the earnestness with which Soviet (specifically Russian) composers appeared to be pursuing their new freedoms [but] there are few smiles [and] seriousness can become a sombre, inward and uncommunicative affair. I would say to the Russian cerebralists [...] look to your roots. Look to your folk heritage. Look to your satellite states who wear their roots on their sleeves. [...] What came out of [...] Armenia and Estonia was profoundly impressive [because] it acknowledged overtly a source of inspiration other than the intellectual [...] Cerebral music might impress, rarely does it move. What—ultimately—counts most? (Tumelty 1989)

In contrast, Tumelty described Sumera’s *Music for Glasgow* collaboration as “a joyous, sumptuous hedonism, a wilful flying of intellectual caution to the wind.” (Tumelty 1989)

The expectations of Scottish music critics seemed to differ from those of the English arts press, whose reviews had, in general, praised the inventiveness of Schnittke and Gubaidulina’s music (though they were less enthralled by the music of Edison Denisov, who first appeared on the British contemporary music scene in 1968). Perhaps, however, the different taste of the Scottish music critics was more a reflection of the different trajectory of Scottish new music, as leading contemporary Scottish (or “adopted Scottish”) composers, such as Robin Maxwell Geddes, James McMillan, or Sweeney often chose to embrace Scottish folk music influences within their compositions, while in no way belonging to the “Tartan kailyard” genre closely identified with the Scottish fiddle and bagpipes. In that way, perhaps there was a closer stylistic musical link between some Scottish composers and those of the Soviet peripheries than with the Russian composers. This view is supported by Campbell’s comment that it was “essential to offer works which to some degree corresponded with local expectations of ‘new music’” (Campbell 1990, 154). Noticeably, advocates of contemporary Scottish music, Alexander Gibson, founder and conductor of the Scottish National Opera in 1962, composer Edward Harper, who founded the New Music Group of Scotland, alongside Maxwell Geddes and Sweeney, all played leading roles within the festival and were involved in helping to select repertoire.

Aims and Outcomes of the Festival

Examining the planning of the festival and how music was selected is key to understanding the thinking behind the festival. As was historically the case in musical exchange with the USSR, even under the greater freedoms afforded by *glasnost*, the festival's music committee was obliged to deal with *Goskonsert* regarding ensembles and soloists, with the Soviet Union of Composers regarding the participation of composers, and *VAAP* (the Soviet copyright agency) concerning the commissioning of new compositions.²³ Music co-ordinator, Stuart Campbell, Professor of Music at Glasgow University, insisted, however, that they had had a high degree of freedom in choosing repertoire "reflecting a change of outlook of some of the relevant organisations" (Campbell 1990, 153). Campbell insisted that the music program would "not just [be] another Soviet package, assembled in Russia and gratefully accepted by the British" (Wilson 1989, 8). In a post-festival report, he confirmed that the Soviet authorities did not hinder in any way the contact and engagement of Soviet artists and that "the Union of Composers were at all times helpful collaborators; they were also highly efficient ones" (Campbell 1990, 154). Both these observations were highly unusual, suggesting a new willingness among the Soviet Ministry of Culture to support the festival.

The overarching aims of the festival were to introduce young and innovative artists to Scottish audiences, to feature composers who were little known in Britain, to engender new commissions, and "to maximise opportunities for both exchange of works and collaborative projects." With this agenda in mind, representatives from Scottish ensembles involved in the project, including the Paragon Ensemble and New Music Group of Scotland, alongside Campbell, all traveled to the Soviet Union to help identify suitable repertoire. Campbell recounts how he traveled three times to the Soviet republics to source artists and composers, each visit a week long, building on previous visits to the USSR (Wilson 1989, 8). The music in Campbell's personal archives suggests he had been collecting scores from the non-Russian republics for at least four years.²⁴ Although some of the scores Campbell held had been distributed through official channels, via *VAAP*, a great many were photocopies of handwritten scores, suggesting they had been received informally.

The focus on Lepo Sumera as the main representative of Baltic music within the festival raises the question of what Stuart Campbell and the Scottish musicians, who traveled to the USSR to choose the festival repertoire, were looking for to represent new Soviet music. Early drafts of the festival program reveal that Sumera's inclusion was not even anticipated, but that Baltic music was to be represented instead by Pēteris Vasks from Latvia, and Bronius Kutavičius

from Lithuania.²⁵ Ultimately, neither Kutavičius' nor Vasks' music appears on the official program, although Campbell reported that a limited amount of non-scheduled music was performed, but provides no details. Although Armenian music may have dominated the festival, Campbell had collected a far greater number of scores from Baltic composers than from any of the other Soviet republics. He owned at this time around ten of Vasks' compositions, numerous scores from the Estonian composers Jan Rääts and Alo Poldmäe, alongside music from Raimo Kangro, Erkki Sven-Tüür, and several of Sumera's. Among Latvian composers, none of whom were to perform at the festival, in addition to music from Vasks, Campbell had scores from Pēteris Plakidis and Georgs Pelēcis. This suggests that obtaining copies of the music was not a barrier for Campbell, and many of the scores appear in different instrumental parts as if they were being prepared for performance.

Campbell's regret that he could not include all the composers he had wanted to in the festival (including Giya Kancheli from Georgia) is not blamed on Soviet bureaucrats, historically deemed a hindrance in British-Soviet cultural exchange initiatives, but on the British arts scene.

If one had twelve months to immerse a team of half a dozen musicians in recent Soviet music, five years for planning and an unlimited budget, one could cajole or bribe whom one wished to take part in an ideal season of concerts and music theatre with a range of supporting events. In the British arts world as we find it, compromises of various kinds are unavoidable. (Campbell 1990, 155)

Campbell's observation that he would have included more composers, if Scottish ensembles had had more time to practice the music, reveals just how little music from the Soviet republics had penetrated the Scottish music scene. It may also explain the wide range of Armenian music performed at the festival, as Komitas's willingness to participate in the festival meant they were already closely familiar with a broad repertoire of contemporary Armenian composers. A similar argument could apply to the inclusion of a number of Lithuanian composers at the Huddersfield festival in 1990, for at that event, festival director Richard Steinitz relied on the Lithuanian group the New Music Ensemble of Vilnius, directed by Šarūnas Nakas, to perform the music of Kutavičius, Martinaitis, and Balakauskas. It is possible that Kutavičius' and Vasks's absence from New Beginnings may have been due to the difficulty of finding a Scottish ensemble confident that they had the time to tackle this unknown repertoire. It should be noted that in 1988 Campbell offered the Huddersfield festival the opportunity to feature work from New Beginnings that same month as the festivals ran consecutively.²⁶ It is not clear whether any of the Glasgow performers appeared at Huddersfield a week later, but Steinitz did not feature any of the Baltic music,

and attributed his discovery of Lithuanian composers the following year to a chance meeting with a Lithuanian musicologist, not the result of collaboration with other festival organizers (Steinitz 2011, 124).

Serendipity as much as strategy may have played its part. Sumera's later inclusion into the festival may have arisen from Campbell's visit to the Tallinn contemporary music festival in October 1988, where he had the opportunity to engage with a number of Estonian composers of new music. At the time the commission and collaboration were arranged with Campbell, Sumera had not, at this stage, been appointed Estonian Minister of Culture. His subsequent appointment handed a golden opportunity to the festival to have both artist and official fully committed to the success of the festival, and Sumera wore both hats at different stages throughout the festival, although he self-mockingly pointed out that he was predominantly at the festival as a composer.

As Minister of Culture, I'm a bureaucrat too", he told the children (and journalists) at the Douglas Academy, "But I'm here as a composer—look, I have no tie on, and I left my Mercedes in Tallinn. (Tumelty 1989)

Collaboration was one of the main rationales behind the festival. After his return from his residency in Glasgow, Sumera set up the first electronic music studio in Estonia, as did Rostomyan in Yerevan. Observers have commented that a particularly close personal rapport was built up between Sumera and the festival organizers, and after the festival, Sumera put them in touch with the Estonian Early Music group Hortus Musicus, who came to the early music festival in Glasgow in August 1990 (having been sought by the Edinburgh Festival back in 1979). As Estonian Minister of Culture, Sumera also arranged for a Scottish early music group to perform in Tallinn. Sumera's close involvement with the festival and ongoing collaboration demonstrates the importance of personal relationships within British-Soviet musical exchange and the ongoing interrelationship between state-led and personal cultural relations, which had been so marked during the Brezhnev years as grassroots initiatives were obliged to navigate their way through the bureaucratic hurdles of *Goskonsert* and the Soviet copyright agency. The official presence of Sumera, as Estonian Minister of Culture, could have been perceived as a continuation of this entangled nature of British and Soviet state-led and grassroots exchange.

However, this festival was different, not only in allowing seemingly unfettered access to composers and musicians in the spirit of *glasnost*, but by the time the festival started in late October 1989, clear cracks were taking place in the USSR, and the Berlin Wall fell while the festival was underway. The Baltic events at the New Beginnings festival arguably demonstrated a different pattern of state and

grassroots co-dependence. Even though Sumera was the (Soviet) Estonian Minister of Culture, the summer after the Glasgow festival, he was to approach the British Embassy in Sweden to request separate cultural exchange between Britain and Estonia, independent of the Soviet Union, and deliberately avoiding the British Embassy in Moscow.²⁷ Archives from the 'Association for Cultural Relations for Estonians living abroad' showed that the Soviet Estonian state had had little interest in cultural collaboration with Britain, preferring to focus its attention on the more politically sensitive United States and Canada, where Estonian émigrés were organizing high-profile Estonian Cultural Days lobbying for independence. Sumera's change of policy emphasis and decision to court cultural relations with Britain, now that he was Minister of Culture, suggest his priorities lay in Estonian, not Soviet, cultural politics, and he remained Estonia's Minister of Culture after independence. His willingness to be a core participant of the Scottish festival, spending the summer in Glasgow, as well as weeks during the festival in November (at the same time as working as Minister of Culture), perhaps suggests he perceived not only personal but also Estonian cultural benefits to his involvement.

Scottish and Baltic National Identity

While Sumera's invitation to Glasgow may have been fortuitous, the changing mood and events in the Baltic republics in 1989 may also have pushed arts from these republics to the forefront of the organizers' minds, as there was far greater awareness among the Scottish (and British) general public about the independence movements in the Baltic republics. The output of the theater program for the festival was also reshaped, as the early drafts of the festival's program had focused entirely on Russian theater. The emphasis on Lithuanian theater in the final program may have been the result of Nekrošius and his company being invited on the back of their American triumph the previous year, but public and media interest in the Baltics may have helped to propel the Lithuanian performances to the top of the program. In May 1989, Lithuania was the first Soviet republic to declare its sovereignty, and on August 23rd, 1989, a Baltic-wide human chain stretched between the three republics, two million people (approx. a quarter of the combined Baltic population) joining hands between the cities of Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius in protest—both events widely reported in the British press.

Discussion forums were held at the festival to complement the music, theater, and film programs, not simply to increase audience understanding about the arts of the Soviet republics but also to discuss shared experiences between Soviet and Scottish artists. Schnittke and Denisov

participated in a joint forum on Soviet music, as Denisov had also done at the Cheltenham and Bath festivals in 1985 and 1987, but this time they were joined by Rostomyan, and Sumera (in his role as Estonian Minister of Culture)—alongside Scottish composers Thomas Wilson and John Maxwell Geddes, and Soviet musicologists from Russia, Estonia and Armenia. A similar discussion forum was held to discuss the impact of Scotland and the Baltics' "shared periphery position" on film-making, followed by a conference on "Arts and Nationhood" at Glasgow's Tron Theatre to examine Scotland and Lithuania's "qualified" nation status (as the program described it). This debate followed on from a similar theater forum held on Quebec and Scotland the previous year, indicating that the recent escalation of the independence movements in the Baltics may have prompted their inclusion in this comparative debate on Scottish identity, but had not instigated it.

The theater forum discussed how current political developments were being reflected and partly driven by artists. Audiences could not fail to be aware of the topicality of the debate as speakers were supposed to have included a representative from the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, and a Lithuanian USSR People's Deputy, but who cancelled due to political developments back home, developments which were to result in Gorbachev "summon[ing] the leaders of the rebellious Communist Party to an unprecedented meeting with the Soviet Politburo" (Conradi 1989, 14). The issue of national identity within the conference was picked up by the Scottish media, an article in *The Scotsman* reporting:

Lithuania and Scotland shared the inchoate resentment of small nations that their culture could easily be excluded from the European awareness and that their identity was neglected or denied. There is a hope this is changing, but in the words of Mr Procius [sic], the literary manager of the Lithuanian State Theatre who stepped in for the absent politicians, "Every small nation needs sensitive ears and a sensitive heart." The Tron conferences are a contribution to making the ears more sensitive. (Farrell 1989)

Yet within Britain, theater practitioners had always been more concerned with articulating social and political concerns than musicians. In discussing musical collaboration with Scottish performers who participated in the festival, it is clear that, while they did not feel that the shared issue of nationhood between the Soviet republics and Scotland arose in the music program, the issue of Scottish national identity was embedded in their activities. Scottish musicians perceived their task to be supporting Scottish composers, putting them in the context of the works of other composers around the world. This desire to separate the work of Scottish composers from British composers as a whole was not missed by the press at the festival. Ellie Buchanan's report in *The Scotsman* was a tacit acknowledgement by the critic

that issues of national identity struck a chord with Scottish audiences:

Kollegian Assessor were at pains to point out that they were Ukrainian, not Russian, which drew a cheer when they compared this to the difference between Scotland and England. (Buchanan 1989, 10)

In this way, the festival can, to some degree, be credited with associating the identification of Scottish nationalism with that of the Soviet republics. The New Beginnings festival had emerged in the run up to Glasgow's bid for European City of Culture, which it achieved in 1990, and represented part of the growing attempt of Glasgow to seize the mantle as the cultural capital of Scotland from Edinburgh, which it had held for so long as a result of the Edinburgh International Festival but which had been perceived as dominated by London. Glasgow's emergence as a contender for Scotland's leading cultural center, home to the Scottish National Opera and Scottish Symphony Orchestra, was not simply local civic rivalry, but part of the growth of the Scottish nationalist movement, which had its roots in working-class Glasgow as opposed to more cosmopolitan Edinburgh. The failure of a Scottish referendum and devolution law in 1979 had energized the Scottish nationalist movement with the perception that their chance of a Scottish National Parliament had been unfairly lost, an indignation often reflected in the arts within Scotland. The parallels drawn between Scotland's position and the Soviet republics can be seen not only in the New Beginnings festival forums, but the coverage of the festival within the press.

In the 1980s, the Scottish press could be seen "distancing itself from the British press by becoming strongly anti-Tory and building a new national identity" (Gardiner 2023, 2). Consideration of press coverage of events, however, must take into account that reporting within the two leading and rival Scottish papers, *The Scotsman* and *The Glasgow Herald*, cannot be perceived as synonymous. The *Herald*, a paper from working-class Glasgow, often nicknamed the *Glasgow Pravda*, was far more supportive of the union with England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. In contrast, the more cosmopolitan Edinburgh-based *Scotsman* had nailed its colors firmly to the mast of the devolution debate in the run-up to the 1979 referendum. While the separation between arts and political reporting makes this less evident in music reviews, it colored the reporting on the various discussion forums, and it is noticeable that most of the conversation on national identity is to be found within *The Scotsman*.

The leading Scottish weekend paper, *Scotland on Sunday*, the sister to *The Scotsman*, published a comprehensive supplement prior to the festival, leading with a front page feature on Glasgow's revolutionary heritage. The paper did not content itself with simply giving details of the arts to

be featured at the festival, but rather culturally embraced the fifteen republics, with features on different aspects of the republics, including their food. In a feature “Region by Region,” the author, Steve Briggs gave his article the strapline “Russia is not the Soviet Union, but only one of 15 republics within it” (Briggs 1989). Briggs referenced current politics in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which he described as having “been the scene of repeated demonstrations this year with demands for enhanced status in their native language, higher wages and democracy.”

Written before the start of the festival, it is apparent, however, that neither Baltic nor Scottish independence was intended to be highlighted in Briggs’ article. The article appeared three weeks before the fall of the Berlin Wall, and at that time not only was the disintegration of the USSR not anticipated in Britain, but also the majority of supporters of Scottish nationalism were seeking greater representation, not independence—the dilution of the “Englishing of Scotland” as a Scottish television program described the state of Scottish arts institutions in Scotland (Ascherson 1988). In that way, the parallels the Scottish media found between Scottish and Baltic arts reflected their own desire for greater cultural identity, not the resumption of the autonomy sought by Baltic cultural figures. As the Berlin Wall fell while the festival was underway, it is noticeable that while the front pages of the Scottish press were dominated by the events in Germany, and also covered the simultaneous tensions in Lithuania, the reviews of festival artistic events made no mention of the broader upheaval going on around it at that very time, as if politics and arts operated in separate orbits.

The diplomatic implications of the festival also cannot be ignored. Glasgow University had already expressed a keen interest in holding a Baltic Forum to discuss the future direction of the Baltic republics, a forum in which the government-funded Great Britain-USSR Association took a keen interest and offered financial support.²⁸ Supposed to provide cultural exchange support while appearing at arms’ length from the government, the GB-USSR Association was in close communication with the Foreign Office, which encouraged their support for the Baltic Forum.²⁹ Anxious about the influence of the Soviet friendship society in working-class Glasgow, who the GB-USSR Association Director John Roberts frequently referred to as “the opposition,” it is clear that the more generous financial support than usual the Association gave to the New Beginnings Festival can be attributed to “buying visibility” rather than interest in the artistic merits of individual programs and he deliberately chose to entertain performers coming to Glasgow rather than sponsor an artistic event.³⁰ The same rationale was given for supporting the Baltic Forum the following year due to the “ongoing need to maintain the Association’s profile in Glasgow where the opposition society is endemic.”

The localized powerplay between the Soviet and British government’s representative cultural agents demonstrated how from a state perspective the cultural merits of a project were not to the forefront of priorities.

Conclusion

Research on musical exchange between Scotland and the Baltic nations is very much a work in progress. The presence of a strong Lithuanian diaspora in Scotland seems to have contributed to Soviet-supported musical exchange during the 1970s, but following the introduction of *glasnost*, made little, if any, contribution toward the increasing relationships within the contemporary music scene. My findings have placed a heavy emphasis on the presence of Estonian music within Scotland, music which it is clear has been stimulated by the individual influence of Estonians Neeme Järvi and Lepo Sumera. Within Scottish/Baltic cultural relations, the action of individuals, the result of personal connections, can be seen as far more influential in steering the nature of the musical exchange that took place, rather than the political influence of diasporas or initiatives by Baltic or British authorities. Tellingly, the eventual appearance of *Hortus Musicus* in Britain—in Glasgow, ten years after the Edinburgh Festival first expressed interest—was the result of personal connections established at the New Beginnings Festival between the festival administrator and Lepo Sumera. The importance of local conductors and musicians as intermediaries to musical exchange, possessing familiarity with repertoire from the republics, also cannot not be underestimated.

When considering relations with the Baltics and Scotland in the late 1980s, there appears to be a changing pattern to the distinctions of state-led and grassroots exchange. While a considerable overlap remained, with cultural officials required to facilitate events, the definitions of what is ‘official’ became more vague when considering the arts from the republics, as can be seen in Lepo Sumera’s interchangeable roles as composer and Minister of Culture in opening the Baltic festival events at the Glasgow festival.

In its very definition, the concept of musical exchange implies mutuality. Yet despite Soviet attempts to get British officials to engage within the Baltics, British reluctance, due to their disapproval of the Soviet annexation, meant little contemporary British music seems to have been performed. Whether Scottish music was performed within the Baltics—other than the traditional Scottish folk music pushed by the friendship society—is an area that needs further exploration. While composers from Soviet republics such as Georgia often felt they had to move to Moscow to develop their music, the presumption among Scottish composers that they needed to move to London to progress their career

meant their music was often absorbed into a British rather than specifically Scottish identity. The need to disentangle Scottish from British, and Baltic from Soviet music, is an area that can be further developed in consideration of the new grassroots musical connections after the Baltic republics gained their independence.

References

- ¹ "Journeys made by Western diplomats inside the Soviet Union," FCO 28/2110, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) archives, National Archives, London.
- ² Letter to the British Ambassador in Moscow, 19 July 1972, "Policy towards the former Baltic states," FCO 28/3709, FCO archives.
- ³ Letter from the BBC Controller of Music to the Concerts Manager, March 8th, 1978, "Gennadi Rozhdstvensky 1975–1984," R83/1, 629/1, BBC Symphony Orchestra files, BBC Written Archives.
- ⁴ "Correspondence 1979," Acc 10572/56, Edinburgh Festival Archives, National Library of Scotland.
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ The archives of the Association for Cultural Relations with Lithuanians living abroad (*Tėviškė*), Lithuanian Special Archives, Vilnius.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ The archives of the Association for Cultural relations with Estonians living abroad (*Veksa*), National Archives of Estonia, Tallinn.
- ⁹ Scottish-USSR Society archives, TD1125/3/6, Glasgow City Archives, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
- ¹⁰ Scottish concert groups exchange with USSR, Ibid.
- ¹¹ Ibid.; commentary on music by the Lithuanian Music Information Centre (LMIC, www.mic.lt).
- ¹² Report of National Council Meeting 6 December 1964, TD1125/1/2, Scottish-USSR Society archives.
- ¹³ TD1125/3/6, Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Conversation with Vladimir Tarasov, Vilnius, October 25, 2024.
- ¹⁵ Arvo Pärt Centre, Laulasmaa, Estonia.
- ¹⁶ Minutes of *Veksa* meeting, December 30, 1968, ERA.R.2249.1.23, "Association for Cultural relations with Estonians living abroad."
- ¹⁷ Royal Scottish National Orchestra, www.rns.org.uk.
- ¹⁸ Estonian Music Information Centre, www.emic.ee.
- ¹⁹ Minutes of *Veksa* meeting, January 24, 1980, ERA.R.2249.1.141.
- ²⁰ Minutes of *Veksa* meeting, October 18, 1986 ERA.R.2249.1.142.
- ²¹ "New Beginnings: Soviet arts in Glasgow 1989" leaflet, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- ²² LMIC biography of Martinaitis, www.mic.lt.
- ²³ "Minutes of visit to the USSR of Glasgow delegation," April 1988, "Glasgow Soviet Festival 1989," LRA MS 14992/94/2 Great Britain-USSR Association archives, Leeds-Russian Centre, University of Leeds.
- ²⁴ Stuart Campbell personal archives.
- ²⁵ "Minutes of visit to the USSR of Glasgow delegation," April 1988, MS 1499/94/2, Great Britain-USSR Association archives.

- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Report of meeting with Lepo Sumera, 20 August 1990, BW 64/137 "Policy Soviet Union and the Republics," British Council Archives, National Archives.
- ²⁸ Baltic Seminar, MS1499 107, Great-Britain-USSR archives.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Ibid.

Bibliography

- Ajzenstadt, Michael. *The Jerusalem Post*, December 13, 1993.
- Ascherson, Neil. "England Rules Scots Culture." *The Observer*, August 28, 1988.
- Badel, James. *Recording the Classics: Maestros, Music and Technology*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1996.
- Beat, Janet. "Soviet Music with Little to Commend It." *The Scotsman*, November 29, 1989.
- Briggs, Steve. *The Glasgow Herald*, October 22, 1989.
- Buchanan, Ellie. "Russian Rock around the Rooftops." *The Scotsman*, December 2, 1989.
- Calder, Angus. *Revolving Culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic*. London: Tauris & Co., 1994.
- Campbell, Stuart. "Report on New Beginnings: Soviet Arts in Glasgow 1989." *Scottish Slavonic Review* 15 (Autumn 1990): 152–55.
- Conradi, Peter. *The Scotsman*, November 16, 1989.
- Farrell, Joseph. "A New Beginning for Soviet Culture." *The Scotsman*, November 1, 1989.
- Gardiner, Michael. "The Cultural Roots of British Devolution." *Journal of British Studies* 47, no. 2 (2023).
- Gilbert, Emily. *Rebuilding Post-war Britain: Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian Refugees in Britain, 1946–1951*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2017.
- "Global Lithuania." Accessed at www.global.truelithuania.com/scotland-8802.
- Greenwald, Michael L. "Theatre Review of *Pirosmani, Pirosmani*." *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (December 1988): 562–64.
- McKerrell, Simon, and Gary West, eds. *Understanding Scotland Musically: Folk, Tradition and Policy*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.
- Schmelz, Peter J. *Such Freedom if Only Musical: Unofficial Soviet Music during the Thaw*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Steinitz, Richard. *Explosions in November: The First 33 Years of Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival*. Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press, 2011.
- The Guardian*. "Lithuanians in Glasgow: British Identity and Society." January 23, 2006.
- Trapons, Jan Arved, ed. *Towards Independence: The Baltic Popular Movements*. San Francisco, and Oxford, Boulder, 1991.
- Tumelty, Michael. "Children Fill in Composer's Windows" / "New Beginnings Music Ends on a Positive Note." *The Glasgow Herald*, November 1989.
- Wilson, Conrad. "Russian Music Choice Achieves the Impossible." *The Scotsman*, November 6, 1989.

Archival Sources

- BBC Written Archives, Caversham, England.
- British Council Archives, National Archives, Kew, England.
- CCA (Third Eye Centre) Archives, Glasgow, Scotland.

Edinburgh Festival Archives, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) Archives, National Archives, Kew, England.
Great Britain–USSR Association Archives, Leeds Russian Centre, University of Leeds, Leeds, England.
Huddersfield Festival Archives, Heritage Quay, Huddersfield, England.
Scottish–USSR Society Archives, Glasgow City Archives, The Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Scotland.
The Association for Cultural Relations with Estonians Living Abroad (*Veksa*), National Archives of Estonia, Tallinn, Estonia.
The Association for Cultural Relations with Lithuanians Living Abroad (*Tėviškė*), Lithuanian Special Archives, Vilnius, Lithuania.

Santrauka

Tyrimai, kuriuose kalbama apie tarpvalstybinių derybų būdu sutartus koncertinius Didžiosios Britanijos ir Sovietų Sąjungos turus užgožė platesnius muzikinius santykius, į kuriuos įsitraukia visuomenė. Didžiosios Britanijos šiuolaikinio meno festivalių, kuriuose nuo 7 deš. pab. buvo pristatoma Sovietų Sąjungoje sukurta eksperimentinė naujoji muzika, tyrimas rodo, kad britų publika galėjo susidaryti platesnį vaizdą apie SSRS muziką nei tas, kurį formavo Sovietų Sąjungos kultūros ministerija, rėmusi politiškai priimtinius kompozitorius. Nors nerusiškų respublikų muzika britų auditorijai buvo menkiau žinoma nei rusų kompozitorių, britų muzikiniams santykiams su Estijos, Lietuvos ir Latvijos kompozitoriais taip pat trukdė ir tai, kad britų vyriausybė *de jure* nepripažino sovietų okupacijos Baltijos valstybėse. Kultūriniai mainai su visomis Sovietų Sąjungos respublikomis vyko per SSRS kultūros ministeriją ir koncertų agentūrą „Goskonsert“, bet Didžiosios Britanijos užsienio reikalų ministerijos atstovai negalėjo lankytis Baltijos šalyse ir taip remti kultūrinių mainų.

Muzikinių mainų paprastų žmonių lygmeniu tyrimas atskleidžia skirtingą sovietinės muzikos pristatymo Škotijoje ir Anglijoje dinamiką. Škotijos muzikantų, meno vadovų ir žiniasklaidos skiriamas didelis dėmesys sovietinių respublikų muzikai rodo ypatingą susidomėjimą nerusiškų, ypač Baltijos ir Kaukazo, regionų muzika.

Padedant Baltijos šalių diasporos atstovams Baltijos šalių muzikiniai santykiai su Škotija, regis, ėmė klostytis anksčiau nei su Anglija. Sovietų Sąjungos finansuojama draugija Glazge tarp savo narių turėjo daug emigrantų iš Lietuvos, kurie dalyvavo liaudies muzikos koncertų mainuose su Sovietų Lietuva. Stipri Škotijos lietuvių diaspora prisidėjo

prie sovietų remiamų muzikinių mainų 8 deš., tačiau *glasnost* neturėjo reikšmingos įtakos santykių šiuolaikinės muzikos srityje stiprinimui. Tai, kad estas Neeme Järvi nuo 1984 iki 1988 m. buvo Glazge įsikūrusio Škotijos nacionalinio orkestro vyriausiasis dirigentas, tikrai prisidėjo prie estų muzikos populiarinimo Škotijoje. Järvi dirigavo šiuolaikinės estų muzikos koncertus Glazge ir šiuos pasirodymus įrašė su „Chandos Records“.

Tačiau pirmą kartą daugiau dėmesio Didžiojoje Britanijoje šiuolaikiniai Baltijos šalių menininkai sulaukė tik 1989 m. rudenį vykusiame festivalyje „Nauja pradžia: sovietų menas Glazge“. Šis Glazge vykęs festivalis nubrėžė naują kultūrinių mainų kryptį Didžiojoje Britanijoje, nes akcentavo visų SSRS respublikų menininkų kūrybą. Nors festivalio muzikinėje programoje dominavo armėnų muzika, Baltijos šalių, ypač Estijos, kompozitorių kūryba buvo atliekama itin gausiai. Rengiantis festivaliui, estų kompozitorius Lepo Sumera buvo reziduojantis kompozitorius Glazgo universiteto elektroninės muzikos studijoje, o vėliau įkūrė pirmąją elektroninės muzikos studiją Estijoje. Festivalio Baltijos šalių kino programa supažindino škotų žiūrovus su Lietuvos ir Estijos kompozitorių muzika, o novatoriškasis Lietuvos teatras tapo pagrindiniu festivalio dramos sekcijos akcentu.

Dėl *glasnost* festivalio muzikos komitetas turėjo daug daugiau laisvės sudarydamas repertuarą. Sumeros, kuris dalyvavo festivalyje ir kaip kompozitorius, ir kaip Estijos kultūros ministras, bendradarbiavimas su škotų muzikantais atskleidė asmeninių santykių svarbą muzikiniuose Didžiosios Britanijos ir Sovietų Sąjungos mainuose ir, galima sakyti, parodė kitokį valstybės ir visuomenės tarpusavio priklausomybės modelį nei tas, kuris susiformavo Brežnevo laikais.

1989 m. žiniasklaidoje pasirodę reportažai apie įvykius Baltijos respublikose suteikė škotų visuomenei daugiau informacijos apie šiuose regionuose įsisiūbuojančius laisvės judėjimus. Festivalio metu vyko diskusijų forumai, juose buvo aptariamoms bendros sovietų ir škotų menininkų patirtys, taip pat buvo ieškoma Škotijos ir sovietinių respublikų situacijų paralelių. Panašu, kad 9 deš. škotų susidomėjimą Baltijos šalių kultūra skatino tapatinimasis su šių šalių padėti sovietų imperijoje, Baltijos šalių reikalavimas atkurti nepriklausomybę ir panaikinti Maskvos kontrolę, nes tuo metu, atšaukus Škotijos decentralizacijos įstatymo projektą, pačioje Škotijoje imta vis garsiau kalbėti apie nepriklausomybę nuo Londono. Taigi Baltijos šalių ir Škotijos meno paralelės, kurias išvelgė Škotijos menininkai ir žiniasklaida, atspindėjo jų pačių norą stiprinti Škotijos kultūrinę tapatybę, o ne Baltijos šalių autonomijos atkūrimą, kurio siekė šių šalių kultūros veikėjai.

Francesco FINOCCHIARO

Film Music Across Borders. Localizing Music in the Silent Era

Kino muzika abipus sienų. Muzikos lokalizavimas nebyliojo kino eroje

“G. Rossini” Conservatoire, Piazza Oliveri 5, 61121 Pesaro (PU), Italy
f.finocchiaro@conservatoriorossini.it

Abstract

The extreme variability of musical accompaniment in the silent era forces scholars to question the very definition of silent film: a hybrid between a “closed” text, its visual sphere “frozen” in the film print; and an “open” one, with the accompanying music “reproduced” anew with each live performance.

Among the phenomena that characterize the daily practice of silent film music, none is more indicative of this hybrid semiotic status than localization: the practice of arranging different musical accompaniments to support the distribution of a film abroad, including the composition of multiple scores. The localization of a silent film means “opening” one component of the cinematic spectacle and replacing it with a new one, thus creating a completely new cultural product—or rather, an intercultural product, since localization results from the migration of a plurimedial work outside its context of production and its partial adaptation to the tastes, sensibilities, and cultural policies of the target exhibition context.

Analyzing music localization sheds light on film (-music) production and distribution as inherently intercultural processes. Throughout the twentieth century, multiple musical versions participated in processes of identity construction and cultural transfer—in the form of domestication, foreignization, internationalization, or localist assimilation—against the backdrop of rising nationalisms during a dramatic period of global history.

Keywords: Silent film music; music localization; open vs. closed text.

Anotacija

Didžiulė muzikinio akompanimento įvairovė nebyliojo kino eroje verčia mokslininkus abejoti pačia nebyliojo kino sąvoka kaip „uždaro“ teksto, kurio vizualinė sfera „įšaldyta“ kino juostoje, ir „atviro“ teksto, kurio muzikinis akompanimentas „atkuriamas“ kiekvieno gyvo atlikimo metu, hibrido.

Tarp reiškinų, apibūdinančių kasdienę nebyliojo kino muzikos praktiką, nė vienas taip gerai neatskleidžia šio hibridinio semiotinio statuso kaip lokalizacija: skirtingų muzikinių akompanimentų parengimas, įskaitant kelių partitūrų sukūrimą, filmo sklaidai užsienio šalyse paremti. Nebyliojo kino filmų lokalizacija reiškia vieno kinematografinio spektaklio komponento „atidarymą“ ir pakeitimą nauju, taip sukuriant visiškai naują kultūrinį produktą – arba, tiksliau, tarpkultūrinį produktą, nes lokalizacija yra daugialypės medijos kūrinio migracijos už jo sukūrimo vietos konteksto ribų ir jo dalinio pritaikymo prie tikslinės auditorijos skonio, pajautimo ir kultūros politikos kontekstų rezultatas.

Muzikos lokalizacijos analizė atskleidžia, kad kino (muzikos) kūryba ir platinimas yra iš esmės tarpkultūriniai procesai. Dramatiškai besiklostančių XX a. istorijos įvykių fone daugybė muzikos versijų dalyvavo tapatybės kūrimo ir kultūrinio perdavimo procesuose prisijaukinimo, užsienio kultūros įsisavinimo, internacionalizacijos ar lokalizuotos asimiliacijos forma.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: nebyliojo kino muzika, muzikos lokalizavimas, atviras ir uždaras tekstas.

Introduction¹

It is well known that during the silent era, the status of film music was characterized by a considerable degree of uncertainty. As Ennio Simeon wrote: “The total dependence on random factors of an economic or organisational nature (cuts, additions, changes of instrumentation, etc., not to mention the cases in which the selection of music was entirely delegated to persons of dubious competence) has long since given ‘musical accompaniment’ an ephemeral and fleeting identity” (Simeon 1987, 104). Under these conditions, the “through-composed” score remained a

mirage for a long time: needlessly expensive and almost impossible to realize within the time constraints imposed by the organizational machine.²

Even when an “original” score did exist, there was no guarantee that the composer’s wishes would be respected. This is what film music critic Hans Erdmann reported from the Vienna premiere of the film *Tartüffe* (1925):

Ufa’s eagerly awaited new Murnau film *Tartüffe*, which has already had its Viennese premiere, will soon have its Berlin premiere on the occasion of the opening of the Gloria Haus. The current Ufa programme shows a few images from *Tartüffe*

and the names of the writer, director, photographer, set designer and actors. The composer is left out. That's good so, and it can only be understood if the disastrous musical condition is mentioned as little as possible [...]. The film *Tartüffe* was shown in Vienna without the "composed" music: maybe it didn't work? It worked very well, perhaps better than with Becce's music!³

Far from constituting a self-contained text, then, music performed live to accompany film projections gave rise to a variety of compositional, performance, and reception practices. As Rick Altman put it, the music of silent films "varied according to differences in date, location, film genre, exhibition venue, and many other variables, and thus cannot be reduced to a single practice or even a single line of development" (Altman 2004, 12).

Also symptomatic of this ephemeral musical identity is the fate of the score Paul Hindemith wrote in 1921 for Arnold Fanck's film *In Sturm und Eis*. For the premiere on September 22, at the Taubentzenpalast in Berlin, a "very well-known conductor" refused to play Hindemith's music, as it would have required several rehearsals, instead opting to prepare a compilation of existing pieces himself.⁴ The same thing happened in other Berlin cinemas, so that, as far as we know, the film was only exhibited in Düsseldorf with Hindemith's original scoring.⁵

Another significant example is provided by a 1924 review of the Zurich premiere of *Siegfried*, the first part of Fritz Lang's epic *Die Nibelungen*. Here, we learn that the original music by Gottfried Huppertz was completely replaced by a compilation of Wagnerian music:

In Zurich we were suddenly disappointed: this new music was left out. Why was that? Because, as the director [of the Orient-Cinéma] explained, they preferred to put together their "own music" in true "film style". This "own music" consists of a chaotic mixture of *Siegfried*, *Valkyrie*, *Rheingold*, *Tristan und Isolde*, *Parsifal*, Mendelssohn (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*), Liszt (*Les Préludes*) and... *Louise* von Charpentier! The battle with the dragon is accompanied by the storm from *Les Préludes*, the treasure of the Nibelungen arrives in Worms to the music of the quarrel scene from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the conspiracy scene between Brünnhilde, Gunther and Hagen is accompanied by Parisian street voices from *Louise*, and Brünnhilde dies to the sounds of Isolde's *Liebestod*!⁶

Circumstances of this kind, far from uncommon in the film press, oblige scholars to revisit the very idea of composing for films. In fact, the composition of original scores constituted only a fraction of historical practice around musical accompaniment for silent films. The musical accompaniment for moving images was an activity, a process in constant evolution, a sort of "music-making" that hardly ever constituted itself as a work (Finocchiaro 2023, 72).

Musical accompaniment is more like a contextual component of the cinematic spectacle, namely of the screening of the film in the cinematic venue, than part of the conception and composition of the cinematic text as such.

This is how German critic Poldi Schmidl synthesized the state of the art in 1921:

The number of musical guises a movie can take [...] is as numerous as the number of conductors who work with it. Indeed, it is the responsibility of the theatre to project the film, and there are as many theatres as there are conductors, so there are as many possible sensibilities.⁷

In the face of such accounts of the everyday reality of musical accompaniment, any attempt to describe the textual dimension of a cinematic work and its score as an aesthetically grounded *opus* proves misleading. On the contrary, the extreme range of musical accompaniments to moving images encourages scholars to rethink the semiotics of silent film, which can be regarded as a hybrid between a "closed" text, i.e., its visual sphere "frozen" in the film print, and an "open" text, where the accompanying music is "reproduced" with each live performance (Finocchiaro 2023, 72).

Localizations

This hybrid semiotic status gave rise to certain idiosyncratic phenomena that characterized the everyday practice of musical accompaniment for silent films. None is more symptomatic than localization:⁸ the practice of arranging multiple musical accompaniments to support the distribution of a film abroad, or even composing multiple scores for the same movie.

The Zurich screening of the first part of Lang's *Nibelungen* (1922) mentioned above is a clear example of localization. Localizing a silent film meant "opening up" one component of the cinematic show and replacing it with a new one, thus creating an entirely new cultural product.

One of the most renowned instances of localization was the American premiere of *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (1920) by Robert Wiene, projected on April 16, 1921, at the Capitol Theater in New York with a selection of works by Schönberg, Debussy, Stravinsky, Prokofiev, and Richard Strauss.⁹ Other famous cases include *Cabiria* (1914) by Giovanni Pastrone, whose original score by Ildebrando Pizzetti and Manlio Mazza was replaced for the American distribution by a score by American composer Joseph Carl Breil. Huppertz's original score for *Die Nibelungen* was replaced for the film's premiere in Zurich by a compilation of excerpts from Wagner operas. This same practice of pairing Wagner and Lang was repeated for US screenings, although the musical compilation differed. As reported by *Moving*

Picture World, at the American premiere on April 13 at the Eastman Theater in Rochester, New York, the Philharmonic Orchestra played an incidental music synchronized by conductor Victor Wagner and based entirely on Richard Wagner's opera *Siegfried*.¹⁰ From August 23, Lang's film ran for four weeks at the Century Theater in New York, again accompanied by Hugo Riesenfeld's compilation of Wagner excerpts.¹¹ Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau's film *Der letzte Mann*, which was exhibited with a musical accompaniment by Becce at its German premiere, was shown with a different score by Louis Aubert for the French version. For the American release, Riesenfeld again compiled his own musical accompaniment. Hanns Schwarz's *Die wunderbare Lüge der Nina Petrovna* (1929) premiered in Germany with music illustration by Willy Schmidt-Gentner, while the French version was accompanied by an original score by Maurice Jaubert. The list goes on.

The phenomenon of music localization sheds light on film music production and distribution as inherently intercultural processes. Multiple musical versions—conceived as transcultural adaptations—participated in processes of identity construction and cultural transfer, both in the form of “domestication” and of “foreignization” of the Other, to use a familiar pair of terms from translation studies.¹²

“Foreignization,” in the sense of an adaptation that emphasizes the foreignness of the cultural product being adapted, can be seen in the case of the aforementioned American premiere of Wiene's *Caligari*. First shown in February 1920 at the Marmorhaus in Berlin to music composed by an unknown illustrator, the film was screened in April 1921 at the Capitol Theater in New York alongside a new compilation of works by Schönberg, Stravinsky, Debussy, Prokofiev, and Richard Strauss, arranged by Samuel L. Rothafel and Ernö Rapée and performed by an eighty-piece orchestra. The screening, which was seen by more than 70,000 people in New York alone (Hubbert 2005, 64), represents a unique and unprecedented case of the use of works by “ultra-modernist” composers—namely Schönberg and Stravinsky—in cinema. Music, that is, which was not easily appreciated by contemporary American audiences in the concert hall.

Unfortunately, since the film score has not survived, we can only base our analysis on press reports, notably an interview with Rothafel in *Musical America* magazine (fig. 1), which is worth reproducing in full:

Music of the Ultra-Modernists Employed to Accompany Remarkable Motion Picture at the Capitol Theater—Distortion as Principle in Adapting Motives to Nightmare Mood of Screen Play—Latter an Original Treatment of *Psychopathic* Theme—Impressionism in Two Arts Synchronized—A Genuine Musical Departure Effected.

Properly, the American première of ‘Caligari’ employed music calculated to heighten its exotic character, to underline its fantastic aspects. At the Capitol Theater, where the film was introduced, the admirable symphony orchestra played a special score arranged from the writings of the modernists Debussy, Strauss, Stravinsky and others. Of the compiling and adapting of the music let S. L. Rothafel—in charge of the artistic destinies of the big theater—speak.

“In handling the musical problem presented by ‘The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari’ Mr. Rapée (the conductor) and I felt that the orthodox thing would not do. A film conceived along revolutionary lines called for a score faithfully synchronized in mood and development. We took psychology into reckoning—the psychology of the audience no less than of the play. In the phantasmagorical scheme of ‘Dr. Caligari’ people move and live in a world out of joint. The cracked country is dotted with grotesque houses, skinny twisted trees, enormously steep and rutted pathways. ...

The key principle of this sprawling architecture and wild terrain is distortion. With that steadily in mind we built up the score. We went to Schönberg, Debussy, Stravinsky, Prokofieff, Richard Strauss for thematic material. We assembled our themes, assigned characteristic ideas to the principals of the play, and then proceeded to *distort* the music. The music had, as it were, to be made eligible for citizenship in a nightmare country.

“The score is built up on the leitmotif system; quite in the Wagnerian manner. For *Caligari*'s motif we went to Strauss's ‘Till Eulenspiegel.’ His idea recurs, or is suggested, whenever *Caligari* or his influence is at work on the screen. To identify *Cesare, the Somnambulist*, Mr. Rapée and I borrowed a bit from Debussy's ‘Afternoon of a Faun.’ These main ideas appear singly or together, whole or in part, as the psychology of the tale demands. The scoring is not that of the original, but has been done here and is contrived to emphasize the *macabre*. Muted brass was resorted to for most of the sinister sounds.

“I think I may confidently, and justly, say that the whole represents the most daring musical achievement in the history of the American motion-picture theater. We tried very hard with this picture, because we think so much of it. ‘Caligari’ is, to my mind, an imaginative masterpiece and a triumph as directing. Musically no less than pictorially it opens up a virgin country.”

As briefly back as five years Stravinsky or Schönberg in the movie-house belonged to the inconceivable. To-day it calmly happens, and the audience calmly swallows the pill. It would have been far simpler, in preparing accompaniment for this film, to dish up the old safe and sickening potpourri. The more admirable, then, is the departure made by Messrs. Rothafel and Rapée. The thing took more than courage; it meant double labor and it meant considerable expense. Four rehearsals were called. But the tune was worth the toll. The acrid air of Stravinsky has been borne into the film theater. It may clear the sweet murk before the last reel is run.

B. R.¹³

COMES STRAVINSKY TO THE FILM THEATER

Music of the Ultra-Modernists Employed to Accompany Remarkable Motion Picture at the Capitol Theater—Distortion as Principle in Adapting Motives to Nightmare Mood of Screen Play—Latter an Original Treatment of Psychopathic Theme—Impressionism in Two Arts Synchronized—A Genuine Musical Departure Effected

At that point the young man left off his eerie recitation. . . . Together with his solitary auditor he entered the marmoreal house that rose from the wet and twining shrubbery. . . .

With the opening of that mad-house door the creators of the "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" let in the light of imagination upon the movies. With a gesture, bold and admirable, they raised the blazing flag of futurism where the prosaic has from the first held title. At last the camera promises to inherit its rich and rightful portion.

"The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" is to the regulation film play as a canvas by Cézanne to a Meissonier. One shows you a viewpoint and personal vision, the other holds up the microscope of the many. One is art, the other artifice.

The makers of "Caligari" have taken as a springboard the premise that the principles of modernism applied in the plastic arts are perfectly applicable in motion pictures. In the strange domain where *Dr. Caligari* plies his grisly trade, the windows and doors and roof-tops are joined at crazy and disturbing angles. The "lighting" proceeds from strange planets; the shadows are extra-somber and intense. Of the terrestrial as we understand it there is virtually nothing. Extraordinary as all this is, it is seen to have its logic, its inevitability, as the film spins on. For all that one sees on the sheet is the puppets which dance in a diseased brain. The play, in short, is a psychopathic study.



"Cesare" (the Somnambulist) Bears Off the Heroine in the Night—A Striking Scene from "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari"

Properly, the American première of "Caligari" employed music calculated to heighten its exotic character, to underline its fantastic aspects. At the Capitol Theater, where the film was introduced, the admirable symphony orchestra played a special score arranged from the writings of the modernists Debussy, Strauss, Stravinsky and others. Of the compiling and adapting of the music let S. L. Rothafel—in charge of the artistic destinies of the big theater—speak.

"In handling the musical problem presented by 'The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari' Mr. Rapee (the conductor) and I felt that the orthodox thing would not do. A film conceived along revolutionary lines called for a score faithfully synchronized in mood and development. We took psychology into reckoning—the psychology of the audience no less than of the play. In the phantasmagorical

scheme of 'Dr. Caligari' people move and live in a world out of joint. The cracked country is dotted with grotesque houses, skinny twisted trees, enormously steep and rutted pathways.

The key principle of this sprawling architecture and wild terrain is, distortion. With that steadily in mind we built up the score. We went to Schönberg, Debussy, Stravinsky, Prokofieff, Richard Strauss for thematic material. We assembled our themes, assigned characteristic ideas to the principals of the play, and then proceeded to distort the music. The music had, as it were, to be made eligible for citizenship in a nightmare country.

"The score is built up on the leit-motif system; quite in the Wagnerian manner. For *Caligari's* motif we went to Strauss's 'Till Eulenspiegel.' His idea recurs, or is suggested, whenever *Caligari* or his influence is at work on the screen. To identify *Cesare*, the *Somnambulist*, Mr. Rapee and I borrowed a bit from Debussy's 'Afternoon of a Faun.' These main ideas appear singly or together, whole or in part, as the psychology of the tale demands. The scoring is not that of the original, but has been done here and is contrived to emphasize the *mood*. Muted brass was resorted to for most of the sinister sounds.

"I think I may confidently, and justly, say that the whole represents the most daring musical achievement in the history of the American motion-picture theater. We tried very hard with this picture, because we think so much of it. 'Caligari' is, to my mind, an imaginative masterpiece and a triumph as directing. Musically no less than pictorially it opens up a virgin country."

As briefly back as five years Stravinsky or Schönberg in the movie-house belonged to the inconceivable. To-day it calmly happens, and the audience calmly swallows the pill. It would have been far simpler, in preparing accompaniment for this film, to dish up the old safe and sickening potpourri. The more admirable, then, is the departure made



A Piece of the Prison—A Remarkably Somber Effect Achieved with Pyramidal Planes

by Messrs. Rothafel and Rapee. The thing took more than courage; it meant double labor and it meant considerable expense. Four rehearsals were called. But the tune was worth the toll. The acrid air of Stravinsky has been borne into the film theater. It may clear the sweet murk before the last reel is run. B. E.



"Cesare"—Released by His Master, "Caligari"—Seeks Out His Victim

Expect Admissions Tax to Be Either Reduced or Abolished

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13.—While it is understood that the excise tax on musical instruments is to be eliminated from the revenue law, there remains considerable uncertainty as to the disposition of the admissions tax. The writer has been unable to secure a direct expression on the subject of the retention of the admissions tax in the law, but it appears to be the general view that the tax on tickets will be either reduced—or—repealed. Several

members of the House Ways and Means Committee with whom I have talked point out the fact that the admissions tax brings in a comparatively large revenue, and that for this reason there may develop some opposition to its being dropped from the law. It is expected that representatives of concert, opera and amusement interests will present a strong protest to the House Ways and Means Committee at the hearings on the revision bill against the threatened increase in the tax, and favoring abolishing the tax entirely if this be found possible. A. T. M.

Urges Harding to Have Congress Sessions Opened With Music

WASHINGTON, April 13.—President Harding has been appealed to to recommend to Congress that the sessions of Senate and House be opened with music as a fitting and inspiring start for the day's activities. He is also asked to suggest that this be done in the case of the various State legislatures. Secretary Phillips, of the Columbia Grafonola Dealers' Association of Washington, has written the President pointing out the advantages of incor-

porating music in the daily round of activities. Nothing, he thinks, could be so conducive to the doing of a good day's work, whether it be in commerce, the professions or in making laws for the people.

President Harding has responded to Mr. Phillips's communication, commending his views and expressing the hope that music is to have a larger place in our national life. A. T. M.

The Brooklyn Academy of Music is claiming \$43,000 from the city for taking its courtyard rights.

Figure 1. B. R., "Comes Stravinsky to the Film Theater", in: *American Music*, April 16, 1921.

In the central part of the article, the author speaks in the first person. Rothafel states that he drew thematic material from Schönberg, Debussy, Stravinsky, Richard Strauss, and Prokofiev, using “a leitmotif system in the Wagnerian manner”: Caligari’s theme is taken from *Till Eulenspiegel*, Cesare’s from *Prelude à l’après-midi*, etc. The musical choices of modernist authors are intimately linked to the “psychopathic theme” of the film, as “impressionism in two arts,” i.e., the musical and visual, “synchronized.” In addition, Rothafel stresses that the instrumentation was rearranged and slightly distorted to give more emphasis to brass and other instruments that better suited the film’s modern look and disturbing subject matter. The aim is clear. Rothafel points out that his score was “designed to emphasise the macabre” and “enhance the exotic character of the film.” The unprecedented use of ultra-modernist music in cinema was intended to correspond acoustically to the film’s disturbing imaginary: a kind of sonic companion to the sinister narrative with open allusions to psychic pathology.

Odyssey Between Moscow and Berlin

If the music localization of *Caligari* in New York was intended to emphasize the “exotic character” of the film through an unprecedented use of musical Modernism, we find instead an opposite dialectic of assimilation and counter-assimilation in the case of Sergei Eisenstein’s *Bronenosets Potemkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*), whose story unfolds along the unusual Moscow-Berlin axis and extends across the eras of silent and sound film. Premiered at the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow in 1925 and repeated in a different version in Berlin a year later, the film was met with huge public success in both cities. Different prints, both approved by the director and each coupled with different music, circulated in the two capitals. Over the following pages, I outline the “Odyssey of the Battleship”¹⁴ in five stages, in order to reconstruct the “musical history” of Eisenstein’s film. On this basis, I argue for the multidimensionality of cinema as the antithesis of a historical practices of film (music) restoration.

1) Eisenstein received the commission for the film in March 1925 as part of the celebrations for the twentieth anniversary of the Revolution of 1905 (“The Year 1905” is, not coincidentally, the film’s subtitle). This began in St. Petersburg on January 22 (January 9 according to the Julian Calendar) with the infamous “Bloody Sunday,” when a popular demonstration outside the Winter Palace was suppressed by machine-gun fire and a Cossack cavalry charge. The uprisings of 1905 culminated in a full-scale civil war in Odessa and the mutiny on the morning of June 27 by the sailors of the battleship named after Prince Potemkin of Tauria, anchored in Tendra Bay on the Black Sea.

Reconstructed with the fidelity of a film diary, the director gave the chronicle of events an organic structure that followed the strict rules of a classical tragedy in five acts. In his essay *On the Structure of Things* (1939), he stated:

Potemkin looks like a chronicle of events, but acts as a drama.

The secret of this effect is that in it the chronicle stages of events have been timed to the strict composition of tragedy. In addition, it is the composition of tragedy in its most canonical form—the five-act tragedy.

The events, taken almost as bare facts, are divided into the five acts of tragedy, in which the facts have been chosen and selected in a sequence where they answer those demands that classical tragedy imposed on the third act as opposed to the second, on the fifth act as opposed to the first, etc. etc. [...]

Let us briefly mention these five acts.

Part I—“Men and Maggots”: Exposition of the action. The situation on the battleship. Maggoty meat. Discontent among the sailors.

Part II—“Drama on the Quarterdeck”: “Hands on deck!” Refusal to eat the maggoty soup. Scene with the tarpaulin. “Brothers!” Refusal to shoot. Mutiny. Revenge on the officers.

Part III—“The Dead Man Appeals”: Mists. Vakulinchuk’s corpse in the Odessa port. Lament over the body. Meeting of insurrection. Raising the red flag.

Part IV—“The Odessa Steps”: Fraternization of the shore with the battleship. The yawls with provisions. The shooting on the Odessa steps. The battleship firing on the “Germans’ H.Q.”

Part V—“Meeting the squadron”: Night of expectation. Meeting the squadron. Engines. “Brothers!” Refusal of squadron to shoot. Battleship passes victoriously through the squadron (Eisenstein 1987, 12–13).

According to the intentions of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Communist Party, the film had to present the events of 1905 as the most important antecedent to the October Revolution. In this spirit, the film was introduced by a significant motto from Trotsky:

The spirit of revolution hovered over the Russian land. A powerful, mysterious process was taking place in countless hearts. The individuality that had just discovered itself was merging with the masses, and the masses with the great dynamic.¹⁵

For the first time in the history of Soviet cinema, a film was accompanied not by piano but by an orchestra. According to a late statement made by the director in the 1940s, the original project included the composition of original music by Prokofiev.¹⁶ At the official Moscow premiere of *Potemkin*, on December 24, 1925, the Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra instead performed a high-class compilation by Nikolai Golovanov, Leonid Sabaneev, and conductor Yuri Freier in front of the members of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party. The compilation included excerpts from Beethoven’s *Egmont* Overture, Tchaikovsky’s *Francesca da Rimini*, and Henry Charles Litolf’s *Robespierre*.

2) The Goskino production company released a single negative of the film (1,617 meters) without intertitles (Patalas 2005, 33). In early 1926, the negative was sold to the German distributor Prometheus, which was responsible for distribution in Europe and the United States. After Prometheus entrusted the reel to director Phil Jutzi and asked him to make an adaptation, the five acts of the original expanded to six, and new intertitles and pseudo-documentary inserts were added that almost completely eliminated the film's symbolic value as a precursor to the October Revolution (Patalas 2005, 34).

Prometheus also commissioned an original score from Viennese composer Edmund Meisel, who had made a name for himself in Berlin with innovative stage music for Erwin Piscator's political theater.¹⁷ In March 1926, Eisenstein traveled to Berlin to supervise the adaptation of the film for the censors and, above all, to meet Meisel. As Eisenstein recalled years later, he worked with Meisel "as *one should work* with the sound track, always and everywhere, with the creative cooperation and friendly cocreation of the composer and the director" (Eisenstein 1987, 32). During the weeks he spent in Berlin, the director discussed his ideas step by step with the composer, expressing the need for unconventional music, without melodic outbursts or symphonic emphases. Above all, Eisenstein asked Meisel for music that would emphasize the rhythm of the montage, prompting the concise musical character of the score. Contrary to the conventions of late-Romantic accompaniment, Meisel's music features typical avant-garde elements such as timbral-dynamic paroxysms, rhythmic-melodic ostinatos, heterophony, and a free use of dissonance.

In contrast to the psychological reading of musical modernism in *Caligari's* American premiere, where it was employed to represent the uncanny, Meisel's work on *Potemkin* aimed to actualize the language of film music and place the film in an international musical *langue*. Innovative orchestration, distortion of military anthems, jazzy rhythms,

and caricature-like accentuations are the most obvious features of a musical style that, in line with the composer's intentions, breaks away from the *topoi* of "bourgeois" music and becomes the voice of the masses. *Potemkin's* music uses modernist compositional techniques to express the "rhythm of modernity" (Meisel 1984) in a unique, even paradoxical combination of the socialist ideal of anti-individualist, anti-bourgeois art and a futurist spirit enlivened by the noise of machines, engines, and "concrete" music.

After an initial ban by the censors, who considered the subject matter a threat to public safety, the film was cleared on April 10, but no fewer than fourteen cuts were imposed on the scenes of the mutiny against the officers and the more gruesome moments of the shooting on the Odessa steps: a total of thirty meters of excised film (Patalas 2005, 34). Jutzi's version—much altered, but still approved by Eisenstein—was shown for the first time in the West at the Apollo-Theater in Berlin on April 29, 1926, with Meisel's original score.¹⁸

3) In 1930, Prometheus also produced a sound version of the film, with dialogue, sound effects, and music synchronized to a gramophone, the soundtrack adapted by Meisel himself for the occasion. The film was cut to 1,349 meters, and the intertitles from the silent version were removed (Patalas 2005, 35, 40). It is in this version that the famous reversal at the beginning of the shooting on the Odessa steps took place. In the Moscow original, the words "I vdrug" ("And suddenly") are followed by four fragmentary close-ups of a panicked woman, her hair swaying (figs. 2–3). The cause of her terror is only understood a few seconds later with the arrival of the Cossack squadron. The new German version sought to restore this linear cause-and-effect relationship by placing two shots before the shot of the woman's face—the detail of the marching squadron (fig. 4) and the gunfire (fig. 5)—in order to provide a motivation to the viewer for the woman's reaction (Patalas 2005, 35).¹⁹



Figures 2–3. Sergei Eisenstein, *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin—Das Jahr 1905*, reproduced courtesy of Deutsche Kinemathek—Transit Classics, 2007.



Figures 4–5. Sergei Eisenstein, *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin—Das Jahr 1905*, reproduced courtesy of Deutsche Kinemathek—Transit Classics, 2007.

4) Heavily edited and shortened by nearly 250 meters from the original, the *Potemkin* negative found its way back to Moscow in the late 1930s and early 1940s. It is not known whether this was a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact,²⁰ but it is more likely that the German negative reached Moscow after the war (Patalas 2005, 36). In the USSR, the Jutzi version underwent what could be considered an “ideological restoration” aimed at re-Sovietizing the film. The task was entrusted to Grigori Aleksandrov, a long-time assistant and close collaborator of Eisenstein who had died the previous year. The Aleksandrov version partially retains the German cuts: not only the censorship cuts but also certain shifts, including the aforementioned reversal at the beginning of the shooting scene on the Odessa steps. The intertitles were completely rewritten. And, in a historically significant move, Trotsky’s epigraph was replaced by a quote from Lenin:²¹

Russia is experiencing a great historical moment. The revolution has flared up and is spreading wider, engulfing new localities and new strata of the population. The proletariat stands at the head of the fighting forces of the revolution (Patalas 2005, 36).

In order to restore the political significance of the film as an authentically Russian-Soviet work, it was necessary to rewrite the film’s music. The task of creating a new musical commentary was assigned to composer Nikolai Kryukov, who distanced himself from suspected modernist techniques of Western origin and instead produced a score filled with popular and revolutionary songs. Contrary to Meisel’s internationalizing reading of the score, Kryukov proposed a localist approach, drawing inspiration from the Russian tradition of folk song.

5) The penultimate stage in the Battleship’s Odyssey was the fiftieth-anniversary version, made in 1976. The responsibility for reworking the film to achieve the greatest possible fidelity to Eisenstein’s original vision was entrusted to the director Sergei Yutkevich, who received expert guidance from Naum Klejman, a leading authority on Eisenstein’s work. The sequence of shots was once more modified, this time in accordance with a contemporary assessment of the film by the film historian Ippolit Sokolov. New intertitles were created, with the text and graphics differing from both the 1949 version and the Moscow original (Patalas 2005, 36–37). The film was introduced by a new quotation from Lenin, which differed from the previous one:

Revolution is war. It is the only legitimate, reasonable, just, truly great war of all the wars that history has known. This war has been declared and begun in Russia (Patalas 2005, 37).

The Yutkevich version has long been regarded as the most complete and philologically accurate version, yet it also underwent several changes. The soundtrack was completely reworked, with a free collage of Shostakovich’s symphonies performed by the St. Petersburg Philharmonic Orchestra. However, the composer played no role in the project, as he had died the previous year. Furthermore, the image format was reduced and the projection speed was decreased to make room for the elaborate musical commentary (the sequence on the Odessa steps alone is forty seconds longer). Overall, the process was the opposite of the usual practice for compilation soundtracks: instead of shortening the music, the film was lengthened to fit the soundtrack, so that the result can be considered an adaptation to the sound-film format.²²

If Eisenstein’s masterpiece was to be shown to the sounds of “authentic” Soviet music, Shostakovich’s *Eleventh*



Figures. 6–7. Sergei Eisenstein, *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin—Das Jahr 1905*, reproduced courtesy of Deutsche Kinemathek—Transit Classics, 2007.

Symphony was the obvious choice. The piece suited the task for a number of reasons: of all Shostakovich's symphonies, the Eleventh comes the closest to program music. Every movement is given a descriptive title (1. The Palace Square, 2. The 9th of January, 3. Memory Eternal, 4. Tocsin) and the symphony contains quotations of Russian folk songs. References in the work align with Eisenstein's film narrative: like *Potemkin*, the symphony is entitled *The Year 1905*. The composer conceived the work as an evocation of the event that first foreshadowed the Bolshevik Revolution in that historic year: "Bloody Sunday," the January 22 (or 9) demonstration in front of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg that was violently put down—an event marked, like the steps of Odessa, by the intervention of a Cossack squadron. There could not have been a better match between the audiovisual subject of the film and the programmatic content of the musical work.

Potemkin's odyssey does not end there. In 2005, one of the most celebrated cases of film restoration in recent years began—once again in Berlin—with the reconstruction of *Potemkin* (*rekonstruierte Fassung*) released by the Deutsche Kinemathek.²³ In their restoration, film scholars Enno Patalas and Anna Bohn attempted to approximate the Moscow version as closely as possible, regarded as the "original" *par excellence*.²⁴ To this end, the restorers even reintroduced montage errors that had occurred in the Moscow print and that Eisenstein subsequently corrected for the Berlin version. The close-up of the priest's hands holding a cross is a well-known example: in the Moscow print, the cross appears first in his right hand and then, by mistake, in his left (figs. 6–7). Although Eisenstein corrected this error when he re-edited the film for the Berlin screening, the restorers reintroduced it as part of their reconstruction. They seem to have conceived the reconstruction as a restoration of the version shown at the premiere, with all the inaccuracies that attended that historical event.

These historical scruples, meanwhile, had no effect on the musical component. The editors chose Meisel's score, which, although composed in close proximity to the director and with his approval, was conceived for the Jutzi version and not the Moscow original. The modern restoration was therefore compelled to commission the German composer Helmut Imig to rework the score. Imig extended the duration of the composition and reorchestrated the score on the basis of the few surviving instrumental parts (Patalas 2005, 40).

When applied both to the visuals and the music, such stark differences in underlying philosophies around restoration make the process of "reconstruction" extremely fragile. In the end, the "reconstructed version" of *Potemkin* is a hybrid: the cold fusion of two elements that date back to different historical events and exhibition locations. The visual sphere reconstructs the montage of the Moscow version as it was shown in December 1925; the music, by contrast, derives from the Berlin version projected in April 1926. As mentioned above, Jutzi's adaptation included cuts, documentary inserts, new intertitles, a different montage, and an articulation in six acts instead of the original five. It follows that, in Imig's hands, Meisel's music had to be cut and spliced, reassembled and expanded, and even integrated with external material. Indeed, as if this were not enough, the "Theme of the Battleship" (Mus. Ex. 1), which opens the "reconstructed version," comes from neither of the two versions mentioned above but from the music for the subsequent film *October* (1928), and was not incorporated into the score for *Potemkin* until 1930, when Meisel readapted his music for the recorded version.

Rather than a "reconstruction" or a "restoration," then, one might speak of a "new construction": something "never shown in this form and never seen by a historical audience" (Wostry 2007, 140).²⁵

Alla marcia
Tr.

Mus. Ex. 1. Edmund Meisel, *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin*, Music for Eisenstein's silent film from 1925. Instrumentation and adaptation for the Russian premiere version by Helmut Imig, Berlin, Ries & Erler, 2007, bars 7–14.

Conclusion

These peculiarities surrounding the “reconstructed version” of *Potemkin*, due to inconsistencies in restoration philosophies, are part of a more general concern about the plausibility of film music restoration at large. The reconstruction of the historical events of the Battleship's odyssey and its music illustrates the ontological problem of all films passed down from the silent era without a fixed musical component, but with a multitude of historical musical versions.

The point is that silent film music comprised a variety of compositional, performance, and reception practices that call for a new historiographical approach. It matters to the history of cinema as an art form—and of music as an integral part of it—to know that while *Potemkin* was being shown at the Apollo-Theater with the original score written by Meisel and approved by director Eisenstein, the salon orchestra director Hansheinrich Dransmann was composing his own music for the almost simultaneous screening at the Piccadilly (Erdmann 1926, 17). Such differences in musical practices, music selection processes, and audience habits, which are all the more striking when one compares the musical accompaniments played in parallel in the highest and lowest cinemas, or in large cities and provincial towns,²⁶ are not mere accidents of history that film music scholars can afford to ignore. This diversity of performance and reception practices deserves instead to be given prominence from the perspective of microhistory: a story on a smaller scale that, rather than composing a cinematic canon of aesthetically exceptional works, seeks to isolate and magnify the smallest elements of the general macroscopic picture (Finocchiaro 2024, 81).

Instead of getting caught up in a rhetoric of restoration, which is usually driven by commercial demands, film music historians should become aware of multiple dimensions

of space and time. The study of phenomena such as music localization shows that audiences in different countries, from Western Europe to Russia, from the United States to Asia, were not only affected differently by art and media events, but also experienced different temporalities, to the point that, with Siegfried Kracauer (1969, 148), we are compelled to speak of a paradoxical “nonsimultaneousness” (*Ungleichzeitigkeit*) of history.

Moreover, from a philological point of view, the phenomenon of music localization compels us to consider the film as a dynamic object in the process of becoming: a syncretic, multimedia text whose internal components vary in time and space. The history of a film like *Potemkin* actually reveals the “open” nature of the cinematic text as a whole. While it is certainly possible to speak of a “closed text” in relation to a mechanically reproduced film print that remains essentially unchanged from one projection to another, this does not exclude the possibility of multiple film versions, with altered montage, rewritten intertitles, or even added (or cut) scenes. Recognizing this “open” nature of the cinematic text cannot but have consequences on a philological level when commencing a restoration. After all, what does it mean to “restore” a film like *Potemkin*, which has had at least five different versions and as many scores? How misleading is it to speak of a “reconstructed version”?

Concepts of restoration and reconstruction should be reconsidered in the face of a textual tradition that branches into multiple versions. As a tradition “in motion by its very nature” (Caraci Vela 2005, 193), the phenomenon of music localizations lends itself to innovative methods of analyzing the paths and modes of radiation and transmission of artifacts over time and across national boundaries. What is needed for this kind of analysis is a philology that focuses not so much on the restitution of a text in the form closest to authorial intention or the premiere, but “on the dynamics of the text over time” (Caraci Vela 2005, 193–194): i.e.,

on the changes that take place in the textual tradition and crystallize different but recognizable variants of it. Faced with a dynamic object in the process of becoming, any idea of reconstruction as the crystallization of a “chosen version,” in the name of a supposed aesthetic primacy, can only be inadequate—all the more so when the version chosen does not correspond to any that have existed historically.

I have argued that the practice of reconstructing a cinematic text that has existed as multiple versions in time and space cannot be guided by aesthetic principles, but by historical ones. The attempt to reduce the multiple versions of a film (and its music) to an aesthetically idealized *opus*, crystallizing something that was subject to historical contingency beyond temporal and geographical boundaries, is inadequate because it is ahistorical: by merging disparate historical objects, making variants unrecognizable, masking the *facies* of the text, it contradicts the first ethical principle governing restoration work, namely the “truth paradigm” (Muñoz Viñas 2017). Rather, it would be not only acceptable but even mandatory to reconstruct, on the basis of documentary evidence, a historically ascertainable version as a document of a particular space and time in the actual existence of a given text.

A philological approach to the cinematic text as a dynamic text also makes it possible to explain the phenomenon of music localization in the context of other adaptation phenomena that are not limited to the musical component or to the silent era. In fact, music localizations of the silent era can be seen as counterparts to the multilingual versions of the early sound age and could be studied with comparative methods similar to those developed in that field.²⁷ We should remember that the method of multiple versions, which began in the early 1930s and lasted until the 1960s, consisted of producing several language versions in order to overcome the limitations that national languages imposed on the distribution of talkies after the introduction of recorded sound. Production companies, both in America and Europe, found it convenient to prepare several different language versions of the same film rather than dubbing it—often shooting the same scenes in the studio with different troupes of actors. A notable example is Wilhelm Thiele’s *Die Privatsekretärin* (1931), which was shot in German and then produced in three language versions (French, Italian, and English), each ranging from a slight modification of the first version to a complete remake of it. Not infrequently, such adaptations involved rewriting the music, realizing new songs, sometimes in the same style and by the same authors, but in different languages. As Paola Maganzani (2015) has shown, the film *Una notte con te* (1932), an Italian-German production directed by Emmerich Wojtek Emo, features the song “Starò con te,” a slow-fox sung by Elsa Merlini, with lyrics by Oreste Biancoli and music by Fred Raymond. The English version of the same film, titled

There Goes the Bride (A. De Courville, 1932), includes the song “I’ll Stay with You,” composed by Raymond himself and sung by the female protagonist, Jessie Matthews. The German version, *Ich bleib’ bei Dir* (J. Meyer, 1931), features the song of the same name with lyrics by Charles Amberg and music by Raymond.

The analysis of multiversion films reveals the fallacy of the (often presupposed) notions of original and copy, and with it the hierarchy attributed to the versions themselves (Maganzani 2015, 55). Multilingual versions, like music localizations understood as multimusical versions, manifest a plurality of meanings and relations attached to a cultural artifact, grasped through a prismatic viewing from multiple perspectives and turned *de facto* into a *transcultural* product, resulting from the migration of a plurimedial work outside its production context and its partial adaptation to the tastes, sensibilities, and cultural policies of the receiving context.

As mentioned above, the analysis of music localizations, as well as multilingual versions, sheds light on film(music) production and distribution as inherently intercultural processes, inevitably affected by changes linked to historical events, the evolution of cultural relations, and the outbreak of conflicts between nations. Throughout the twentieth century, transnational cultural adaptations participated in processes of identity construction and cultural transfer—at times in the form of domestication, foreignization, internationalization, or localist assimilation of the Other—against the backdrop of rising nationalisms in a dramatic period of world history.

References

- ¹ A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the opening session of the conference *Music History Beyond State Borders: Micro-, Meso-, and Macro-Regionality of Musical Culture*, Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, 29–31 October 2024. Some of the ideas expressed here were previously developed in German; see Finocchiaro 2012 and 2025.
- ² In German-language film journalism, this problem of film-music accompaniment was already addressed in the silent era by Poldi Schmidl (1919, 1920).
- ³ “Der neue, mit großer Spannung erwartete Murnau-Film der Ufa *Tartüffe*, dessen Wiener Premiere bereits stattgefunden hat, wird demnächst gelegentlich der Eröffnung des Gloria-Hauses seine Berliner Uraufführung erleben. Das gegenwärtige Programmbuch der Ufa bringt einige Bildchen aus *Tartüffe* nebst den Namen des Dichters, des Regisseurs, des Photographen, der Architekten und der Schauspieler. Den Komponisten hat man weggelassen. Das ist auch ganz in der Ordnung, und es ist nur zu verstehen, wenn man auf die fatale Musikgeschichte möglichst wenig zu sprechen kommt [...]. Der *Tartüffe*-Film ist in Wien ohne die ‘komponierte’ Musik aufgeführt worden, ist das vielleicht nicht gegangen?

- Gut ist's gegangen, besser vielleicht als mit der Becce-Musik!" (Erdmann 1926, 36).
- ⁴ According to a letter from the director Arnold Fanck. For more on this letter, which is now in the possession of the Hindemith Institute in Frankfurt am Main, see Hust 2003, 150.
- ⁵ For a closer analysis of Hindemith's music for Fanck's film, see Finocchiaro 2017, 45–66.
- ⁶ "In Zürich wurde uns nun eine jähe Enttäuschung: man hat auf diese neue Musik verzichtet. Warum? Weil, wie der Herr Direktor [vom Orient-Cinéma] erklärte, man hier vorgezogen hat, eine 'eigene Musik' in echter 'Filmweise' zusammenzustellen. Diese 'eigene Musik' besteht aus einem chaotischen Durcheinander von Siegfried, Walküre, Rheingold, Tristan und Isolde, Parsifal, Mendelssohn (Sommernachtstraum), Liszt (Les Préludes) und... Louise von Charpentier! Der Kampf mit dem Drachen vollzieht sich zur Begleitung des 'Sturmes' aus den Préludes, der Nibelungenhort zieht in Worms ein zu den Klängen der Prügelzene-Musik aus dem Sommernachtstraum, die Verschwörungsszene zwischen Brünhilde, Gunther und Hagen wird durch Pariser Straßenerufe aus Louise begleitet, und Brünhilde stirbt zu den Klängen von Isoldes Liebestod!" (J. T. W. 1924, 30).
- ⁷ "Jeder einzelne Film bekommt so viel Vertoner [. . .] als Kinokapellmeister sich mit ihm befassen müssen. Das sind nämlich die Theater, welche den Film spielen. Und soviel Theater, soviel verschiedene Auffassungen, weil soviel verschieden geartete Kinokapellmeister" (Schmidl 1921).
- ⁸ This concept was introduced by Sergio Miceli (2009, 114).
- ⁹ For information on this and the following films, see Miceli (2009, 114–33).
- ¹⁰ See the anonymous article, "Premiere of *Siegfried*," *Moving Picture World*, April 4, 1925, 481.
- ¹¹ "The film, shown at the Century Theatre in New York with a large symphony orchestra in full harmony with the music supplied by Dr. Hugo Riesenfeld, was received with generous enthusiasm by an audience of opera-goers and music-lovers to whom it has undeniable appeal" (Pardy 1925, 1275).
- ¹² I use the terms "domestication" and "foreignization" with reference to the semiotic theory of translation by Anton Popovič, in particular his *Teória umeleckého prekladu* (1975), commonly regarded as one of the foundational texts of modern translation theory. Cf. Anton Popovič, *Teória umeleckého prekladu* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1975); and idem, *Dictionary for the Analysis of Literary Translation* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976).
- ¹³ Signed with the letters "B. R.," the article "Comes Stravinsky to the Movie Theater" appeared in *American Music*, April 16, 1921, 5. On this topic see Hubbert 2005, especially pp. 66–70.
- ¹⁴ The metaphor is taken from Enno Patalas 2005.
- ¹⁵ "Der Geist der Revolution schwebte über dem russischen Lande. Irgend ein gewaltiger, geheimnisvoller Prozess vollzog sich in zahllosen Herzen. Die Individualität, die eben erst sich selbst erkannt hatte, ging in der Masse und die Masse in dem großen Elan auf" (freely adapted from Trotsky 1909: *I. Die rote Flotte*).
- ¹⁶ "Among some old documents from the time of the making of *Potëmkin*, I found, yellowed by the years, the minutes of the 1925 Memorial Commission of the Central Committee of the USSR [...] which mention the decision to entrust the music of the film to... Prokofiev. A comrade who was going abroad was instructed to contact him and propose this work. The extreme urgency of the engagement did not allow Sergei Serge'vič to arrive in time, but nevertheless I date the beginning of our cooperation to that memorable year of 1925" (Eisenstein 1976, 20).
- ¹⁷ For more information on Edmund Meisel, see Finocchiaro 2017, p. 72–83, Morris 2008, Sudendorf, 1984.
- ¹⁸ The Jutzi version was distributed in the rest of Europe and the USA. Of the copies distributed in the West, the most important source is held by the London Film Society, which is certainly derived from the German one, since it retains the censorship cuts. It is also the only source in which Trotsky's original motto appears (Patalas 2005, 32).
- ¹⁹ The vinyl recording of the film's soundtrack was rediscovered in Vienna's Technisches Museum in 2003 and restored under the direction of Enno Patalas at the Film Institute of the Berlin University of the Arts. For an account of the discovery and restoration process, see Tode 2003.
- ²⁰ The event was celebrated by the intelligentsia in both countries with a series of "cultural events," including the 1940 Moscow production of *Die Walküre*, directed by Eisenstein. Cf. Bartlett 1992 and Motazedian 2021.
- ²¹ As a result of his opposition to Stalin's regime, Trotsky was exiled in 1929. He took refuge for a time in Mexico, where he died in 1940 at the hands of a Stalinist agent. The persecution of Trotskyism also forced Eisenstein to remove from the subsequent film *October* (1927) the scenes depicting Trotsky and Zinov'ev, leaders of the so-called "leftist opposition" (Bohn 2005, 24).
- ²² Enno Patalas (2005, 37).
- ²³ *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin—Das Jahr 1905*, restored by Enno Patalas with the collaboration of Anna Bohn, Deutsche Kinemathek—Museum für Film und Fernsehen, Berlin, distrib. Transit Classics, 2007.
- ²⁴ The video restoration was based on first-generation prints kept at the British Film Institute. According to Patalas, the Gosfilmofond camera negative should have served as the basis for the reconstruction of the film, but it was not made available to the Deutsche Kinemathek. For a detailed account on the video restoration, refer again to Patalas (2005, 38–41).
- ²⁵ According to film archivist Nikolaus Wostry, this irreconcilable contradiction characterizes most of the current attempts to reconstruct silent films: "In stark contrast to the preservation of source material is the presentation of silent films today, which—whether organized by archives, film festivals or other organizers—is mainly limited to complete films, or those that appear to be complete. It is so easy to create a distorted image of the actual source condition. As a result, film preservation faces the serious problem of having to meet the audience's expectations of completeness. The magic word 'reconstruction' offers itself as an apparent solution. Reconstructions are more likely to attract public attention than simple copies of well-preserved film titles. However, due to the condition of the sources, reconstructions can often only be seen as new constructions, as post-creations, never shown in this form and never seen by a historical audience" (Wostry 2007, 139–140).
- ²⁶ Instructive here is Erdmann's article "Breslauer Reiseerinnerungen," published in the *Reichsfilmblatt* in 1927, in which he describes visits to the cinemas of Breslau in Silesia (Erdmann 1927).

²⁷ For historiographical and theoretical insights, see the work of the two editions of MAGIS—Gradisca International Film Studies Spring School (2004 and 2005), published in the monographic issues of the journal *Cinéma & Cie*: 4 (Multiple and Multiple-language Versions / Versions Multiple, Spring 2004, edited by Nataša Durovicová), 6 (Multiple and Multiple-language Versions II/Versions Multiple II, Spring 2005, edited by Hans-Michael Bock and Simone Venturini) and 7 (Multiple and Multiple-language Versions III/Versions Multiple III, Fall 2005, edited by Francesco Pitassio and Leonardo Quaresima).

Bibliography

- Altman, Rick. *Silent Film Sound*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Bartlett, Rosamund. "The Embodiment of Myth: Eisenstein's Production of *Die Walküre*." *The Slavonic and East European Review* 70 (1992): 53–76.
- Bock, Hans-Michael, and Simone Venturini, eds. "Multiple and Multiple-language Versions II/Versions Multiple II." Special issue, *Cinéma & Cie* 6 (Spring 2005).
- Bohn, Anna. "Film und Weltrevolution 1905–1917–1925." In *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin. Das Jahr 1905*, DVD booklet, 21–24. Berlin: Deutsche Kinemathek, 2007.
- B. R. "Comes Stravinsky to the Movie Theater." *American Music*, April 16, 1921, 5.
- Caraci Vela, Maria. *La filologia musicale. Istituzioni, storia, strumenti critici*. Lucca: LIM, 2005.
- Durovicová, Nataša, ed. "Multiple and Multiple-language Versions/Versions Multiple." Special issue, *Cinéma & Cie* 4 (Spring 2004).
- Eisenstein, Sergei M. *Dédicace*. In *La non-indifférente nature*, by Sergei M. Eisenstein. Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1976.
- Eisenstein, Sergei M. "On the Structure of Things." In *Nonindifferent Nature*, edited by H. Marshall, 3–37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Erdmann, Hans. "Breslauer Reiseerinnerungen." *Reichsfilmblatt* 5, no. 35 (September 3, 1927): 24.
- Erdmann, Hans. "Die Woche." *Reichsfilmblatt* 4, no. 2 (January 9, 1926): 36.
- Erdmann, Hans. "Potemkin." *Reichsfilmblatt* 4, no. 21 (May 22, 1926): 17.
- Finocchiaro, Francesco. *Durch einen Gazeschleier. Ästhetik der Filmmusik in der Stummfilm-Ära*. Munich: Edition text+kritik, 2026.
- Finocchiaro, Francesco. *Musical Modernism and German Cinema from 1913 to 1933*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Finocchiaro, Francesco. "Panzerkreuzer Potemkin zwischen Moskau und Berlin. Parallele Leben eines Meisterwerks." *MusikTheorie* 27, no. 3 (2012): 213–28.
- Finocchiaro, Francesco. "Photoplay Music as a Key Source for a New Historiographical Paradigm." *Fontes Artis Musicae* 71, no. 2 (2024): 63–84.
- Finocchiaro, Francesco. "Silent Film Music: Between Interdisciplinarity and Multidisciplinarity." *Lietuvos muzikologija* 24 (2023): 70–80.
- Hubbert, Julie. "Modernism and the Movies: *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* and a Film Score Revisited." *The Musical Quarterly* 88 (2005): 63–94.
- Hust, Christoph. "Paul Hindemith als Filmkomponist." *Hindemith-Jahrbuch* 32 (2003): 148–66.
- J. T. W. "Zur Musik der Nibelungen-Films." *Reichsfilmblatt* 2, no. 44 (November 1, 1924): 30.
- Kracauer, Siegfried. *History: The Last Things Before the Last*. Edited by Paul Oskar Kristeller. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. Reprint, 1995.
- Maganzani, Paola. "Versioni multiple e rifacimenti: Sulle tracce di *Una notte con te*." *L'avventura* 1 (2015): 55–65.
- Meisel, Edmund. "Wie schreibt man Filmmusik?" In *Der Stummfilmmusiker Edmund Meisel*, edited by Werner Sudendorf, 58–60. Frankfurt am Main: Deutsches Filmmuseum Frankfurt, 1984.
- Miceli, Sergio. *Musica per film. Storia, estetica, analisi, tipologie*. Milan and Lucca: Ricordi–LIM, 2009.
- Morris, Christopher. "From Revolution to Mystic Mountains: Edmund Meisel and the Politics of Modernism." In *Composing for the Screen in Germany and the USSR: Cultural Politics and Propaganda*, edited by Robynn Jeananne Stilwell and Phil Powrie, 75–92. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Motazedian, Tahiri. "The Communist Walküre: Eisenstein's Vision for Marrying German Wagnerism with Soviet Communism." *Journal of Musicological Research* 40 (2021): 183–213.
- Muñoz Viñas, Salvador. *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Pardy, George T. "Siegfried." *Motion Picture News*, September 12, 1925, 1275.
- Patalas, Enno. "The Odyssey of the Battleship: On the Reconstruction of the *Potemkin* at the Berlin Filmmuseum." *Journal of Film Preservation* 70 (2005): 30–41.
- Pitassio, Francesco, and Leonardo Quaresima, eds. "Multiple and Multiple-language Versions III/Versions Multiple III." Special issue, *Cinéma & Cie* 7 (Fall 2005).
- Popovič, Anton. *Teória umeleckého prekladu*. Bratislava: Tatran, 1975.
- Popovič, Anton. *Dictionary for the Analysis of Literary Translation*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1976.
- S.n. "Premiere of Siegfried." *Moving Picture World*, April 4, 1925, 481.
- Schmidl, Poldi. "Ein Ausweg aus der Misere der Filmmusik." *Der Kinematograph* 14, no. 700 (June 13, 1920).
- Schmidl, Poldi. "Filmdramen mit eigener Musik." *Der Kinematograph* 13, nos. 642–43 (April 30, 1919).
- Schmidl, Poldi. "Filmmusikprobleme und Filmmusikalischer Fortschritt: Berliner Kinoorchester." *Der Kinematograph* 15, no. 739 (April 17, 1921).
- Simeon, Ennio. "La nascita di una drammaturgia della musica per film: Il ruolo di Giuseppe Becce." *Musica/Realtà* 24 (1987): 103–19.
- Tode, Thomas. "Ein Film kann einen anderen verdecken: Zu den verschiedenen Fassungen des *Panzerkreuzer Potemkin* und Meisels wiedergefundener Musikvertonung. Ein Forschungsbericht." *Medien & Zeit* 1 (2003): 23–40.
- Sudendorf, Werner, ed. *Der Stummfilmmusiker Edmund Meisel*. Frankfurt am Main: Deutsches Filmmuseum Frankfurt, 1984.
- Trotskij, Leon. *Russland in der Revolution*. Dresden: Kaden, 1909.
- Wostry, Nikolaus. "Defekte und Dignität: Die filmische Rekonstruktion des *Rosenkavalier*-Films." In "*Ein sonderbarer Ding*": *Essays und Materialien zum Stummfilm Der Rosenkavalier*, edited by Günter Krenn, 139–62. Vienna: Filmarchiv Austria, 2007.

Santrauka

Nebyliojo kino eroje kino muzikos statusas buvo labai neaiškus. Toli gražu nesudarydama savarankiško teksto, filmų demonstravimą lydinti gyvai atliekama muzika „skyrėsi priklausomai nuo datos, vietos, filmų žanro, rodymo vietos ir daugelio kitų kintamųjų“ (Altman 2004: 12). Esant tokioms sąlygoms, „nuosekliai sukomponuota“ partitūra ilgą laiką liko tik miražas, kurį paversti realybe per organizacinės mašinos nustatytą laiką buvo pernelyg brangu ir beveik neįmanoma.

Tokia padėtis verčia mokslininkus abejoti specialiai kino filmams kurtos muzikos koncepcija. Iš tiesų originalių partitūrų kūrimas buvo tik vienas iš istorinės nebyliojo kino muzikinio akomponavimo praktikos elementų. Muzikinis akomponavimas buvo kontekstualus kinematografinio spektaklio, t. y. salėje rodomo filmo, o ne kinematografinio teksto kaip tokio, komponentas.

Didžiulė muzikinio judančių paveikslėlių akomponavimo įvairovė skatina mokslininkus permąstyti semiotinę nebyliojo kino kaip hibrido apibrėžtį („uždaro“ teksto, kurio vizualinė sfera „iššaldyta“ kino juostoje, ir „atviro“ teksto, kurio muzikinis akompanimentas „atkuriamas“ kiekvieno gyvo atlikimo metu, hibridas).

Ši savita takoskyra sukėlė tam tikrų ypatumų kasdienėje muzikinio akomponavimo nebyliojo kino filmams

praktikoje. Simptomiškiausias iš jų – lokalizavimas: praktika, kai siekiant paskatinti filmo sklaidą užsienyje parašomi keli muzikiniai akompanimentai, kartais tam pačiam filmui sukuriant kelis garso takelius. Muzikos lokalizavimo reiškinys atskleidžia, kad kino muzikos gamyba ir platinimas yra iš esmės tarpkultūriniai procesai. Keli muzikiniai variantai, sukurti kaip transkultūrinės adaptacijos, dalyvavo tapatybės kūrimo ir kultūrinės sklaidos procesuose – kartais kaip prisijaukinimas, užsienio kultūros įsisavinimas, internacionalizacija ar lokali „kito“ asimiliacija.

Tokie muzikinės praktikos, atrankos procesų ir žiūrovų įpročių skirtumai nėra tik sutapimas, kurį kino muzikos tyrinėtojai turėtų ignoruoti. Šis atlikimo ir priėmimo praktikos spektras nusipelnė ypatingo žvilgsnio vertinant mikroistorijos žvilgsniu: istorija arba, tiksliau sakant, istorijų serija gali atskleisti mažiausias didesnio paveikslėlio detales, o ne sudaryti estetiškai išskirtinių kūrinių kinematografinį kanoną.

Kino muzikos istorikai turėtų atkreipti dėmesį į daugialypę erdvės ir laiko matmenį. Tokių reiškinų kaip muzikos lokalizacija ir versijų įvairovė tyrimai rodo, kad nuo Vakarų Europos iki Rusijos, Jungtinių Valstijų ir Azijos žiūrovai ne tik patyrė skirtingą meno ir žiniasklaidos įvykių poveikį, bet ir turėjo skirtingą santykį su laiku – todėl kartu su Siegfriedu Kracaueru galime kalbėti apie paradoksalų istorijos „nesimultaniškumą“ (*Ungleichzeitigkeit*).

Delivered / Straipsnis įteiktas 2025 02 25

Heli REIMANN

“Spatialized” Musical Biography of Estonian Music Popularizer and Historian Valter Ojakäär

„Erdvinė“ muzikinė estų muzikos populiarintojo ir istoriko Valterio Ojakääro biografija

Tallinn University, Narva mnt 25, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia
hereli@tlu.ee

Abstract

This music-biographical study uncovers the wide range of activities of Estonian music historian and popularizer of *levimuusika*¹ Valter Ojakäär. By asking questions about Ojakäär's life trajectory, the aim of the article is to discuss the formation of his musical and intellectual legacy as a process in which the personal, social, and cultural intermingle. The meaning of Ojakäär's contribution will be analyzed through an interpretive map of three cultural spaces, referring to local, regional, and global dimensions.

Keywords: musical biography, Estonia, history of *levimuusika* (popular music), meaning-making.

Anotacija

Ši muzikinė biografinė studija atskleidžia platų Estijos muzikos istoriko ir *levimuusika* populiarintojo Valterio Ojakääro veiklos spektrą. Keliant klausimą, koks buvo Ojakääro gyvenimo kelias, straipsnyje siekiama aptarti muzikinio ir intelektualinio muzikos istoriko palikimo formavimąsi kaip procesą, kuriame susipina asmeninis, socialinis ir kultūrinis aspektai. Ojakääro indėlis analizuojamas remiantis interpretaciniu trijų kultūrinių erdvių žemėlapiu, atsižvelgiant į vietinę, regioninę ir globaliąją dimensijas.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: muzikinė biografija, Estija, *levimuusika* (populiariosios muzikos) istorija, prasmės kūrimas.

Introduction²

Valter Ojakäär has gone down in the history of Estonian culture as a chronicler whose monumental four-volume series records over 2,000 pages of Estonian jazz and popular music history, or *levimuusika*, following Ojakäär's own definition of the genre. This recording of music history was made possible thanks to the extraordinary, almost encyclopedic memory that Ojakäär possessed, about which there is a saying: “In Soviet times, instead of the internet, we had Valter Ojakäär.”³ In addition to his work as a chronicler, Ojakäär's ninety-three years of life were filled with a myriad of activities, the sheer number of which suggests that there is no limit to human capability. Alongside writing books, Ojakäär composed and performed music. He also brought music and its meaning closer to the public as a radio host, journalist, and lecturer at the Tallinn Folk High School and the Tallinn State Conservatoire. His long life was shaped by political upheavals in Estonia, witnessing four changes of government, which required him to always adapt to new situations. The longest and most productive period of his life was during the Soviet era, the early years of which brought many dramatic events. Yet behind Ojakäär's many

activities and dramatic life events was a level-headed person described by acquaintances as delicate and refined, with a gentlemanly demeanor in every sense of the word,⁴ or as an attentive, tactful, witty, forthcoming, and polite man with a keen intuition for the origins and meanings of words. In short, he was the kind of person one does not often meet.⁵

This music-biographical study uncovers the wide range of activities of Valter Ojakäär through a biographical narrative. According to Christopher Wiley's (2008) three-type division of musical biographies, the essay qualifies as a historical biography using traditional methods of historiography, such as relying on primary and secondary sources and combining them to create a reliable picture of past events and people. Hermione Lee (2009) goes further in confirming the relatedness of history and biography, claiming that biography is already a form of history. By asking questions about Ojakäär's life trajectory, the article aims to discuss the formation of his musical and intellectual legacy as a process in which the personal, social, and cultural intermingle. The meaning of Ojakäär's contribution will be analyzed through an interpretive map of three cultural spaces that refer to the local, regional, and global dimensions of his activities, presenting therefore a form of “spatialized biography.”

This refers here to Setha Low's (2017) term of spatializing culture, a conceptualization of space that encompasses, in this case, memories of the past, cultural territories, and interpretative and narrative strategies. Reflecting on Ojakäär's activities from a local perspective means taking the Estonian cultural context as the basis for interpreting his legacy. The regional perspective situates Ojakäär's pursuits within the framework of the former Soviet cultural space, while the global aspect reveals their broader, worldwide significance. Furthermore, Ojakäär's life can also be interpreted through his personality, which was a key factor in his aspiration toward self-realization.

This essay provides an overview of Valter Ojakäär's activities in three areas based on records from his biography: his chronicling, his musical activities, and his popularization of music. The final two chapters examine Ojakäär as a person and aim to give meaning to his work by interpreting its various details in local, regional, and global contexts. The primary sources include documents from the Estonian History Museum's archive of Ojakäär, radio and television broadcasts, and newspaper articles. Secondary sources include books written by Ojakäär.

Ojakäär as a Chronicler

Ojakäär's most important contributions to Estonian cultural history undoubtedly relate to his chronicling of Estonian popular music in a monumental four-volume series published over ten years between 2000 and 2010 (Ojakäär 2000; 2003; 2008; 2010). The series provides insight into Estonian popular music from its first steps in the early 1900s to the beginning of the twenty-first century. Its information-dense pages contain a wealth of detail about the bands and musicians who performed and the events that took place. In addition, Ojakäär published three biographies of Estonian popular music greats: the first, about Uno Naissoo (Ojakäär and Ojakäär 2011), written in collaboration with his son Jaak Ojakäär; the second, an autobiography (Ojakäär 2013); and the third, about the composer Arne Oit (Ojakäär 2014).

Ojakäär's first work on jazz history was published in 1966. He described how the idea of writing the book came about, as well as the availability of information on jazz during the Soviet period:

The Estonian musicians of my youth had been listening to and playing jazz for a quarter of a century without knowing the origins of their favorite music, its Afro-American roots. Of course, we were well behind the times because of three periods of foreign occupation. After more than seven years of drought in the Soviet jazz scene (1948–1955), a freer time arrived. The saxophone was no longer seen as something as dangerous as

a Finnish dagger, and the sentiment of “Today you play jazz, tomorrow you betray your country” was receding. I received my first book on jazz theory in 1958 from an American friend with whom I had been in correspondence for over twenty years. This book was *The Story of Jazz* by Marshall W. Stearns. (...) After reading that book, the sometimes derogatory term “negro music”, which I heard in my youth, took on a whole new meaning. In the sixties, jazz literature gradually appeared in our shops, the first being Alfons M. Dauer's very comprehensive study *Der Jazz; Knaurs Jazz Lexikon*. People also began making more acquaintances abroad, which made it possible to obtain literature from the USA, England, Germany, and Finland, not to mention the then-socialist world, where jazz was particularly popular in Czechoslovakia and Poland. Upon seeing books about jazz by Finnish and Czechoslovakian authors, I got the idea to write something in Estonian. The sad experiences of our Leningrad colleagues Vladimir Feiertag and Valery Mysovsky made us wary. They had managed to publish a brief fifty-page overview of jazz in 1960, including two dozen photographs. The brochure sold out at lightning speed, but the authors were outright vilified in an authoritative (or rather authoritarian) publication for their objective and promotive work. Once again, the illusion that jazz music could lead to more freedom was shattered.

A year later, Valentina Konen released her book *The Ways of American Music (...)* Konen's book dealt with the history and development of Afro-American music in a thorough and expert manner, without repeating the mistake of the writers from Leningrad – she did not introduce the most prominent American jazz artists in detail in her work. Her work gave me the courage to start writing my own book, “Jazz Music”.⁶

In the mid-1960s, publishing a book on jazz would have been unthinkable without ideological accommodation, or an appeasement tactic known colloquially as padding the writing with a “fat percentage.” “In the language of the musicians, they used to talk about a fat percentage,” recalls Ojakäär (2008, 250–251). “In order to create something, to sing or play, following the voice of one's heart, it was necessary to silence that voice for a while and to dedicate something to the altar of party and government. The fat percentage depended on the abundance or lack of this ‘something.’” In Ojakäär's book on jazz, the “fat percentage” appears on the first page of the introduction, where he included lines by Patrice Lumumba⁷, to make an ideologically appropriate critique of capitalism through a reference to racism:

Your concern crossed continents
the upbeat jazz admired everywhere
made even white people respect your music

The book's “fat percentage” also appears in the chapter titled “The Nature of Jazz Music,” which quotes ideologically correct authors who held left-wing views of jazz. One

of them was Francis Newton (alias Eric Hobsbawm), a British historian and lifelong member of the Communist Party. Due to his Marxist stance, Hobsbawm stressed the social aspects of jazz, viewing it as working-class music that expressed the plight of impoverished black people. For him, jazz was revolutionary music that protested against social conditions at every stage of its development. From his perspective, jazz was more handicraft than romantic art. Similar ideas run like a red thread throughout the chapter. The donations to the “altar of the party” proved sufficient. After five months, from late December 1965 to early June 1966, under intense scrutiny from the Glavlit, the main censorship organ of the Soviet Union, *Jazz Music* was published in 10,000 copies, without cuts, and sold for 80 kopeks each. Ojakäär’s own comment on the censorship was as follows:

Thanks to the favorable jazz climate in Estonia and, no doubt, the temporary sobering of Moscow’s watchful eye, it was published in 1966 without any changes. Thus, the book became the first comprehensive overview of jazz music to appear in the Soviet Union. What is certain is that it could not have been published in Russian. A Russian edition was considered in Kiev and a Latvian edition in Riga, but both plans were eventually scrapped. Shortly afterwards, Alexei Batashev’s book on Soviet jazz was published, but he had to extensively rewrite the manuscript before he could get permission to publish it. So my book is a small example of how, in the total censorship of the time, it was still possible to breathe a little more freely on the periphery.⁸

Ojakäär’s second book, *About Pop Music*, once called the “bible of popular music,” was an extraordinary success. The first edition of 10,000 copies, published in 1978, sold out in a few days, and a second edition of 40,000 copies was published in 1983. There was interest in translating the book in both Russia and Latvia, but no permission was granted. Ojakäär also did not get permission to use a picture of Elvis Presley on the cover.⁹ The book’s popularity is vividly described in a recollection from Mart Juur,¹⁰ a devoted fan of popular music:

I remember that in the autumn of 1983, Tartu was full of news about the second edition of Ojakäär’s book on pop music being about to arrive in a bookshop. I woke up early the next morning – eight was really early for me – and headed to the Akord bookstore in Town Hall Square to join the pop music fanatics already waiting there. The store opened at nine. Eventually I got the book, went back home and started devouring it, starting with the famous first words “We are all light music experts.”

Ojakäär’s literary activities also include numerous journalistic articles, ranging from music reviews to historical overviews, written with his often critical pen. One of his first articles was published in the newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar*

in 1946 and was titled “On Present Day American Jazz Music,”¹¹ which Ojakäär later commented on self-critically:

To be honest, I’ve also written some nonsense. One of my first attempts was my attempt at writing an introductory article on jazz. Both the persecution of the bourgeois nationalists and the Cold War had begun, and the once cordial relations with the Americans ended. I was playing in a jazz orchestra at the time.

I wrote the first article, sent it to *Sirp ja Vasar*. I was called in for an interview and it turned out that the article was ideologically slanted. I requested to take it back. But the editor said we would rework and publish it. He asked if I knew any comical facts. Jazz was ridiculed at the time. I said there were some funny song titles like “Avocado Seed Soup Symphony”. He picked up a couple of titles, rewrote the story and told me now it was good.

My orchestra mates laughed at me, saying they had never read such nonsense before. But some were really annoyed. I said only the beginning of the article was mine. So my entry into journalism at the time was a complete failure. I don’t think any of the journalists who started out at that time can say that everything they wrote was published unchanged. Things were always changed.¹²

Composing

Despite his extensive creative catalog, Ojakäär’s assessment as a composer was modest:

There is so much good music in the world, why should I write more of it. Eller [Ojakäär’s composition teacher] said to imagine writing eight bars of music every day... how much that would add up to in your lifetime... that would have been an enormous number of opuses. But I don’t regret that they were not written, because obviously what was not written was not worth writing. [...] I don’t feel like I’m on the same level as other songwriters and that’s why I’m a chronicler.¹³

Despite his modesty, Ojakäär’s roughly 150 songs, influenced by American pop and schlager music, have secured him a lasting place in the legacy of Estonian popular music. His first song, the balladesque mood piece “Õhtu rannal” (“Evening on the Beach”), composed in 1946 and dedicated to his beloved Heljo Sepp, achieved unexpected popularity, despite the composer himself later dismissing it as an inexpertly conducted experiment.¹⁴ One of the most emotional songs in Ojakäär’s oeuvre is “Olematu laul” (“Nonexistent Song”), based on the words of Leelo Tungal and sung by Helgi Sallo, a popular Estonian singer at the time.¹⁵ The song is a masterpiece of emotional lyricism, showing exceptional sensitivity and depth: the mystery of the lyrics, the tenderness of emotions, and the tension between inaccessibility and perishability are interwoven



Figure 1. Valter Ojakäär (right) and Uno Naissoo in February 1961.
Author J. Rosenfeld. Estonian National Archive EFA.357.0.85638

with Ojakäär's beautiful melodies, where fragile, sad, and sober expressions alternate with powerful waves of emotion. Ojakäär's greatest hits undoubtedly include the humorous "Tihemetsa Tiina," the first verses of which became part of everyday speech during its time of popularity, replacing a regular greeting: "Do you know 'Tihemetsa Tiina'?" — "I know her very well!" — "There are many good things to say about her, but she also has her little faults..." This verse was then followed by a list of Tiina's faults.

Ojakäär's songwriting also included works with the social themes typical of the era, including titles that may sound unusual today, such as "Keep the Fire-fighting Equipment in Order" ("Pea korras tuletõrjevahendid"), "Men and Machines" ("Mehed ja masinad"), "Football Match" ("Jalgpallivõistlus"), "Juice Makers' Song" ("Mahlameistrite laul"), and "Song of Work" ("Laul tööst"). The song "One Ruble Round" ("Rublane ring"), seemingly about drinking and made famous by the Estonian singer Ivo Linna,

also serves as a critical allegory. Ojakäär's songs did not go unnoticed at the all-Union level either. In the 1950s, "At the Seaside Kolkhoz" ("Rannakolhoosis") became the best-selling Estonian pop song, published in forty editions.¹⁶ Sung by Georg Ots, who had achieved fame throughout the Soviet Union, the song was also performed in Russian and broadcast widely over the radio. This success prompted hundreds of song texts to be sent to Ojakäär from Russians: "They were probably hoping they could be included in Ots's repertoire. I wrote melodies for some of the lyrics just to be polite, without being interested in what would become of them," recalls Ojakäär (2013, 251). "At the Seaside Kolkhoz" also gained popularity in Finland, where Ots's performance of the song became known as "Fisherman's Song" ("Kalastajan laulu"). It was released on record with Raimond Valgre's "Saaremaa Waltz" ("Saaremaa valss") on the other side. At first, Finns regarded "Fisherman's Song" as a folk tune until Erik Lindström, a well-known Finnish

musician, clarified that its author was his good friend Valter Ojakäär, successfully demanding a fee for the song’s creator. Thus, Ojakäär belatedly received 500 Finnish marks in payment.¹⁷ “At the Seaside Kolkhoz” was written to Deboora Vaarandi’s lyrics, also known as “This Boat is not Made of Bird Bones.” Despite its Soviet-sounding title, Ojakäär’s version is ideologically neutral, with a humorous undertone about hardy fishermen bringing home “beautiful eels” from the sea for their youngsters at home.

To Ojakäär’s credit, he wrote almost no songs for the Communist Party or government to fulfill the “fat percentage”; there is only one overtly ideological title in the list of songs, and that is “Kremlin Stars” (“Kremlis tähed”). The story behind the song’s creation links to Ojakäär’s politeness in writing melodies for strangers’ lyrics after the huge success of “At the Seaside Kolkhoz”: “I was a polite person, I couldn’t say no. I wrote something uninspired, but it didn’t become anything. I think ‘Kremlin stars’ was left unrecorded in the first place.”¹⁸ In those days, songs with ideological content were produced at a great rate. As Ojakäär noted (2013, 251), there are nineteen songs with Lenin or Stalin in the title in the collection *Soviet Estonian Sheet Music 1940–1960*. Among their composers were both respected masters and talented young people who understood that, despite their songs being published and performed by well-known singers, their efforts were futile because their songs would never achieve popularity among ordinary people.

Ojakäär’s work was not limited to popular music. His education in classical composition also enabled him to create more complex works. His compositions include tracks for eight films, eleven theater productions, and works for both symphony and wind orchestras.¹⁹ Among the works that received recognition at the all-Union level is the opera *The King Is Cold* (*Kuningal on külm*), based on the satirical play of the same name by the well-known Estonian writer Anton Hansen Tammsaare, which won third prize at a national review of theater arts dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution.²⁰ The opera has only been staged once, on September 23, 1967, when the Vanemuine Theatre opened its season with the production.

The review in the newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* considered the opera a success.²¹ “The opera and its production give a very powerful and thought-provoking image of how a ‘good’ monarchist-bourgeoisie order survives in power and how its attempt to maintain power threatens to turn into something even more terrible – a fascist dictatorship,” wrote Vidrik Kivilo, the author of the review. Asked about the opera’s intended audience, he replied that it is certainly not for “those who love only the old and ‘beautiful ways’ of opera. It’s not the kind of opera that makes you feel like you’re floating in a warm bath of familiar melodies.” Indeed, Ojakäär himself stated that he was not oriented toward

absolute values in music; this was not an opera that could be listened to on a record. “I wanted to write as popularly as possible, while at the same time not falling behind the times, applying contemporary intonations.” Although some sought to interpret the opera’s content ideologically as a criticism of capitalism, Ojakäär viewed it as timeless: “I have no reason to be ashamed of this work, it’s a completely timeless opera – all the horse trading and political profiteering never goes away.”²² For Ojakäär, Tammsaare was a writer whose profound works offered many opportunities for reflection on life and thought. “In his work, the writer sees first and foremost the human being as he is – with all his virtues and weaknesses.”²³

Playing the Clarinet and Saxophone

Ojakäär’s career as a musician was shaped primarily by two instruments—the clarinet and the saxophone—although his experience as a musician was not limited to these. During primary school, which he later described as a period of non-professional music making, his instruments were the ocarina, the harmonica, and a line drum he played during military exercises. More serious music-making began with a school band led by violinist Leon Lindau, who advised Ojakäär to choose a ‘proper instrument’ instead of the harmonica. As Benny Goodman was popular at the time, he chose the clarinet. Fortunately, purchasing one was not prohibitively expensive: a clarinet could be bought for 80–85 roubles, the equivalent of a modest monthly salary. Playing with a band of schoolboys at dance parties earned the musicians two roubles an hour, which was a substantial sum for students. “We played for three or four hours and had six or eight kroons in our pockets,” recalls Ojakäär, noting that the earnings were comparable to the price of a kilo of butter, which also cost two kroons. He was also able to attend free piano lessons at school, on the condition that he play in the symphony orchestra. Later, Ojakäär performed alongside his teacher in the Endla Theatre orchestra, “So I became a professional theater orchestra player very early on,” he admitted. In the 40s, after much persuasion from his father, Ojakäär finally became the proud owner of a saxophone. “Later I heard that I would otherwise never have gotten that instrument, but my father had enough life experience to know it was not worth saving money during a war,” says Ojakäär. “My brother got a motorbike and I got a saxophone. A proper Selmer instrument cost 600 kroons. I got the cheaper 400-kroon German Majestic.” With his new instrument, Ojakäär’s career continued in 1941 at the Pärnu Beach Salon, where his bandmate was the renowned songwriter Raimond Valgre.²⁴

The most important milestones of Ojakäär’s musical career were playing in two of the top jazz ensembles of

his time, Rütmi kud and Kuldne Seitse. For a full quarter of a century (1945–1970), Ojakäär was also a member of the Estonian Radio Variety Orchestra. Although playing in the orchestra was, in his words, “mostly a tedious job” compared to jazz ensembles, the steady income encouraged him to keep going (Ojakäär 2013, 181). By “tedious job,” Ojakäär referred to the orchestra’s reliance on a repertoire of “crowning songs”: “from programme to programme and from concert to concert, our repertoire was dominated by songs from fraternal nations, mass-produced pieces in praise of Stalin, songs in defence of peace and other similar performances.” Nonetheless, Ojakäär’s amusing recollections of his years in the orchestra testify that “life in the orchestra was by no means monotonously grey—in spite of all the prohibitions, you could party when the mood took you.” His vivid descriptions (Ojakäär 2013, 182–185) recount adventures in a bus called the Silver Grey, humorous incidents involving strong alcohol, and the resulting breaches of work discipline and written reprimands. After twenty-five years with the orchestra, Ojakäär decided to leave in 1970, as a generational shift meant that all of his old friends had already departed.

Ojakäär’s last activity as a musician was with the Kalev big band. His eleven years of activity in the band (1983–1994) were motivated by the opportunity to experiment—fifty scores from Robert Share in America were waiting to be discovered—and by the chance to enjoy the company of fellow musicians.

Correspondences

Thanks to his knowledge of foreign languages, Ojakäär’s sphere of communication extended beyond Estonia—a good example of how the closed conditions of the Soviet Union were not a barrier to global correspondence for someone with his caliber of curiosity and talent. Hundreds of letters were exchanged in German, English, Russian, and Finnish. At a crucial moment in his career, Ojakäär even considered the possibility of studying English philology at the University of Tartu to put his talent for foreign languages into practice. The idea was inspired by his American pen pal Joseph Walsh, with whom Ojakäär exchanged letters for thirty years. The correspondences also served a practical purpose: the sheet music, records, and literature sent by friends helped alleviate shortages within the Soviet Union. In his characteristically humorous way, Ojakäär (2013, 212) recalled his correspondence with nearly fifty people: “Thinking back to a time when there was no internet, I remember hundreds and hundreds of envelopes where, in disregard of hygiene, Estonian, Soviet or German stamps were pasted on with my tongue, regardless of regime differences between these countries.”

Much of Ojakäär’s jazz correspondence took place with Americans. His pen pals included, for example, the record producer John Hammond, whose address he found in Leonard Feather’s encyclopaedia and to whom Ojakäär sent several recordings of Estonian classical music in the 1960s; the renowned jazz writer James Lincoln Collier,²⁵ who stayed at Ojakäär’s house during a visit to Tallinn in 1985; and Frederic Starr, the first English-language author of Soviet jazz history, whose groundbreaking book *Red and Hot. The fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union* was inspired by information from Ojakäär’s work. Other notable literary friends included the jazz historian Barry Kernfeld, whose *Grove Dictionary of Jazz* contains twenty-six articles on Soviet jazz written by Ojakäär.

Ojakäär also corresponded for over twenty-two years with Robert Share, administrator and later rector of Berklee College of Music, the most prestigious American jazz school. The correspondence was initiated by Ojakäär, who sent a letter to the college in 1962, requesting jazz teaching material. It developed into a deep friendship, through which they shared not only musical information but also personal joys and sorrows. One of the greatest favors Share did for Ojakäär was subscribing to the jazz magazine *Down Beat* on his behalf—an arrangement that lasted not just a few months, but many years. Share also invited Ojakäär to join Berklee’s International Advisory Board and to lecture at the college. Both proposals were politely declined on the grounds of a lack of competence on Ojakäär’s part. In response, Share wrote an understanding letter regarding the situation (Ojakäär 2013, 216): “I fully understand the reasons that prevent you from being an official member of the International Council.” Share was more aware than the average American of the situation in Estonia, partly because Berklee had an Estonian librarian.

Ojakäär’s European correspondences spanned both sides of the political dividing line. Ojakäär came into contact with the left-wing British saxophonist Bruce Turner, who, incidentally, performed at the 1957 Moscow International Youth Festival, through the British communist newspaper *Daily Worker*. In response to Ojakäär’s letter, which included, among other musical examples, Uno Naissoo’s piece “Improvisation on Estonia,” Turner praised the piece and announced its performance on the BBC. Ojakäär suggested that this may have been the only Estonian jazz song ever broadcast on the BBC. His list of pen pals also included Finnish bassist, composer, and vibraphonist Erik Lindström; Pekka Gronow, head of the Finnish National Sound Archive, who kindly helped Ojakäär expand his music collection; Pawel Brodowski, editor of the *Jazz Forum* magazine in Poland; Gerd Natschinski, a GDR composer who invited Ojakäär to appear on his TV show; German jazz composer and producer Joachim-Ernst Berenth; and GDR clarinetist Friedrich Sternberg. Correspondence with

Soviet jazz musicians and fans was self-evident, among them renowned band leaders Oleg Lundström, Jossiph Vainchtein, and Vadim Ludvikovski.

Popularizing Music for the Masses

Ojakäär is best known to a wide audience as a radio presenter, his moderate voice having been on air for more than sixty years. His interest in radio was sparked in the spring of 1940, when he made his first broadcast with three music records at Pärnu Boys’ Gymnasium. Ojakäär crossed into a real radio station for the first time in 1945 to take part in a competition for radio announcers. After a successful test, which included the correct pronunciation of the word “Massachusetts,” he was confirmed in his post. But a week later, Ojakäär’s name disappeared from the radio waves, as his ideologically incorrect personal agenda proved unsuitable for broadcast.

The first jazz show on Estonian Radio, “What do you think?”, was broadcast in the late 1950s. The show was based on a poll designed to discover what listeners thought about jazz. As anticipated, it generated excitement among listeners, and, as Ojakäär recalls, many letters were received:

The questions had to be worded in such a way as to leave them open-ended and generate discussion. There were very few examples of jazz music for us to showcase on the show. I went to people I knew from here and there to borrow records or tapes. The response was mixed: some listeners said they didn’t need what they called “jungle music,” which they said had no melody or anything. On the other hand, younger listeners mocked the social dances that had been promoted and demanded more jazz and good dance music.²⁶

The first surviving jazz program in the Estonian Radio’s archives is the 1961 concert “Negroes, Jazz and Racial Politics.” To characterize the program’s style, its last paragraph is given here as an example: “Fighting the injustices of this



Figure 2. Valter Ojakäär in the studio of Estonian Radio in March 1983. Author Verner Puhm. Estonian National Archive: EFA.251.0.112905

world was the life's work of the great Negro artist Paul Robeson. There are still few of his kind in the United States, but a huge continent has awakened—the ancient homeland of all Negroes, Africa. The days of racism are numbered!”²⁷

Between 1965 and 1970, the first long-running series, *For Friends of Jazz Music*, was broadcast, in which Ojakäär's “jazz informative” activities included news from Estonia and abroad, interviews with musicians, and an introduction to the history of jazz music. Listening to these programs today, Ojakäär's voice-over style may strike listeners as monotonous. His seemingly emotionless delivery was primarily due to the requirement that all texts be prescribed before the show, since everything had to be written out word for word for prior review by the authorities. Over the years, a total of fourteen shows were broadcast, three of which—“Jazz for Jazz Lovers,” “Reflections of Jazz Over the Century,” and “Jazz Through the Ages”—were devoted entirely to jazz music. Ojakäär's longest-running radio series, *Ringling Chronicle*, which celebrated the anniversaries of singers, composers, and musicians, began in 1971 and ended on September 3, 2009, lasting almost forty years (Ojakäär 2013, 236).

In addition, Ojakäär popularized *levimuusika* through teaching. “I went to the Conservatoire to teach without any particular enthusiasm, but I left with no regrets,” Ojakäär (2008, 460) recalled of his work at what used to be the Tallinn State Conservatoire. The first attempt was in 1960, when an optional course—History of Jazz—was introduced, which only a handful of students attended (Ojakäär 2008, 456). A second attempt to introduce jazz education at the Conservatoire in the 1974/75 academic year also proved unsuccessful. This time, Ojakäär's departure was due to the fact that his wife, Vice Rector of the Conservatoire Heljo Sepp, had introduced jazz without the Party's consent. Sepp was punished for the offence: a written reprimand was issued by the rector (Ojakäär 2008, 460).

Ojakäär's educational activities also included mentoring students at the Seminar of Amateur Composers of the Union of Soviet Composers. He later taught at Tallinn University of Culture at the invitation of its director, Luule Mikk, in the mid-1960s. “From the very beginning, my aim was not to impose the music I was introducing,” Ojakäär explained:

There's a lot in light music that's not for everyone, it depends on the age of the listener, previous musical experience, and in many ways just their character. A person of serious nature is often not fond of frivolous pieces. So I tried to objectively show the pros and cons of any genre. I may even have gone overboard in the beginning with too much neutrality, by hiding my taste. Anyway, one of the older listeners in my first group once asked, ‘Comrade Ojakäär, do you like this music?’ and later on, I learned to analyse my own tastes more, and defend them in an argumentative way when necessary.²⁸

A kind of ideological-educational activity also took place through the so-called “oratory genre,” which Ojakäär cultivated as a delegate to congresses. A long and particularly “high in fat percentage” congressional speech from 1953, preserved in Ojakäär's archives, illustrates his ability to master the politically correct rhetoric of the Soviet Union.²⁹ It contained all the expected elements: copious quotations from Stalin, attacks on capitalism—the greatest ideological enemy—and appeals to Soviet “naive optimism.” The thirty-five-page presentation focused on mass song, considered the most operational and effective ideological weapon among Soviet art forms. “The scope of mass songs is limitless,” says Ojakäär, “They penetrate into the consciousness of listeners through radio and word of mouth, becoming memorable after just a few listens and turning into a national treasure.” The lecture concluded with a reference to Comrade Stalin, according to whom the basic economic law of socialism was to ensure the maximum satisfaction of the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of society as a whole. In this respect, Ojakäär reminded mass songwriters of their responsibility to the people. Thus appealed Ojakäär to the consciences of the creators.

An example of a much less ideologically slanted article appears in the records of the first meeting of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Culture's art council of popular music, of which Ojakäär was a member. The council's discussion focused on the state of Soviet jazz music and the problems in its development.³⁰ The document is not dated, but its contents suggest that it was written in the second half of the 1960s. The need for original compositions was stressed, especially in the so-called national schools of thought. Criticism was also levelled at the term Soviet jazz, which often included music with indirect links to jazz, and it was suggested that more orchestral arrangements of popular Soviet songs should be used in jazz music. In this respect, Ojakäär considered Estonia to be in a relatively good position compared to other Soviet republics, as there were many active songwriters there. Unfortunately, Estonia lacked professional collectives specializing in jazz music. The reflections of the council's chairman, J. Dmitriev, who summarized the results of the first meeting, illustrate the changed status of jazz in society:

It was not right to ever convince people that jazz music was something that only belongs in the pub. Jazz is a unique form of music that can be good and bad. Clarifying this is a societal task. To further develop the genre, young jazz orchestras should be created, music schools should train specialists in the field, literature should be published, and jazz orchestras should organize competitions to identify talented young musicians with the objective of taking part in future international jazz competitions.

In addition to the local press, Ojakäär's name also appeared in the columns of Union-wide publications. For example, in the November 1972 issue of the music magazine *Sovetskaya Muzyka* (*Советская музыка*), Ojakäär published a short article³¹ in light of the next Party congress on “Literature and Art Criticism.” In it, he complained about the lack of information available to a radio editor. The only way to find out about Soviet light music was to call acquaintances at Moscow radio every week and ask, “What’s new?” But that was not the right method. What was needed, he argued, was a Union-wide song contest, which could become a stage where “the music of Latvians and Armenians and Chuvashs and Estonians and Uzbeks and all our other peoples can be heard, to show us that their songs are good and beautiful, that they have the right to be heard.” Two years later,³² Ojakäär engaged readers in his creative plans, mentioning that his creative work was then almost entirely theater-related. He spoke of his desire to write an opera about Vassily Ivanovich Chapayev, whom he called “one of the most beloved characters of the Soviet youth [...] I have thought of it as a romantic and heroic work without a tragic ending. Young people need an optimistic and jolly hero. [...] My mission is to express the complexity of our times in a simple and clear way.” Although Kulno Süvalep had begun work on a libretto, this opera, with its rather high “fat percentage,” remained unwritten for unknown reasons. Ojakäär's two other articles, one reminiscing about Uno Naissoo and the other providing a brief survey of Estonian jazz, were published in 1989 in a voluminous collection on Soviet jazz entitled *Soviet Jazz*.

Personality

One important personality trait of Ojakäär was his sense of moderation, meaning that his tactics for navigating the political turmoil of the time were not based on choosing sides between powers and their ideologies, but on survival, or how to cope with the circumstances of the moment. His tactic became one of surrendering to circumstances rather than fighting them. This kind of cross-political approach was also employed by many others involved in jazz who used similar maneuvering tactics to achieve their music-driven goals. Nonetheless, upholding ethics and human values were the ultimate yardsticks of their daily behavior. In fact, during the Soviet era, the roles of morality, ethics, and inner conviction at the individual level were far more decisive than those who emphasize the repressive nature of political power would like to admit. As noted by anthropologist and Soviet history researcher Alexei Yurchak (2006, 10), the socialist reality was one in which control, coercion, alienation, fear, and moral quandaries were irreducibly mixed with ideals, communal ethics, dignity, creativity, and care for the future.

The same was true of those in power: Soviet society as a whole was not only regulated at the political-ideological level but also at the executive level, which in turn bestowed a decisive role to those in power and their values.

In spite of difficulties, Ojakäär never resorted to the popular tactics employed by composers who wrote songs of praise to the Soviet government and its cult figures:

But this much I can say, as someone whose mother and sister were deported and whose father was in a prison camp, I did not dedicate a single song to Lenin, Stalin or the Party. But I had colleagues who did. Their motive wasn't fame or money, but the desire to secure their backs in case someone came to accuse them of hiding a skeleton in their closet. In the Middle Ages, there was the practice of indulgence. These songs were also indulgence.³³

As a consequence of inadequate indulgence and dirty papers, Ojakäär was deprived of high national honors. Among the honors he did receive were awards from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1957, 1965, 1973), but in terms of merit, Ojakäär should have been considered an Honored Artist of the Estonian SSR, as referenced by the name of an honorary title given by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR to creative workers during the Soviet era. Ojakäär himself recounted the story of how he finally received an honorary title in a humorous tone characteristic of him:

It was an anecdote in itself when it finally came. Sometime in the sixties, I remember Lidia Auster was the artistic director of the radio, and she put me forward for the nomination for an honorary title. When the proposal was rejected, I admit I was a little disappointed. Later I was put forward a couple of more times, and by then I knew I was going to be rejected anyway. It was like water off a duck's back for me. And in the end, I was even a little proud that actors Eino Baskin and Eino Mandri and I were the three still without honors... well, they did receive them in the end... they had to be sent abroad. It was kind of a political game. But my story went like this: we had a meeting of the Composers' Union around '88, when blue-black-white flags were already beginning to appear, and they no longer asked permission from that gloomy house, so the Union's board could nominate candidates as they pleased. There was a board meeting, I was also on the board at the time, and Jaan Rääts told me that we have a whole bunch of people here, for example Leo Normet and Ingrid Rüütel, without an honorary title. [...] I remember Ingrid Rüütel categorically refused the title. And I also told them if I hadn't gotten one yet, I didn't need it. Hugo Lepnurm said very nicely that we could all give our titles back now. And perhaps it would have been the right move to do so at the time. That was the end of it for now. Later on, Peeter Vähi came up to me on the street and said, 'I heard they want to give you an honorary title.' 'How so?' I said, 'I told Rääts I don't want the title.' So I asked Jaan Rääts himself, and reminded him that we had talked about

this thing not happening. Rääts started laughing, and said, 'Yes, we were talking about titles, but we'll make you a People's Artist of the Estonia SSR.' It was a promotion, like jumping from being a lieutenant to the major in an army.

However, Ojakäär's past, which included regrets such as seeing his father and sister deported to Siberia and his own time in the German army, did not become an obstacle to eventually crossing the border. The first offer to go abroad came in 1966 from the Deputy Radio Director Ülo Koidu. Ojakäär refused to travel because filling in the necessary forms seemed insurmountably unpleasant. Koit then exclaimed in surprise that this must have been the first time someone had canceled a trip abroad. However, Koit later persuaded Ojakäär, and the trip to Helsinki for the Finnish-Estonian joint show *Sävelsilta* went ahead.³⁴ Among the countries he later visited were the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, Sweden, and France. However, throughout this time, Ojakäär was haunted by the trip to America that never materialized. His American friends had arranged free on-site accommodation and transport with the help of the United States Information Agency, but the trip was canceled because there was no money for a return ticket.³⁵

Despite the difficult circumstances in the Soviet Union, Ojakäär never complained. He did not make aggressive accusations against the authorities, nor did he assume the role of victim, as is often done when looking back at the era. Nor was he one of those heroic-minded storytellers whose memoirs depict grand resistance to power. Ojakäär chose a third option—using humor, irony, and a good sense of the absurd, without which it is almost impossible to talk about the Soviet era. As a mature personality, he avoided “what if” reflections on the choices he made during difficult periods and instead learned to accept whatever fate had to offer. As he argued, “This whole period was a symbiosis of luck and misfortune. Chance played a huge role.”³⁶

Ojakäär's politically distanced attitude continued even during Estonia's regained independence, as he did not become an active nationalist like many other cultural figures. He did not join those who, after the country regained its independence, denigrated the entire Soviet-era cultural heritage, condemned the people associated with it, accused them of betraying the Estonian nation, and collaborating with the Soviet authorities. A telling example is his statement about the “father of Estonian song,” Gustav Ernesaks, who was unacceptable to many people, especially those with radical nationalist views:

It saddens me to hear Ernesaks being reproached. I understand it very well, because Naissoo and I had to present the same kinds of ‘gifts to the ruler’... song festivals were for Ernesaks what jazz festivals were for us. They had to be squeezed

through somehow, and to do that, composers had to highlight their friendship towards the authorities. And now, afterwards, to bark at Ernesaks that people sang these songs for Stalin... My understanding is that this is offensive to the people who came together in the song festival grounds and sang ‘My Fatherland is my Love’, but not those Lenin and Stalin songs. No one sang these with passion.³⁷

Summary

Through his activities, Ojakäär is undoubtedly one of those passionate figures who made an invaluable contribution to the altar of Estonian cultural history. A testament to this is his record of the entire history of Estonian popular music in four sizable volumes. Aware of his responsibility, Ojakäär remarked before the publication of his first book that if he did not write it, he did not know another writer who could, because “unfortunately, there are not many left of the generation who remember the music scene of the 1930s. I knew it all from the radio, because I've been a radio listener since I was five.”³⁸ This argument should certainly be extended to the entire history of Estonian popular music—it is impossible to find anyone else whose memory is so extensive in both time and context. Growing up with music as early as the 1930s, his life developed alongside Estonian popular music, which he also actively shaped. As the pages of his books reveal, Ojakäär's great passion was jazz, which he first encountered during the emergence of swing music at a time when the swing icon Count Basie was making his first recording sessions with producer John Hammond in 1936, and Benny Goodman signed a successful contract with the prestigious Palomar Ballroom in Los Angeles. The non-linear narrative of his books focuses primarily on the preservation of historical data: information on musical collectives and individuals, events, and dates in the musical landscape. Interestingly, Ojakäär did not write the story of Estonian levimuusika as a local narrative. The otherwise one-sided national perspective is occasionally broadened by introducing both Soviet and global contexts. In this way, Ojakäär partly managed to avoid the heritage-research tendency of Estonian historiography,³⁹ which cultivates a sense of ownership and prioritizes Estonian-ness (Tamm 2009, 64). At the same time, he did not shy away from taking a clear stance on both music and society, alongside his abundant personal recollections. This is particularly evident in his approach to writing about the Soviet era, where humor and vibrant irony replace the often harsh narratives of criticism or suffering. What is also noteworthy about Ojakäär's books is that he approached both jazz and popular music together, which is by no means common in the traditions of music history writing. Ojakäär certainly had personal reasons for this, related to his experiences with

different musical styles, but the cross-stylistic approach was also characteristic of Estonian music culture more broadly, where composers and musicians often felt no stylistic constraints. Whether this was simply a matter of getting by in Estonia’s vast cultural landscape or a matter of stylistic neutrality is difficult to decide, but the fact remains that both jazz and popular music fit under a common approach. The situation is the opposite in most music historiography traditions, where jazz and popular music—though sharing common roots—have been clearly distinguished from each other. One of the reasons, for example, has been the desire to protect jazz in the face of the growing popularity of pop and rock (Frith 2007).

The meaning behind Ojakäär’s first collection, *Jazz Music*, can also be analyzed in a global context, where the publication of the book in the 1960s coincided with the emergence of a new generation of jazz writers, both musicians and music critics. These included Gunther Schuller, Andre Hodeir, Max Harrison, and Martin Williams, who sought to legitimize jazz through classicizing (Tucker 1998, 147). Ojakäär was also engaged in legitimization, though not in relation to classical music, but rather against ideology, which considered jazz a Western phenomenon inappropriate in the Soviet context. His position was shared by two other authors who published books on jazz during the Soviet era—Alexei Batashev and Vladimir Feiertag. All three contributed to the emergence of the Soviet jazz discourse in slightly different ways, but together they hold the honor of being the first in this field within the Soviet Union. Chronologically, the first was Feiertag, with his pamphlet-sized work *Jazz: A Short Essay* (Feiertag 1960), followed by Ojakäär’s review in 1966. In 1972, Batashev (1972) published a book entirely devoted to Soviet jazz, in which he praised Ojakäär’s book:

This is a real book, not a booklet or a chapter in a book, as it has been until recently. The book should be translated into Russian, and I intend to emphasize this in my review. It is a serious work, it seems to me, through the language barrier, and such an original piece of work cannot be ignored. It’s nice that our jazz is now at a stage where we can write a whole chapter about it. [...] It’s a pity we don’t have a book like this in Russian.⁴⁰

Ojakäär’s longest-lasting field of activity was in “musical enlightenment,” or the promotion of jazz and popular music, which he carried out through various media such as journalism, television, and radio, and by giving lectures at the Tallinn Folk High School and Conservatoire. Over the course of his long radio career, fourteen music series were broadcast. With the first jazz broadcasts in the late 1950s, Ojakäär earned the title of jazz pioneer in the Soviet Union. For comparison, in Moscow, the first jazz broadcast aired on the Yunost radio station on December 16, 1963,

led by devoted jazz fan Arkady Petrov.⁴¹ It has sometimes been speculated whether Ojakäär’s radio career of more than sixty years is one of the longest of its kind in Europe. As a journalist, Ojakäär, together with Uno Naissoo, was a central music author during the Soviet era, whose often critical pen was used to write about popular music—reviews, concert introductions, and discussions of music—which helped shape the way popular music was spoken about in Estonian, even though it often had to be done with a certain “fat percentage” during the Soviet era. At the national level, Ojakäär also released articles in various publications. His writings reached beyond the Soviet border when they were included in *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*, edited by Barry Kernfeld (1988), and when information he shared with Frederic Starr was published in the pages of the first English-language Soviet jazz history book (Starr, 1983).

It is true that Ojakäär’s compositions are modest in scope and significance compared to his work as chronicler and educator, but this does not diminish their value. His songs found a place in the repertoire of Estonian singers of multiple generations and have shaped the musical memory of Estonian listeners for more than half a century. Even though Ojakäär did not like to consider himself a writer of music, his creations were part of his legacy for six decades. His last song, “Miniood Pärnule” (“A Mini-Ode to Pärnu”), was written before his eighty-eighth birthday in 2011. His song “At the Seaside Kolkhoz” (1950) achieved nationwide fame, thanks primarily to its singer, Georg Ots. The song likely resonated with the mood of the time. Beyond this, Ojakäär was also active in what could be called social-organizational activities. As a member of the Estonian Composers’ Union, he often spoke at its congresses, represented Estonia as a delegate at the organization’s international congresses, and participated in the juries of festivals and reviews. He was a frequent guest in the corridors of cultural institutions in Moscow and well-known among professional musicians nationwide. As was the case with many of his contemporaries, Ojakäär had to use ideological adaptation as a tactic, whether in a book, newspaper article, conference presentation, or song lyric.

Even though Ojakäär was confined to the small Estonian-language cultural sphere and spent most of his life in the closed-off Soviet Union, his activities had a global dimension, which, admittedly, were mostly symbolic. He was undeniably part of an older generation of jazz popularizers, historians, and publicists whose lives and activities paralleled the development of the genre and who sought ways to converse about it, especially in the 1960s. The critique of capitalism and the emphasis on pointing out racism, which Ojakäär called the “fat percentage,” coincided with the ideas of Western jazz writers with left-wing views. His global reach is also evidenced by his extensive correspondence,

which, thanks to his knowledge of several languages, allowed him to expand his communication beyond Estonia. In addition to practicing a foreign language, the benefit of correspondence during Soviet times was the possibility of obtaining specialist information in the form of books, notes, and recordings. Thus, for a man as curious and committed as Ojakäär, the Soviet regime was no obstacle to self-realization. In addition to everything else, Ojakäär was supported on his journey of self-fulfillment by his traits of level-headedness and pragmatism, which helped him cope with difficult situations.

The answer to the question of why he undertook so many things in his life was given by Ojakäär in a show dedicated to his ninetieth birthday, in his characteristically humorous style. “Curiosity is a trait of my cat and me, because we always want to know what’s inside or behind things. I wrote more for myself than for others.”⁴²

References

- 1 The term *levimuusika* was coined by Valter Ojakäär. The first part of the expression, *levi-*, comes from the Estonian word *levima*, meaning “to spread,” and *muusika* means “music.” Thus, *levimuusika* refers to mass-disseminated music, which in Ojakäär’s original sense encompassed both jazz and popular music.
- 2 The article is part of the project “The “Soviet West” Revisited: Individual and Collective Agency in the Contact Zones of Everyday Life in the Estonian SSR,” funded by Estonian Research Council (number PRG2140).
- 3 Teemaõhtu kommentaarid: 49, Valter Ojakäär 90 [*Theme Night Comments: 49, Valter Ojakäär 90*]. TV broadcast, March 10, 2013. ERR archive. <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/teemaõhtu-kommentaarid-valter-ojakaar-90>.
- 4 Estraadisangarid: Valter Ojakäär, Heli Lääts [*Heroes of Popular Music: Valter Ojakäär, Heli Lääts*]. TV broadcast, March 24, 2017. ERR archive. <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/estraadisangarid-valter-ojakaar>.
- 5 Järjehoidja Valter Ojakäär [*Radio Host Valter Ojakäär*]. Radio broadcast, November 6, 2016. ERR archive. <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/jarjehoidja-valter-ojakaar-10-03-1923-27-10-2016>.
- 6 Mõned meenutused eilsest džässist tänase valguses [*Thinking Back on Yesterday’s Jazz in Today’s Light*]. Estonian History Museum (EHM), Valter Ojakäär Collection, M216-136.
- 7 Patrice Lumumba was the leader of the Congolese independence movement, the first prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Congo, and a close ally of the Soviet Union in Africa, after whom Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow was named. His assassination in 1961 was allegedly planned by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (Ojakäär 2008, 252).
- 8 Mõned meenutused eilsest džässist tänase valguses [*Thinking Back on Yesterday’s Jazz in Today’s Light*]. Estonian History Museum (EHM), Valter Ojakäär Collection, M216-136.
- 9 Niineste, Mart. “Valter Ojakäär – muusikaentsüklopeedia K. A. Hermannist Ineseni [Valter Ojakäär – An Encyclopedia of Music from K. A. Hermann to Ines].” *Eesti Päevaleht*, February 23, 2008. <https://epl.delfi.ee/artikkel/51120579/valter-ojakaar-muusikaentsuklopeedia-k-a-hermannist-ineseni>.
- 10 “Teemaõhtu kommentaarid: 49, Valter Ojakäär 90 [Theme Night Comments: 49, Valter Ojakäär 90].” TV broadcast, March 10, 2013. ERR Archive. <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/teemaõhtu-kommentaarid-valter-ojakaar-90>.
- 11 “Tänapäeva Ameerika džässimuusikast [On Present Day American Jazz Music].” *Sirp ja Vasar*, August 8, 1949.
- 12 Niineste, Mart. “Valter Ojakäär – muusikaentsüklopeedia K. A. Hermannist Ineseni [Valter Ojakäär – An Encyclopedia of Music from K. A. Hermann to Ines].” *Eesti Päevaleht*, February 23, 2008. <https://epl.delfi.ee/kultuur/valter-ojakaar-muusikaentsuklopeedia-k-a-hermannist-ineseni?id=51120579>.
- 13 “Estraaditähestik: 24, Valter Ojakäär.” TV broadcast, November 22, 1987. ERR Archive. <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/estraaditahestik-valter-ojakaar/same-series>.
- 14 Velmet, Toomas. “Õhtu rannal Pärnus (Evening on a Pärnu Beach).” *Sirp*, December 22, 2023. <https://www.sirp.ee/s1-artiklid/c5-muusika/ohtu-rannal-parnus/>.
- 15 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5dHBrCRLAfk>
- 16 Kulli, Jaanus. “Valter Ojakäär: Jumal tänatud, et mul pole mitte ühtegi laulu pühendatud Stalinile või Leninile (Valter Ojakäär: Thank God I Have Not Written a Single Song in Honor of Stalin or Lenin).” *Õhtuleht*, November 22, 2014. <https://elu.ohtuleht.ee/604971/valter-ojakaar-jumal-tanatud-et-mul-pole-mitte-uh-tegi-laulu-puhendatud-stalinile-voi-leninile->.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Estonian Music Information Centre. <https://www.emic.ee/?sisu=heliloojad&mid=58&lang=eng&action=view&id=60&method=teosed>
- 20 Духовенное богатство наших народов всеобщее достояние, *Советская музыка*, 1969, 1.
- 21 Vidrik Kivilo, “Kuningal on külm RAT ‘Vanemuises’ [*The King Is Cold at the Vanemuine Theatre*],” *Sirp ja Vasar*, October 6, 1967.
- 22 Mart Niineste, “Valter Ojakäär – muusikaentsüklopeedia K. A. Hermannist Ineseni [Valter Ojakäär – An Encyclopedia of Music from K. A. Hermann to Ines],” *Eesti Päevaleht*, February 23, 2008, <https://epl.delfi.ee/kultuur/valter-ojakaar-muusikaentsuklopeedia-k-a-hermannist-ineseni?id=51120579>.
- 23 “Ooperiõhtu. Valter Ojakäär 100 [*Opera Night. Valter Ojakäär 100*].” Radio broadcast, Klassikaraadio, date not given. <https://klassikaraadio.err.ee/1608900230/ooperiohtu-valter-ojakaaru-satiiriline-kuningal-on-kulm>.
- 24 “Kukul külas: Valter Ojakäär [*Visiting Kuku Radio: Valter Ojakäär*].” Radio broadcast, Kuku Radio, date not given. http://media.kuku.ee/arhivaar/kukulkylasarhiiv/Valter_Ojakaar_02.mp3.
- 25 Collier’s message to Valter Ojakäär, May 9, 1985. Valter Ojakäär Collection, Estonian History Museum (EHM), M216-14.
- 26 Untitled document. Valter Ojakäär Collection, Estonian History Museum (EHM), M216-63.
- 27 Neegrid, džäss ja rassipoliitika (Negroes, Jazz and Racial Politics). Valter Ojakäär Collection, Estonian History Museum (EHM), M216-141.
- 28 Untitled document. Valter Ojakäär Collection, Estonian History Museum (EHM), M216-63.
- 29 *Eesti NSV heliloojate massilaulude looming 1948–1953 (Mass Songs of Authors from the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1948–1953)*. Valter Ojakäär Collection, Estonian History Museum (EHM), M216-46.

- ³⁰ Saksfonist soome pussini (From the Saxophone to the Finnish Dagger). Valter Ojakäär Collection, Estonian History Museum (EHM), M216-83.
- ³¹ "Трибуны всесоюзной конференции" [Tribunals of Cross-Union Conferences]. *Советская музыка* [Sovetskaya Myzyka], no. 11 (1972).
- ³² "Авторы рассказывают" [As Told by Authors]. *Советская музыка* [Sovetskaya Myzyka], no. 1 (1974).
- ³³ Niineste, Mart. "Valter Ojakäär – muusikaentsüklopeedia K. A. Hermannist Ineseni" [Valter Ojakäär – An Encyclopedia of Music from K. A. Hermann to Ines]. *Eesti Päevaleht*, February 23, 2008. <https://epl.delfi.ee/kultuur/valter-ojakaar-muusikaentsuklopeedia-k-a-hermannist-ineseni?id=51120579>.
- ³⁴ "Kukul külas: Valter Ojakäär" [Visiting Kuku Radio: Valter Ojakäär]. Radio broadcast, Kuku Radio. Accessed [insert access date]. http://media.kuku.ee/arhivaar/kukukylasarhiiv/Valter_Ojakaar_02.mp3.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Kulli, Jaanus. "Valter Ojakäär: Jumal tänatud, et mul pole mitte ühtegi laulu pühendatud Stalinile või Leninile" [Valter Ojakäär: Thank God I Have Not Written a Single Song in Honor of Stalin or Lenin]. *Õhtuleht*, November 22, 2014. <https://elu.ohhtuleht.ee/604971/valter-ojakaar-jumal-tanatud-et-mul-pole-mitte-uhetegi-laulu-puhendatud-stalinile-voi-leninile->.
- ³⁷ "Kukul külas: Valter Ojakäär" [Visiting Kuku Radio: Valter Ojakäär]. Radio broadcast. http://media.kuku.ee/arhivaar/kukukylasarhiiv/Valter_Ojakaar_02.mp3.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Historian David Lowenthal (1998) distinguished between history and heritage, noting that while the goal of history writing is to understand the past, heritage is a celebration of the past and its continuity.
- ⁴⁰ Batachev's message to Ojakäär, Collection of Valter Ojakäär, EHM, M216-154.
- ⁴¹ Jazzmuusika sõpradele (For Friends of Jazz Music), interview with Arkadi Petrov, December 25, 1969, Collection of Valter Ojakäär, EHM, M216-139.
- ⁴² Teemaõhtu kommentaarid: 49, Valter Ojakäär 90 (Theme Night Comments: 49, Valter Ojakäär 90). TV broadcast, March 10, 2013. ERR Archive. <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/teemaohu-kommentaariid-valter-ojakaar-90>.

Bibliography

- Баташев, Алексей. *Советский джаз: исторический очерк*. Москва: Музыка, 1972.
- Frith, Simon. "Is Jazz Popular Music?" *Jazz Research Journal* 1 (2007): 7–23.
- Kernfeld, Barry, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Lee, Hermione. *Biography: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Low, Seta. *Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Lowenthal, David. "Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History." *Annals of Iowa* 57, no. 4 (2007): 399–401.
- Мысовский, Валерий, and Владимир Фейертаг. *Джаз: краткий очерк*. Ленинград: Музгиз, 1960.
- Ojakäär, Valter. *Väibunud viiside kaja*. Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 2000.

- Ojakäär, Valter. *Omad viisid võoras väes: 1940–1945*. Tallinn: Kirjastus Ilo, 2003.
- Ojakäär, Valter. *Sirp ja saksafon*. Tallinn: Kirjastus Ilo, 2008.
- Ojakäär, Valter. *Oma laulu leidsime üles: 1950. aastatest tänapäevani*. Tallinn: Kirjastus Ilo, 2010.
- Ojakäär, Valter. *Valter Ojakäär ja muusika: naeru ja nuttu pikalt eluteelt*. Tallinn: TEA Kirjastus, 2013.
- Ojakäär, Valter. *Arne Oit: siin on see laul*. Tallinn: TEA Kirjastus, 2014.
- Ojakäär, Valter, and Jaak Ojakäär. *Uno Naissoo: põgene, vaba laps!* Tallinn: TEA Kirjastus, 2011.
- Starr, Frederick S. *Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union*. New York: Limelight, 1983.
- Tamm, Marek. "Kellele kuulub Eesti ajalugu? Sissejuhatavaid märkmeid." *Vikerkaar* 7–8 (2009): 53–66.
- Tucker, Sherry. "Deconstructing the Jazz Tradition: The 'Subjectless Subject' of New Jazz Studies." *The Source: Challenging Jazz Criticism* 2, no. 2 (2005): 31–45.
- Wiley, Christopher. *Re-writing Composers' Lives: Critical Biography and Musical Biography*. 2 vols. PhD diss., University of London, 2008.
- Yurchak, Aleksei. *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Santrauka

Straipsnyje pateikiama „erdvinė“ estų muzikos istoriko, populiariojo ir kompozitoriaus Valterio Ojakääro muzikinė biografija, iš kurios matyti reikšmingas indėlis į Estijos muziką ir kultūrą, pabrėžiamos kompozitoriaus asmeninio gyvenimo, socialinės aplinkos ir kultūrinio poveikio sąsajos. Tyrime pasitelkiami tradiciniai istoriniai metodai ir nagrinėjama jo veikla vietiniame, regioniniame ir globaliame kontekstuose.

Svarbiausias Ojakääro darbas yra jo monumentali keturių tomų estų *levimuusika* (terminas, kurį jis sukūrė muzikai, apimančiai džiazą ir populiariąją muziką, apibūdinti) istorija. Ši knygų serija, išleista 2000–2010 m., dokumentuoja estų populiariosios muzikos raidą nuo ištakų iki XXI a. pradžios. Jo knygų tikslas – išsaugoti istorinius duomenis apie muzikos grupes, asmenybes, įvykius ir datus. Jis įtraukė Estijos džiazio istoriją į sovietinį ir pasaulinį kontekstą, atsiribodamas nuo siauro lokalaus požiūrio, būdingo Estijos istoriografijai. Pirmasis didelis Ojakääro leidinys buvo „Džässiraamat“ („Džiazio knyga“), pasirodęs 1966 m. Tai viena iš trijų pirmųjų knygų apie džiazą, išleistų Sovietų Sąjungoje.

Ojakääras taip pat aktyviai populiarino džiazą ir populiariąją muziką įvairiose žiniasklaidos priemonėse, tokiose kaip žurnalistika, televizija ir radijas. Estijos radijuje vedė 14 muzikos laidų ciklą. Jis laikomas džiazio radijo laidų Sovietų Sąjungoje pradininku. Ojakääras buvo svarbi figūra Estijos muzikos žurnalistikoje, jo tekstai prisidėjo prie diskusijų apie džiazą ir populiariąją muziką Estijoje formavimo. Šio

asmens veikla peržengė Sovietų Sąjungos sienas, Ojakääras taip pat prisidėjo ir prie tarptautinių džiazų leidinių.

Nors muzikinė kūryba antraeilė, palyginti su Ojakääro veikla kronikininkystės ir švietimo srityse, ji vis dėlto yra reikšminga. Kompozitoriaus sukurtos populiariosios muzikos dainos rado vietą įvairių kartų Estijos dainininkų repertuare ir daugiau nei pusę amžiaus formavo Estijos klausytojų muzikinę atmintį. Dainininko Georgo Otso atliekama Ojakääro 1950 m. parašyta daina „Pajūrio kolūkyje“ tapo žinoma visoje Sovietų Sąjungoje.

Ojakääras taip pat aktyviai dalyvavo socialinėje ir organizacinėje veikloje. Kaip Kompozitorių sąjungos narys, jis dažnai kalbėdavo jos suvažiavimuose, atstovavo Estijai SSRS kompozitorių sąjungų suvažiavimuose ir dalyvavo festivalių žiuri. Buvo dažnas svečias Maskvos kultūros institucijų koridoriuose ir gerai žinomas SSRS profesionalių muzikantų sluoksniuose.

Nors buvo kalbiškai apribotas estų kalbos ir didžiąją dalį gyvenimo praleido niekur neišvykdamas iš Sovietų Sąjungos, jo veikla turėjo nors ir simbolinį, bet globalų matmenį. Jis priklausė vyresniajai džiazų muzikos populiarintojų,

istorikų ir publicistų kartai, kurių gyvenimas ir veikla vyko lygiagrečiai su šio muzikos žanro plėtra ir kurie ieškojo būdų kalbėti apie šią muziką, ypač 7 deš. Kapitalizmo kritika ir rasizmo akcentavimas nors ir buvo Ojakääro vadinamasis „riebalų procentas“ – duoklė partijai ir vyriausybei, tai sutapo su kairiųjų pažiūrų Vakarų džiazų autorių idėjomis. Ojakääro pasaulinį lygmenį taip pat liudija jo gausi korespondencija keliomis kalbomis, siekianti toli už Estijos ribų. Sovietinėmis sąlygomis toks susirašinėjimas teikė galimybę gauti profesinės informacijos knygų, natų ir įrašų pavidalu. Taigi smalsiam ir darbščiam žmogui sovietinis režimas netapo savirealizacijos kliūtimi. Kryptinga veikla ir pragmatizmas padėjo Ojakäärai susidoroti su sudėtingomis situacijomis kelyje į savirealizaciją.

Laidoje, skirtoje jo 90-mečiui, Ojakääras šmaikščiai atsakė į klausimą, kodėl savo gyvenime ėmėsi tiek daug dalykų: „Mano smalsumas primena man maniškį katiną: aš irgi visuomet noriu žinoti, kas slypi ko nors viduje arba už ribų. Visuomet rašiau labiau sau negu kitiems.“

Delivered / Straipsnis įteiktas 2025 02 27

Jan TEMME DE VRIES

Negotiating National Identity through Music: The Orchestral Variations on “Den tapre Landsoldat” by Jørgen Ernst Simonsen (1803–1886) as a Case of Depolitization of Music in the Danish Province

Nacionalinės tapatybės derybos per muziką:

Jørgeno Ernsto Simonseno (1803–1886) orkestrinės variacijos „Den tapre Landsoldat“ kaip muzikos depolitizacijos Danijos provincijoje pavyzdys

Institute for Musicology, University of Basel, Petersgraben 27, CH-4051 Basel
jan.temme@unibas.ch

Abstract

Jørgen Ernst Simonsen, music teacher, violin virtuoso and composer, wrote a series of pieces in which the orchestra plays a purely accompanying role and the solo violin takes centre stage. These works are mostly variations on well-known Danish folk songs, many with a military background. One notable example is “Den tapre Landsoldat,” based on the well-known melody of the same name.

Given its patriotic theme, the piece could have been conceived as a musical narrative celebrating national pride. However, Simonsen does not approach it as a political statement. Instead, he strips the music of overt ideological messaging, using the composition primarily as a showcase for his violin technique and musical craftsmanship. Based on the political theory developed by Benedict Anderson, which understands the formation of a nation as a reaction to the disappearance of established certainties, and the music-aesthetic concepts of quotation in the music of Zofia Lissa, Simonsen’s works can be presented both as political communication and as works of art with an immanent narrative. The performance of his works in the 19th century is therefore both a political event and an artistic self-expression. This ambiguity of concert music in the Danish provinces opens up a new perspective on a hitherto largely neglected field of political music. Also, the methodology proposed in this article allows to regard a piece like “Den tapre Landsoldat” both as a form of political and ideological communication and as a form of art.

Keywords: Danish nationalism, provincial musicking, depolitization, *Guldalder*, musical quotation

Anotacija

Muzikos mokytojas, smuiko virtuozas ir kompozitorius Jørgenas Ernstas Simonsenas parašė kūrinių ciklą, kuriame orkestras atlieka tik pritariamąjį vaidmenį, o pagrindinis vaidmuo tenka soliniam smuikui. Šie kūriniai daugiausia yra žinomų danų liaudies dainų, kurių dauguma karo dainos, variacijos. Viena garsiausių – „Den tapre Landsoldat“, sukurta pagal tuo metu populiarią dainą tokiu pačiu pavadinimu.

Dėl patriotinės temos šį kūrinių galima būtų vertinti kaip muzikinį pasakojimą, skirtą tautiniam pasididžiavimui kelti. Tačiau Simonsenas nedarė politinių pareiškimų. Priešingai, jis atėmė iš muzikos tai, kas joje buvo akivaizdžiai ideologiška, ir naudojo kompoziciją kaip būdą pademonstruoti savo smuiko techniką ir muzikinį meistriskumą. Remiantis Benedicto Andersono politine teorija, kuri tautos susiformavimą traktuoja kaip reakciją į nusistovėjusių tikrumų išnykimą, ir Zofijos Lissos muzikinėmis-estetinėmis citavimo muzikoje koncepcijomis, Simonseno kūriniai gali būti pateikiami ir kaip politinė komunikacija, ir kaip meno kūriniai, pasižymintys imanentišku pasakojimu. Todėl jo kūrinių atlikimas XIX a. buvo politinis įvykis ir meninės saviraiškos būdas. Ši koncertinės muzikos dviprasmybė Danijos provincijoje atveria naują perspektyvą į iki šiol daugiausia ignoruotą politinės muzikos sritį. Straipsnyje siūloma metodologija leidžia kūrinių „Den tapre Landsoldat“ vertinti kaip politinės ir ideologinės komunikacijos, taip pat ir kaip meno formą.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: danų nacionalizmas, provincijos muzika, depolitizacija, *Guldalder*, muzikos citata.

Introduction

The first half of the nineteenth century, until 1864, is often referred to as the Danish *Guldalder*—the Golden Age. This is in regard to various cultural activities that blossomed around that time, especially in literature. Many Danish authors made their debut during that time and

brought Danish literature to a broader understanding in a European context: Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850), Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), Bernhard Severin Ingemann (1789–1862), and, most famously, of course, Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1875) and his fairytales. From Denmark, Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) contributed to the philosophical debate in Europe. But also

in music, much happened. Many composers were educated in Germany, mostly in Hamburg, where Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788) taught until his death (Rampe 2014, 401f.), and his pupils in turn went back to Denmark to educate the next generation of “*Guldalder*-composers”, like Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse (1774–1842), Niels Wilhelm Gade (1817–1890), and Friedrich Daniel Rudolph Kuhlau (1786–1832).

Outside Copenhagen, music also played an important role. One notable example is the violinist and composer Jørgen Ernst Simonsen (1803–1886), who fell into oblivion soon after his death. His works are largely based on quotations from folk melodies, patriotic songs, and compositions by renowned Danish composers such as the aforementioned Kuhlau, Weyse, and Gade. Following Benedict Anderson’s political theory, upon which this article is based, the cultural blossoming during the *Guldalder*, of which Simonsen was one witness among many, can be understood as a reaction to Denmark’s political decline in the nineteenth century. Simonsen’s compositions thus functioned as tools of nation-building. This article examines his *Opus 12*: “Den tapre Landsoldat” as an inherently nationalistic piece that simultaneously serves as an expression of artistic skill and virtuosity. This form of musical communication reached audiences in Denmark’s more rural regions, who could barely participate in the cultural developments of the capital. Drawing on Zofia Lissa’s theories of musical communication through the quotation of familiar works, the article explores both the political message and the musical structure of “Den tapre Landsoldat”. It is noteworthy that Simonsen quotes the tune in full, but then abstracts the quoted material to such a degree that it becomes almost unrecognizable. Rather than embedding an explicit program into the music, he constructs it according to a purely musical logic, independent of the original song’s content. In doing so, Simonsen effectively weakens the piece’s political purpose. As this article demonstrates, instead of following a programmatic narrative drawn from the poem’s content, Simonsen uses political communication as a vehicle for a musical performance that shows his skills as both composer and violinist. To argue for this, examples of the tune’s variation are analysed in order to demonstrate their compositional divergence from what one might expect in a programmatic piece intended to deliver the poem’s content. This sheds new light on the musical value of a political occasion in the Danish provinces.

The Rise of Danish Nationalism

The nineteenth century was a politically challenging time for the Danish realm. Copenhagen was bombed by British ships in 1807, forcing Denmark into an alliance

with Napoleonic France, much like Sweden (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 3–6). During the Napoleonic wars, both Sweden and Denmark hoped for the success of the French troops. But when Napoleon attacked Russia, Sweden switched alliances just in time. Denmark, however, lost the war alongside France. After the Congress of Vienna, Norway was declared independent from Denmark and given to Sweden as compensation for Finland, which had become part of Russia. In return, Denmark received the city of Lauenburg in Northern Germany and 2.6 million taler (North 2015, 189). This increased the German-speaking population in Denmark from 25% to 40% (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 12). Lauenburg was anything but an adequate compensation, and mostly the loss of prestige took a huge toll on the Danish population, which at that time remained multiethnic. In addition to Danes, Germans, Frisians, Icelanders, and Inuit lived in territories ruled by the Danish king (North 2015, 191). This situation ultimately triggered a crisis of Danish absolutism. The duchy of Schleswig was predominantly inhabited by Germans, but also held a significant Danish population (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 224), while the duchy of Holstein, part of the German Confederation (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 220) was populated exclusively by Germans (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 224), with the Danish king as their duke (North 2015, 192). This raised the question of who should control the multiethnic regions of Schleswig and Holstein. The outcome was an uprising aimed at abolishing the Danish king’s rule over these two duchies, leading to a bloody conflict known as the First Schleswig War (1848–1851).

In the first year of the uprising, 1848, Danish absolutism was abolished and replaced by a liberal constitution (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen I 2024, 234f.). At the end of the war, the Danes proved victorious, supported by Great Britain and Russia, and kept control of the two duchies (North 2015, 192f.). Yet, this success was short-lived. As part of the new constitution, Denmark sought to integrate Schleswig more closely, in part by separating it further from Holstein (North 2015, 194). When liberal Germans came to power, however, they attempted to unify the two duchies and declare their independence from Denmark. The “November-Constitution” of 1863, which promised the same constitutional rights to Denmark and Schleswig, came too late. In January 1864, German troops attacked and started the Second Schleswig War (North 2015, 194). That war was lost by the Danes. As a result, the entirety of Schleswig and Holstein became part of the German Confederation and, a few years later, the German Empire (Glenthøj; Nordhagen Ottosen II 2024, 326–334). This devastating political development stood in stark contrast to the cultural blossoming described above, and indeed, the Second Schleswig War marked the end of the *Guldalder*.

As described by the American political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson, a nation begins to form when its "givens" begin to dissolve. Anderson elaborates that the formation of a community, or a nation, is a conscious act in which the community is actively imagined by those who intend to take part in that community (Anderson 2016, 6f.). A shared identity among people who have never met requires emphasis especially when binding characteristics such as one language (Anderson 2016, 42, 45f.) (which was not the case in the Danish realm), one faith (Anderson 2016, 11, 16–19), or one monarch (Anderson 2016, 7; 21f.) are no longer self-evident. These are replaced by the nation represented by the state. Thus, a strong and powerful state was needed, as seen in the sheer explosion of bureaucratic infrastructure throughout Europe in the nineteenth century (Anderson 2016, 76). Authorities whose legitimacy was granted by a community defining itself as a nation—such as the modern state—replaced the Ancien Régime and provided the foundation for a re-defined identity. To create such markers of identity, it was necessary to produce artworks unique to the nation and closely tied to the state. Most members of a nation would never meet, yet they were meant to feel a sense of belonging together (Anderson 2016, 26). Dedicated nationalistic works sought to create this impression by drawing on collective memory and common experiences, hopes, and self-descriptions. Such works often emerged in times of crisis. The loss of old borders, shared faiths, and one absolutistic monarch had to be compensated through cultural productivity.

This was precisely Denmark's situation after 1814 and respectively. The saying "Hvad udad tabes, skal indad vindes"—"what is lost on the outside, must be gained on the inside" was coined by the Danish poet Hans Peter Holst (1811–1893) and inscribed on a commemorative medal in 1872 (Den Kgl. Mønt- og Medaljesamling 440644). This paradigm is often invoked to explain the emergence of famous artists and thinkers in nineteenth-century Denmark. The evidently diminished political influence in Europe required compensation. During the Middle Ages, and to a degree in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Denmark had been a dominant force in Northern Europe. This "glorious past" was remembered collectively (Hermann 2019, 48–50; 54), for example, in Adam Oehlenschläger's "Nordens Guder" (Gods of the North, 1841), a nineteenth-century adaptation of the Old Norse "Edda" (Oehlenschläger 1841, 3–6). At the same time, new works were created that focused more on the present, as will be shown later.

For a nation to exist, it must differentiate itself from other nations. Its identity must be distinct and recognizable. Similarities with neighbouring nations undermine this distinction, raising the question of why a certain area or group of people defines itself as part of one nation

rather than another. This problem was especially acute in multi-ethnic states such as the Danish realm in the first half of the nineteenth century. Why, for example, should the population of Schleswig identify with Denmark rather than with Germany? By the mid-nineteenth century, Germany was Denmark's most significant adversary, not only on the battlefield but also in cultural and political terms. It is important to note, however, that Denmark remained a predominantly rural country. Even so, cultural and, moreover, musical life outside of Copenhagen has received little scholarly attention so far. Most Danes beyond the capital had no access to its cultural life. Instead, they encountered a very different soundscape created by lesser-known composers as well as semi-professional and amateur musicians. Since nationalism must reach all milieus within a nation, these musicians and their music are of central importance to reconstructing the Danish nationalist movement in music.

A Brief Musical Biography of Jørgen Ernst Simonsen

Two professions dominated the Danish province for musicians: schoolteacher and church organist. Most often, these two professions came as a package, since teachers in the countryside were also expected to play the organ during church services (Anordning for Almueskolevæsenet paa Landet i Danmark 1814, 57). Smaller churches could not afford a full-time organist, while for teachers, the duty provided a lucrative addition to their salary (Schulz 1790, 7). For some, musical training was minimal, to the point that they could barely sing at all. The Danish composer Carl Nielsen (1865–1931) describes such a case during his childhood on the island of Funen in the 1860s and 1870s (Nielsen 2015, 108). Nonetheless, teachers were expected to be able to play basso continuo and to improvise short pre- and postludes to every chorale (Reglement for samtlige Skolelærer-Seminarier i Danmark 1818, 11). These high expectations created a significant divide between poorly trained teachers and highly capable, professionally educated musicians.

One of the latter was Jørgen Ernst Simonsen. He was born in Assens on the island of Funen and baptized on August 20, 1803 (FKVD 1778 – FKVD 1805: 126 [26.02.2025]). From an early age, he received musical training (Simonsen 1856, 3) that enabled him to study as a music teacher at the teachers' education seminar in Skaarup. Most importantly, he was taught to play the violin, which would become his main instrument. In 1828, Simonsen moved to nearby Svendborg to work full-time as a music teacher (Simonsen 1856: 3). There, he began composing his first pieces, including a *Svendborg-Ouverture* (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.); the manuscript of which is preserved

in the J.E. Simonsens Samling at Den Sorte Diamant in Copenhagen (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1721a). The overture exemplifies a style found throughout his orchestral works: a simple accompaniment and a virtuosic solo violin. The orchestra he most likely performed this overture with was the music club (musikforening) he himself had established. He also wrote a piano score to accompany the solo violin. This is another recurring pattern in his compositions: Simonsen notates the piano score either as a separate part or directly beneath the full score. His works may have been performed on multiple occasions, though not always with an orchestra available.

During his time in Svendborg, Simonsen also starred as a solo violinist and played various concerts across Denmark and Northern Germany. In 1833, he relocated to Randers in Jutland, where he worked as a music teacher and allegedly became the first teacher of August Winding (1835–1899) (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.). While it cannot be verified that Simonsen indeed was Winding's teacher, Simonsen did play a concert together with the seven-year-old Winding on March 21, 1843, in Copenhagen (Randers Amtsavis 1843, n.p.). According to his certificate of employment as organist at Vor Frue Kirke in Nyborg from 1841, Simonsen also served as director of music for the *Jydske Dragonerregiment* during his time in Randers (Castenschiold; Faber 1842, n.p.). Such military orchestras had a repertoire exceeding simple marches and military signals by far. As Carl Nielsen states, the military orchestra in Odense, Funen, where he played from 1879 onwards, included pieces such as the *Titus-Overture* by Mozart (Nielsen 2015, 116f.). During his legacy as director of music and teacher in Randers, Simonsen also continued his work as composer and violinist.

As in Svendborg, Simonsen established a music club, comprising twenty-four musicians and a choir in Randers (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.). For this ensemble, he continued to compose further orchestral pieces with a solo violin. It is not known, however, on which occasions these pieces were performed or why they were composed in the first place, rather than simply performing pieces by established international composers.

As a teacher in Randers, Simonsen also began composing sacred works in the form of church cantatas. Most of them are written for special occasions regarding the jubilee of reformation in 1836 and 1837 or the coronation of Christian VIII in 1840. Among these works, however, one noteworthy cantata stands out, bearing the title *Das Gebet des Herrn* (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1727). Contrary to expectation, the cantata's libretto is not the Lord's Prayer, nor even a paraphrase of it. While it contains two quotes borrowed from the traditional text, the rest is largely a free worship of God's grace and his magnificent creation. This is extremely interesting given that Simonsen's

audiences in a religious setting had always been Danish. German was heard frequently in Denmark, especially in the upper classes and at the university, but not so much in the Danish province relatively far from Schleswig. The exact purpose of this composition is therefore difficult to determine, and its possible liturgical use in Simonsen's direct sphere of operation is questionable.

In 1841, Simonsen must have decided to leave Randers. His certificate of employment as organist at Vor Frue Kirke in Nyborg, Funen, is dated January 1, 1842, (Castenschiold; Faber 1842, n.p.). Before Simonsen started his office as organist in Nyborg, however, he undertook a concert tour through Denmark and parts of Germany, mainly Hamburg and Dresden, but also Berlin and Leipzig. On this tour, he met Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809–1847), Clara Wieck-Schumann (1819–1896), and most importantly, Karl Lipinski (1790–1861), to whom he dedicated the piece *Souvenir de Lipinski* (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1722). In Hamburg, Simonsen also played together with the famous Norwegian virtuoso Ole Bull (1810–1880) (Randers Amtsavis 1842: n.p.). These encounters indicate that Simonsen was by no means limited to the Danish province. He maintained close contact with influential musicians in Germany. In general, Simonsen had a huge interest in German composers, as can be seen in the annotations to Immanuel Rée's *Veiledning i Musikens Historie* (1859). Leopold Mozart (1719–1787), whose most famous work is a treatise on violin playing, was of particular interest to Simonsen, evidenced through extensive handwritten annotations of biographical information next to Mozart's name (Rée 1859, 40). Yet his interest in German composers had its limits. On the very last page, Rée described Richard Wagner (1813–1883) as "Fremtidens Genius" (the Genius of the future). Simonsen added only a question mark in brackets (Rée 1859, 68), suggesting either unfamiliarity with Wagner or at least scepticism towards Rée's judgment.

During his time in Nyborg, Simonsen composed little sacred music. He published a couple of religious songs (Simonsen 1874), but no cantatas from this period survive. He established a town orchestra and a choir (den borgerlige sangforening) (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.) performing concerts on various occasions in public places. The most important venue, alongside the church, was most certainly the city hall of Nyborg (Andersen 1956, 154), where, so to speak, state-supportive events took place. The musicking of such a semi-professional ensemble was, in this sense, a political act in itself. Many similar musical ensembles existed in Denmark at the time, usually made up of amateur and semi-professional musicians. In his autobiography, Carl Nielsen reported that anyone could participate in these ensembles, consisting of "smalltown musicians, schoolteachers, farmers, and whoever else could tractate one or another instrument" (landsbymusikanter, skolelærere,

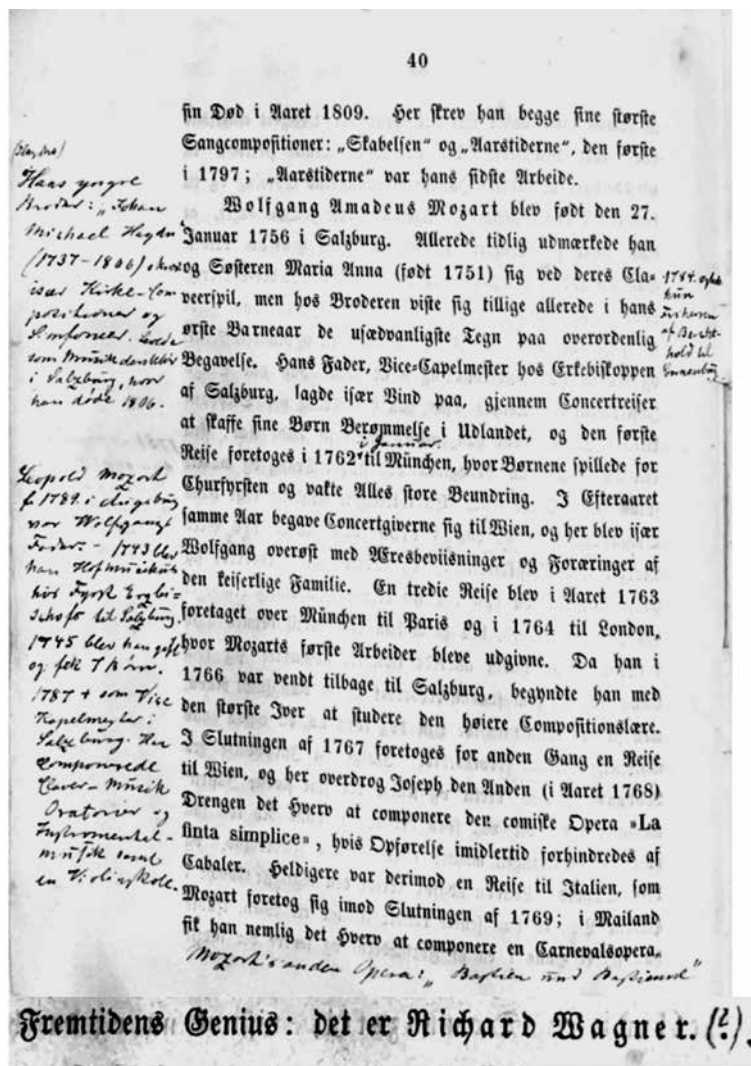


Figure 1: Simonsen's annotations to Michael Haydn, Leopold Mozart, and Richard Wagner. Copenhagen, 1859. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling 1956–57.35.

gårdmænd, og hvem der ellers kunne traktere et eller andet instrument, Nielsen 2015: 58). This harsh judgment might explain the typical structure of Simonsen's compositions, briefly described above. The orchestra played simple parts while he took the virtuosic solo violin. This reflected necessity rather than musical preference or taste. Simonsen's orchestra could not play a more significant role, as it was not educated enough to do so. That this arrangement coincided with the virulent enthusiasm about virtuosos in the mid-nineteenth century was a matter of serendipity, though it is questionable how much the fashions of Europe's major stages and elite salons influenced the Danish countryside.

Performances with, and compositions for, the town orchestra can only have been a welcome addition to Simonsen's salary and possibly an outlet for his musical ambitions. His primary occupation in Nyborg, though, was as a church musician. Aside from the small bundle of religious songs already mentioned, there is no evidence of further church

compositions from this time. Simonsen retired from his position as church musician in 1881 (Nekrolog, Nyborgs Stiftstidende 1886, n.p.). He died on March 14, 1886, following cystitis (Sundhedsstyrelsen 1886, 133 [26.02.2025]) and was buried on March 22, 1886, in Nyborg (Kontraminsterialbog 1886, 13 [26.02.2025]).

The Depoliticization of Political Music Exemplified in "Den tapre Landsoldat"

It is fair to say that Simonsen had little impact outside of the Danish province as a composer, despite his success as a virtuoso during concerts in the 1830s and 1840s. Only a small number of his works, mostly pieces for solo piano, were printed, and it is not known how widely these prints were distributed. Very soon, if not immediately, after his death, he fell into oblivion. Simonsen's lifetime spans

both the *Guldalder* and the political decline of the Danish realm. It is therefore not surprising that many of his orchestral works are based on Danish folk songs when one bears Anderson's theory in mind. Apparently, not only did cultural life in Copenhagen aim to counteract the political development, but provincial musicians such as Simonsen also contributed to maintaining Denmark's cultural prosperity and supporting cultural and aesthetic nation-building throughout the nineteenth century. Simonsen consistently quoted the antefacts he used in full, before varying them in the solo violin accompanied by a moderate yet full orchestra. One example of this are his six variations on "Den tapre Landsoldat".

The song was first published in 1848 in the text compendium *Nye og gamle Viser afog for Danske Folk* (New and Old Tunes by and for Danish People), compiled by the priest Peter Outzen Boisen (1815–1862). In the compendium, the title is written as "Den tapre Landsoldat" (Boisen 1850, 23). The anthology appeared in a second edition in 1850, and in 1852 an edition including one hundred melodies for the songs was published, though it did not include "Den tapre Landsoldat" (Bull; Boisen 1852, IIIIf.). According to the table of contents, the song was written for the First Schleswig War (Boisen 1850, V). The poem, written by Peter Faber (1810–1877), is simple, humorous, and at times even vulgar. It tells the story of a young Dane explaining to his girlfriend and his parents why he is happy to go to war against the approaching Germans. First, he recounts how his girlfriend asked to accompany him, which he refused because he was leaving for war. Now, he declares, all of Denmark's girls rely on him, and if he survives combat, he will return. Until then, he is happy to be a "tapre Landsoldat" (brave landsoldier). His parents then ask him to stay and help with the harvest, but he ironically replies that if he does not go, the Germans will come and help with the harvest instead. Stanza three summarizes what will happen when the Germans arrive: everyone will be pitied under their harshness. They will shout at the Danes "Du bis [sic!] faul!" (You are lazy), and respond to any Danish words with "Hols [sic!] Maul!" (Shut up). The poor German orthography may be an honest mistake or may reflect the Low German dialect spoken by many of the German soldiers during the war, who came from northern Germany. As the lyrical first-person concludes, the behaviour of the Germans might not bother people who are able to speak two languages, "but Hell knows not for the one, who only can [speak] one [language]" (Men Fanden heller inte for den, der kun kan eet)! While these first three stanzas use rather concrete language and imagery, the fourth is patriotic in a more "classic" sense. It focuses on the unifying power of the Danish flag, *Dannebrog*, and refers to the myth that it fell from the heavens during a battle in Tallinn in 1219. This ancient symbol forms an identity between historical soldiers

and the combatants of 1848, creating a connection with the "glorious history" of Danish warfare. The fifth stanza continues in this tone, though it focuses on the current situation in politics. It asserts that Denmark will win because it is led into battle by its king, "who does not talk, but strikes" (han snakker ei, men slaaer). At that time, Frederic VII was king of Denmark. According to the stanza, he was more Danish than the kings before him (saa Dansk som ham var ingen Konge her i mange Aar—as Danish as him, no king has been here in many years"). And therefore he resisted those who "act, as they believe, as if he was not free anymore, and those want to have him in German slavery" (De lade, som de troer, at han inte meer er fri, og selv vil de dog ha' ham i det tydske Slaveri). The final stanza combines the elements mentioned in the first five stanzas. For both his girlfriend and his homeland, the soldier must fight, love the Danish language, and shed his own blood for *Dannebrog*. If the soldier does not return home, King Frederic VII will console his parents by assuring them that he has held his oath. Every stanza ends with three cries of "Hurra".

As said above, no melody for the text was included in Boisen's compendium. The composer Johan Ole Emil Horneman (1809–1870) published his work independently as the first number in his series "1848. Musikalske Erindringer for Pianoforte" (1848. Musical Memories for Pianoforte). The compositional style is very simple. The key is A major. The harmonic range does not exceed a double dominant with a seventh dissonance to lead to an imperfect cadence on E major in m. 4 and 8. Other than that, only the tonic, subdominant, and dominant are used. The simple accompaniment makes the piece easy to perform and focuses strongly on the soloistic presentation of the melody. Additionally, the melody requires only humble skills from a singer. It consists of variations of one motif, and the first part (part A) is repeated three times, with a part B inserted after the first repeat. The frequent tone repetitions are noteworthy and contribute to the melody's character. All interval jumps are part of broken chords. The melody is led in a dotted rhythm and in short phrases that are interrupted by rests. While the short phrases make the melody easy to follow as they clearly structure it, the dotted rhythm creates a joyful, marching character that strives forward. This truly is a tune for a battlefield, to be sung by simple and barely educated soldiers, in which the war is depicted as an amusing adventure. And it is this tune that Simonsen chose as the basis for one of his orchestral works.

"Den tapre Landsoldat" forms Opus 12 in Simonsen's oeuvre (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1709). It was evidently played in connection with the First Schleswig War at the town hall of Nyborg. Surviving parts exist for a solo violin, two first violins, two second violins, two violas, two violoncelli and double basses, three flutes, one first clarinet in A, one second clarinet in A, one first oboe, one second

2

DEN TAPPRE LANDSOLDAT.

Tempo di Marcia. E. Horneman.

V. 1. Den gang jeg drog af sted, den gang jeg drog af sted, min Pi-ge vilde med, ja min
V. 2. Min Fa-der og min Moer, min Fa-der og min Moer de sagde dis-se Ord, ja de

1. Pi-ge vil-de med. Det kan du ei min Ven! jeg gaaer i Kri-gen hen, og
2. sag-de dis-se Ord: Naar dem vi sto-ler paa i Kri-gen monne gaae, hvem

1. hvis jeg ik-ke fal-der, kommer jeg nok hjem i-gjen! ja var der in-gen Fa-re, saa
2. skal saa pløi-e Marker-ne og hvem skal Græsset slaae. Ja det er netop der-for vi

1. blev jeg her hos dig, men al-le Danmarks Pi-ger de sto-le nu paa mig. Og
2. Al-le maae af-sted, for ellers kommer Tyd-sken og hjælper os der-med. Og

1. der-for vil jeg slaaes som tapper Landsol-dat. Hur-ra, Hurra, Hur-ra!
2. der-for vil jeg slaaes som tapper Landsol-dat. Hur-ra, Hurra, Hur-ra!

Figure 2: *Den tapre Landsoldat* by Horneman. Copenhagen, 1848.

oboe, one first bassoon, and one second bassoon, two horns in A, and a kettle drum. This reflects the minimum number of required musicians, although it is most likely that the musicians shared the score and that there were more string and wind instrument players involved than indicated by the number of surviving part books. The piece is clearly structured: it opens with an introduction played by the solo violin after a brief prelude played by the full orchestra. The melody is then stated in full, followed by six variations. At the end, there is a ferocious finale. The melody's variations are played by the solo violin, accompanied by the other string instruments, with brief intermezzi for the entire orchestra between them. The finale is an opulent conclusion loosely based on the song's melody.

Simonsen opens his piece with two bars of repeated A's before introducing the head of the subject in the first violin

and flute, which is later repeated once more. The introduction mimics the melody's rhythm and principal notes, as can be seen in the imperfect cadence in m. 6 that corresponds to the melody. This is contrasted by a more lyrical episode in mm. 7–10, consisting mainly of scales in the higher instruments and longer notes in the accompaniment, temporarily leaving the marching character established previously. The head of the subject then returns, again closing with an imperfect cadence. This time, however, the cadence is not reached by a soprano clausula in the first violin, as in m. 6, but more closely quoting the melody through a tenor clausula. Via a more or less chromatic movement downwards, the dominant E major is reached, on which the prelude ends.

According to the Polish musicologist Zofia Lissa, a fragmented quotation within a musical work is enough to make the entire quoted work (the antefact) present in the



Figure 3: The prelude of Simonsen's "Den tapre Landsoldat". Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

newly composed work (artefact). Lissa qualifies the musical quotation as a diachronic phenomenon that adds a level of meaning to the artefact (Lissa 1966, 364). It follows that the quotation must remain recognizable as a foreign body within the artefact (Lissa 1966, 265). In addition, the recipients must have the opportunity to categorize and understand the quotation. Therefore, the quotation must be comprehensible and obviously known by the intended circle of reception. For without its categorization within the artefact, the quotation loses both its meaning and its purpose as a tool of communication. The artefact needs not necessarily to be a musical work. It can also be a "musical entity" (Lissa 1968, 157). A work is created by an individual with the intention of communication, whereas a musical entity is subject to more variation because it arises through an oral tradition and lacks a clear musical identity. This is

the case with folk songs and some hymns that are known from liturgical practice rather than from a compendium classifying the hymn in its written form as work by an author and a composer, for example, possibly even as a chorale. A decisive criterion for classifying music as a "work" is therefore that there is an individual intention—namely the intention of the composer—in contrast to the dynamic growth of orally transmitted musical entities (Lissa 1968, 158). While performers may bring their own intentions to a work, these remain subordinate to those of the composer, so that the work retains its character. Minor interpretative variations, for example, in tempo across performances or recordings, do not disturb the essential character of the work (Lissa 1968, 158).

The role and function of the quotation within the artefact must be clearly defined (Lissa 1966, 365). Lissa

identifies thirteen criteria for such a definition (Lissa 1966, 365–367), always regarding the musical quotation as a teleological-persuasive phenomenon.

As a fragment of the artefact, the quotation appears in the artefact as a self-contained whole. It thus remains a whole that can be easily separated from the artefact, which would only have an effect on the artefact, but not on the artefact.

In addition to literal quotations, there are also quotations with moderate adaptations to the compositional structure of the artefact (for example, in rhythm, metre, or harmony). The quotation must only be recognizable in its structural quality. This argument applies more to quotations from other musical works than to those from musical entities in the broader sense described above.

The quotation stands *pars pro toto* for the entire artefact. This means that the information load of the quotation is significantly increased compared to its role in the artefact. The quotation thus carries significantly more information in the artefact than in the artefact.

The quantitative extent of the quotation is limited, so that the quotation in the artefact can have a self-contained effect. If the quotation were too extensive, it would no longer be comprehensible as a quotation because it would become a genuine part of the artefact and its thematic structure.

The quotation must be sufficiently well known within the intended circle of reception, the programmatic-semiotic statement that is intended to be made.

The quotation must not lose its character as a self-contained whole within the artefact, because then it would no longer be a foreign body, and its semiotic expressiveness would be lost. Therefore, it cannot assume a thematic function in the artefact.

With regard to its semiotic structure, the quotation can be assimilated into the artefact. This changes its expressiveness. The artefact determines the meaning of the quotation to a certain extent through its own structure. The quotation can be reinterpreted by the artefact. The relationship between quotation and artefact is therefore reciprocal.

In the artefact, there are places that are more suitable and places that are less suitable as a place for a quotation. In the structure of the artefact, the quotation should occupy the place where it can fulfil most of its functions on

a semiotic-programmatic and aesthetic level in order to have a direct effect on the semiotic content of the artefact.

This is why the quotation is never absolute. It is always integrated into the phases of the artefact, in which it occurs.

The quotation, devoid of any autonomy, expands the artefact by a moment of surprise, which entails processes of association that for their part go beyond the interpretations of the artefact.

The integration of the quotation changes the interpretation of what follows the quotation. Although, as discussed under point 7, the artefact has a retroactive effect on the quotation, the quotation changes the perception of the artefact to an even greater extent.

The quotation has an ontologically exposed quality. For it is both a foreign body in the artefact as well as part of it. That which is distinct from the artefact is the reason why the quotation was inserted in the first place.

The choice, function, and handling of the quotation are usually an indicator of the composer's relationship to the artefact.

The applicability of Lissa's theory to Simonsen's work may be questioned, since the tune is not a quotation, but rather forms the backbone of the piece, which varies upon the tune. A variation is typically defined as the "successive order of varied versions of a preceded subject" (Fischer; Drees 2016 [26.02.2025]). Clearly, the melody functions as the thematic core. Yet it needs to be clear that the work-identity of Simonsen's piece is distinguished from that of the tune. The quotation does not occupy the absolute position which Lissa describes, but it is still clearly recognizable as a quotation of an extant musical entity. Its communicative function, therefore, aligns with Lissa's understanding of the musical quotation.

In the case of "Den tapre Landsoldat," even a fragment would be enough to qualify the piece as a creative reworking of the song, according to Lissa's framework. And throughout the prelude, Simonsen keeps the tune fragmented. His composition continues with a non-thematic introduction for the solo violin, presumably played by himself, accompanied by the other string instruments.

This introduction is not based on the military song. Its discursive value can therefore be questioned. The frequent use of sighing motifs at the end of phrases, which characterises the piece, might intriguingly be interpreted as a lamenting protest against the war. But, as will be shown later, there is reason to be sceptical about how discursive this composition in total can be understood. It is more likely that the introduction primarily serves to show off the abilities of the solo violinist, namely Simonsen himself. Accordingly, the introduction is relatively long, spanning seven pages of the full score, which totals only twenty. The compositional structure of the introduction is more or less the same throughout this part of the piece. Scales in

At this point Lissa does not refer to the performance situation, which, however, without doubt also has drastic effects on the expressiveness and hermeneutics of the quotation. The performance situation could, for example, make an ironic-satirical adaptation recognizable as such, even if irony is not part of the work itself. Likewise, a religious idea can be integrated into a secular ideological context, conversely, secular content can be religiously charged by quoting it in a liturgical context.



Figure 4: The beginning of the part for solo violin. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

semiquavers lead to cadences that are reached with suspension that, in turn, create the aforementioned sighing motifs. At the end of the introduction, however, there is an interesting correction. The viola, the violoncello, and the double bass were originally supposed to play two bars of scalar movement in semiquavers, which is crossed out in the full score. In the part books, a snippet of paper is glued above the original score, replacing it with a moderate movement G-flat – A – B – A in the viola and a constant repetition of C-flat in the violoncello and double bass.

The earlier version was possibly too difficult to realise for the musicians and was therefore adapted and simplified. This supports the aforementioned assumption that Simonsen did not write the pieces the way he did to follow the virtuosic taste in Europe, but rather reacted to the low standard of his orchestra by focusing on the solo violin. Following the introduction, the solo violin plays the entire melody of “Den tapre Landsoldat” accompanied by the other string instruments.



Figure 5: Corrections in violas and violoncellos and double basses. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.



Figure 6: The subject. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

Originally, this accompaniment was borrowed directly from Horneman's piano piece. Simonsen later corrected it, splitting the breves into semiquavers interrupted by rests, closely resembling the accompaniment of the prelude to the introduction. Notably, this is only done in the first half. From m. 8 onwards, Simonsen follows Horneman exactly until the head motif is repeated at the end of the stanza, when Simonsen reverts to the model of accompaniment he established at the beginning of the melody. This is followed by a *tutti* in which all instruments play based on the

Hurra-motif from the song, leading into the first variation. This *tutti*, repeated after each variation like a refrain, links the six variations together. The Hurra-motif consists of a descending third scale, with each pitch repeated in a dotted rhythm.

There are six variations. To assume that every variation resembles the content of the corresponding stanza would imply that the music is programmatic in the sense that it aims to translate discursive content into music – much like Wagner's *Ewiges Orchester* where certain motifs are assigned



Figure 7: The *tutti*. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

a discursive meaning. Yet the variations show no evidence of such intent. Throughout the variations, only the string instruments accompany the solo violin. The accompaniment consists of basic chords following the harmonic structure prescribed by Horneman. The variations are virtuosic but compositionally simple. All thematic work is to be found in the solo violin. The variations mostly consist of scales and broken chords following the melody. The first variation features extensive scalar movement reminiscent of the introduction. The accompaniment has significantly less marching rhythm than the full statement of the song. This variation is a little more lyrical, and there is even some chromatic movement in the viola and the second violin. Still, the bass line is only a lightly enriched reworking of Horneman. No obvious hypotyposis is present; for example, the line “hvis jeg ikke falder” (if I don’t fall) at the end of part A in the first variation is set without any significant melodic rise or fall.



Figure 8: “og hvis jeg ikke falder” in Var. 1. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

The following E’ merely connects the extremely high conclusion to the opening of the repeated part A on A. The second variation restores the marching rhythm in the accompaniment, while the scales of the solo violin are somehow reduced in their tonal range. Its distinctive feature is the occasional second voice played by the solo violin. This is mostly done in parallel thirds to the first voice, but in certain instances, there is a small degree of independence in the second voice.

The third variation is notable for its ternary structure, though this is more plausibly explained by the fact that it is the third stanza than by any discursive interpretation. Stanza three in the song describes insults exchanged between Danes and Germans, but there is nothing triadic about that. No obvious programmatic meaning in the compositional structure of the variation can be inferred. The same applies to the line “den fald fra himlen ned” (it [Dannebrog] fell down from the heaven) in variation four. While followed by some descending scalar movement, this movement can hardly be described as programmatic since it reoccurs in many different settings throughout the entire composition.

The fifth variation too bears little relation to the song’s content. It stands in A minor, reflecting the convention in variation cycles of including a contrasting mode. In this variation, there is also some movement in the bass, but it remains fairly easy to play since the variation is to be played *Andante sostenuto*. The fifth stanza depicts the Danish king as a war hero and ferocious warrior. There is no motivation within the text to shift to a minor key at this point in *Andante sostenuto*. It is more likely that Simonsen regarded a variation in minor as constitutive for a cycle of variations, and, not wishing to end in a minor key, placed it here as the last opportunity. The fifth variation is followed by a



Figure 9: «den fald fra himlen ned» in Var. 4. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.



Figure 10: The end of Var. 6 and the beginning of the finale. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.

tutti section, different from the earlier refrains. While the virtuosic part lies in the solo violin, the orchestra, especially the lower voices, shows a lot more movement than before. The *tutti* contains little thematic work but serves to prepare the way for the sixth variation, which is extremely virtuosic. At its opening, the solo violin plays in two voices: the lower carrying the melody with fourths and thirds in the first voice. An excessive number of broken-chord scales follows, ultimately leading to a chromatic movement descent in demisemiquavers spanning two and a half octaves.

The work concludes, predictably, with an opulent finale. After a couple of bars, the entire orchestra joins in, creating a *fortissimo*. It is evident that Simonsen’s composition privileges the solo violin while keeping the orchestra in the background. This can be explained by the humble capacities of his orchestra. As Simonsen demonstrates in a chorale book written in Randers in the 1830s (Temme 2024, 150), he was perfectly capable of composing complex harmonic structures. The chorale book, today in private possession, is in part a copy of older chorale books, the chorales of which are moderately harmonically enriched by Simonsen. But in five instances, Simonsen wrote new chorales in addition to the more common settings also presented. These six chorales “For fuld Orgel” (For the entire Organ) are characterized by chromaticism, characteristic and enharmonic chords, and much movement in the middle voices (Temme 2024, 155f.). This enrichment, mostly based on the introduction of leading tones, creates a compact harmonic composition that is delicate and requires a high degree of compositional skill. This is very different in his variation cycle. The

compositional substance is not that important, and neither is the thematic work. Simonsen clings to Horneman’s harmonic structure and replaces the melody with scales and broken chords, keeping only the cornerstones of the melody. Simonsen did not need to keep the melody recognizable throughout: having quoted it at the beginning, it was clear to the audience that this was a patriotic piece. The communicative situation was thus secure. “Den tapre Landsoldat” is typical of Simonsen’s melody-variation works (the term “melody-variation” is further explained in Fischer, Drees 2016 [26.02.2025]), alongside others based on folkloristic tunes such as “Den danske kyst” (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915–16.1720) or “Paa hine elsket Steder” (J.E. Simonsens Samling 1915-16.1716).

Might this be what Anderson describes as “the vernacularization of another form of printed page: the score” (Anderson 2016, 75)? Anderson suggests, even though he does not elaborate on that thought any further, that the discovery of the vernacular as a language of art and literature equal to the established main languages like Latin, French, and German coincided with nationalistic movements in music. Just as H.C. Andersen and his contemporaries advanced Danish literature, a parallel, though not necessarily causal, development may be observed in Simonsen’s music. What is so striking about Simonsen’s case is how he reworks a clearly political song, almost certainly performed in a political context at the town hall of Nyborg, into something progressively depoliticized. That is not to say it is apolitical. But instead of focusing on the ideological content by programmatically translating the poem’s context into music,

he stresses the artificial side of his composition. By writing a passage for two voices in the solo violin in the second variation and a triadic structure in the third one, he rather seems to count the variations then to be interested in converting an epic narrative of a soldier into music. In his expeditious composition, he presents himself as a virtuoso. In order to be able to play and perform his own compositions, he chose to work with material known and appreciated by his environment. In this sense, he did not use music to deliver a political message, but used a political occasion as an opportunity to deliver music. As stated above, this does not make the music apolitical, nor does it imply that Simonsen resisted Danish nationalism by not composing an ideological program in his variations. Instead, he uses the political occasion and the expectation of his audience as a vehicle for performing music that he otherwise could not realize in a provincial city due to the lack of an interested audience as well as capable musicians. For, as stated in Simonsen's obituary, there was essentially no musical life in Nyborg before his arrival, *nota bene* as church musician and not as concert virtuoso.

Conclusion

Danish nationalism is a challenging topic due to the extremely complicated political situation faced by the Danish state throughout the nineteenth century. A distinctly anti-German dimension, which is easily explained by the political and geographical context, is contrasted by a direct dependence on German culture. Simonsen's connections to Germany and his personal meetings with German composers, as well as his academic interest in German music, as can be seen in his annotations to Rée's *Musikens Historie*, illustrate how deeply Danish music was intertwined with its southern neighbour, even in the province.

Simonsen's oeuvre is by no means apolitical. His compositions are political in both their reliance on quotations of nationalistic songs and in the very act of musicking itself within the town hall of Nyborg. Even so, there is a strong artistic dimension. Simonsen deliberately varied quoted melodies to the point that they were barely recognizable to an untrained audience, and he did not compose the variations following a programmatic structure in concordance with the song's stanzas. In this way, he depoliticized the music, using political occasions as a stage for presenting his music and skills as both composer and virtuoso. The political message was secondary to the musical performance. In a provincial setting like Nyborg, openly political events were likely one of the few occasions on which Simonsen could perform his own compositions. By quoting popular songs, he ensured that his compositions suited the setting of the event and would be well-received, understood, and appreciated by his audience. His case enriches the broader

picture of Danish musical culture during the Golden Age. Focusing on a provincial composer and virtuoso with a semi-professional orchestra reveals the extent to which political occasions were necessary for sustaining a vivid music scene. Simonsen's oeuvre is intrinsically multilayered and deserves further attention, both from a historical and musicological perspective.

Bibliography

Objects

Den Kgl. Mønt- og Medaljesamling. Object ID 440644, object number RP 1111.1. <https://samlinger.natmus.dk/kmm/object/440644>

Scores (Manuscripts)

- Simonsen, Jørgen Ernst. *Choralbog*. Manuscript. Private Possession.
- Simonsen, Jørgen Ernst. *Das Gebet des Herrn*. Manuscript. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1727.
- Simonsen, Jørgen Ernst. *Fantasia*. *Den Danske Kjøst*. Manuscript. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1720.
- Simonsen, Jørgen Ernst. *Grande Fantaisie de Concert sur des Thèmes originaux «Scandinavie»*. Manuscript. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1714.
- Simonsen, Jørgen Ernst. *Introduction et Variations brillantes sur un air danois «Den tappr Landsoldat»*. Manuscript. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1709.
- Simonsen, Jørgen Ernst. *Le rêve: Ouverture à grand orchestre*. Manuscript. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1721a.
- Simonsen, Jørgen Ernst. *Fantasia over Themaerne: Paa hine elsket Steder etc. & Kong Ludvig drager med sin Hær etc. af Röverborgen*. Manuscript. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1716.
- Simonsen, Jørgen Ernst. *Souvenir de Lipinski*. Manuscript. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, J. E. Simonsens Samling, 1915–16.1722.

Scores (Prints)

- Bull, Christian, and Peter Outzen Boisen. *100 Melodier til "Nye og gamle Viser af og for Danske Folk"*. Copenhagen: Boghandler Iversens Forlag, 1852.
- Hornemann, Ole Emil. *1848. Musikalske Erindringer for Pianoforte. No. 1: Den tappr Landsoldat*. Copenhagen: Hornemann & Erslevs Forlag, 1848.
- Simonsen, Jørgen Ernst. *Christelige sange, komponerede og udsatte for Orgel eller Pianoforte*. Nyborg: V. Schönemanns Forlag, 1874.

Literature

- Andersen, Martin. "Hjemmemusiken på Fyn." In Bure, Kristjan, *Fyn. Turistforeningen for Danmark. Årbog 1956*, 147–159. Odense: Fyens Stiftsbogtrykkeri, 1956.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London/New York: Verso, 2016.

- Anonymous. *Anordning for Almueskolevesenet paa Landet i Danmark*. Frederiksberg, den 19 Julii 1814. Copenhagen: Johann Frederik Schulz, 1814.
- Anonymous. "Nekrolog." *Nyborgs Stiftstidende: Kongelige ene privilegeret Adresse-, politisk og Avertissements-Avis* 68 (March 22, 1886).
- Anonymous. "Efterretning." *Randers Amtssavis og Adressecontoirs Efterretninger* 32 (March 19, 1842).
- Anonymous. "Efterretning." *Randers Amtssavis og Adressecontoirs Efterretninger* 32 (April 30, 1842).
- Anonymous. *Reglement for samtlige Skolelærer-Seminarier i Danmark*. København, den 10de Februar 1818. Copenhagen: Schultziske Officin, 1818.
- Assens Sogn. *Eneminsterialbog. FKVD 1778–FKVD 1805*. <https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/billedviser?bsid=470404#470404,84364750> [26.02.]
- Boisen, Peter Outzen. *Nye og gamle Viser af og for Danske Folk*. Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel, 1850.
- Castenschiold, Johan Carl Thurecht von, and Nicolai Faber. *Bestalling for Violinist og Musiklærer Jørgen Ernst Simonsen*. Manuscript. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, NKS 4° 4051, 1842.
- Fischer, Kurt von, and Stefan Drees. "Variation, Einführung, Phänomenbeschreibung." In Laurenz Lütteken, ed., *MGG Online*. New York/Kassel/Stuttgart, 2016–. Published November 2016. <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/46636> [26.02.]
- Fischer, Kurt von, and Stefan Drees. "Variation, Einführung, Systematisches." In Laurenz Lütteken, ed., *MGG Online*. New York/Kassel/Stuttgart, 2016–. Published November 2016. <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/50602> [26.02.]
- Glentjøj, Rasmus, and Morten Nordhagen Ottosen. *Scandinavia After Napoleon: The Genesis of Scandinavism*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2024.
- Glentjøj, Rasmus, and Morten Nordhagen Ottosen. *Scandinavia and Bismarck: The Zenith of Scandinavism*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2024.
- Hermann, Pernille. "Middelalderisme og erindring: Oehlenschläger og den nordiske mytologi." *Slagmark: Tidsskrift for idéhistorie* 79 (2019): 47–62.
- Jensen, Niels Marin. "Niels W. Gade og den nationale tone." In Ole Feldbæk, *Dansk Identitetshistorie*, vol. 3, *Folkets Danmark, 1848–1940*, 188–336. Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1992.
- Lissa, Zofia. "Ästhetische Funktionen des musikalischen Zitats." *Die Musikforschung* 19, no. 4 (1966): 364–378.
- Lissa, Zofia. "Über das Wesen des Musikwerkes." *Die Musikforschung* 21, no. 2 (1968): 157–182.
- Nielsen, Carl. *Min Fynske Barndom*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2015.
- North, Michael. *The Baltic: A History*. Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Nyborg Sogn. *Kontraminsterialbog: Døde Mænd 1881—Døde Mænd 1886*. <https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/billedviser?epid=21975924#440752,79755019> [26.02.]
- Oehlenschläger, Adam. *Nordens Guder: Et episk Dig*. Fahlun: P. A. Huldberg, 1841.
- Rampe, Siegbert. *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und seine Zeit*. Lilienthal: Laaber, 2014.
- Rée, Immanuel. *Veiledning i Musikens Historie: En Oversættelse af F. Brendels "Grundzüge der Geschichte der Musik"*. Copenhagen: self-published, 1859. Det Kgl. Bibliothek, J. E. Simonsens Samling 1956–57.35.
- Schulz, Johann Abraham Peter. *Tanker over Musikens Indflydelse paa et Folks Dannelse og sammes Inførelse i Skolerne i de Kongelige Danske Stater*. Copenhagen: N. C. Lycke, 1790.
- Schurmann, J. *Historiske Efterretninger om det kongelige Skolelærer-Seminarium i Skaarup i Fyen i Tidsrummet 1803—1853: I Anledning af Seminariets Halvhundredaars-Fest d. 5. Oct 1853*. Odense: M. C. Hempels Bogtrykkeri, 1853.
- Simonsen, Hans Caspar. *Autobiographie: Til min Kjære Søn Jørgen Christian Simonsen født i Asen d. 25de Juni 1856*. Manuscript. Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Ms. phot. 78, 2°, 1856.
- Sundhedsstyrelsen. *Dødsattester. 1886 Fyn 1 Svendborg amt: Byer—1886 Fyn 6 Svendborg amt: Byer*. S. 133. https://cs.rigsarkivet.dk/picture/view-values/750890?picture_series_id=3548&selectedTab=140&page=133 [26.02.]
- Temme, Jan. "Jørgen Ernst Simonsen's Chorale Book as a Practical Source in Nineteenth-Century Denmark." In *Sing the World God Imagines: Contributions to the Conferences in Washington, USA (July 2022) and Mainz, Germany (September 2022), and Miscellaneous*, I.A.H. Bulletin 49. Tilburg, 2024.

Santrauka

XIX a. I p. iki 1864 m. laikoma Danijos aukso amžiumi, daniškai *Guldalder*. Šis kultūros klestėjimas matomas visose kūrėbinės veiklos srityse. Daugiausia tarptautinio dėmesio sulaukė danų literatūros pasiekimai, ypač Hanso Christiano Anderseno pasakos. Šis kultūrinės veiklos suklestėjimas kontrastuoja su Danijos kaip politinio subjekto, patyrusio daugybę politinių krizių, nuosmikiu. Pradedant Norvegijos praradimu dėl koalicijos su Napoleonu, XIX a. Danijai buvo kupinas politinių išbandymų, įskaitant absoliutizmo panaikinimą 1848 m. ir du Šlėzvingo karus, iš kurių antrasis pralaimėtas 1864 m. Dėl to Danijos karalystė susitraukė iki Jutlandijos pusiasalio viršūnės, Fiuno ir Zelandijos salų bei mažesnių aplinkinių salų. Prarasdama teritoriją Danija prarado didelę dalį savo tarptautinės reputacijos ir įtakos. Dėl politinės krizės buvo būtina sukurti tvirtą kultūrinę poziciją turinčią tautą, kad ji nebūtų absorbuota besiplečiančios Vokietijos konfederacijos, o vėliau – Vokietijos imperijos.

Nors Danijos sostinėje sukurta kultūrinė produkcija sulaukė daug dėmesio ir buvo gerai iširta ankstesnių mokslininkų, situacija Danijos kaime buvo visiškai kitokia. XIX a. Danija buvo labai priklausoma nuo žemės ūkio. Provincijoje egzistavo nedideli kultūros centrai – mažesni miesteliai. Vienas iš tokių miestelių buvo Nyborgas Fiuno saloje, kurioje baigęs muzikos mokytojo karjerą Jørgenas Ernstas Simonsenas (1803–1886) dirbo bažnyčios muzikantu. Simonsenas taip pat debiutavo kaip smuiko virtuozas ir koncertavo Danijos ir Vokietijos miestuose, kur pristatė tokius kompozitorius kaip Felixas Mendelssohnas-Bartoldy ir Karolis Lipińskis. Išliko Simonseno kompozicijų; tik keletas jų buvo išleistos spausdintine forma, didžioji dalis liko tik rankraščio pavidalu. Jo orkestriniai kūriniai daugiausia sudaryti iš populiarių liaudies ir nacionalistinių

melodijų citatų, taip pat kitų danų kompozitorių kūrinių. Šios citatos imamos kaip pagrindinė tema, kuri vėliau daug kartų varijuojama. Kompozicijos struktūra labai aiški. Ją sudaro gana paprasta orkestro partija, atliekama pusiau profesionalių muzikantų kartu su mėgėjais, ir virtuoziška solo smuiko partija, atliekama paties Simonseno.

Vienas iš tokių kūrinių – „Den tapre Landsoldat“, kurio pagrindą sudaro to paties pavadinimo melodija. Dainoje yra šešios strofos, jose apdainuojama jauno kareivio, kuris džiaugiasi galėdamas kariauti už savo šalį, padėtis. Toks patriotinis kūrinys galėjo būti sukurtas kaip muzikinė programa. Tačiau, kaip rodo šis straipsnis, Simonseno kompozicijos

priemonėse nebuvo programinio impulso. Priešingai, jis depolitizuoja muziką, sutelkdamas dėmesį į savo virtuoziško griežimo smuiku įgūdžių demonstravimą. Dėl to kūrinys netampa apolitiškas, bet politinė situacija, reikalaujanti tokios muzikos, paverčiama muzikos atlikimo priemone, orientuota labiau į pačią muziką nei į politinę ar ideologinę komunikaciją. Taigi Simonseną matome kaip muzikantą, Danijos provincijoje ieškojusį scenos savo kūriniams. Kad rastų tokią sceną, jis pasinaudojo politine doktrina ir kukliu savo klausytojų skoniu, reikalavusiu patriotinės muzikos, ir pristatė virtuozišką aukštos muzikinės vertės kūrinį.

Delivered / Straipsnis įteiktas 2025 02 27

José Miguel PÉREZ APARICIO

National Awakenings Through Musical Theatre: A Comparative Perspective Between the Catalan and Lithuanian Revivals¹

Tautinis pabudimas per muzikinį teatrą:

Katalonijos ir Lietuvos atgimimų lyginamoji perspektyva

Autonomous University of Barcelona, Fortuna Street (building B), Bellaterra, 08193, Spain
JoseMiguel.Perez@uab.cat

Abstract

The spread of a repertoire of musical theater in regional languages and the establishment of a genre of national opera were key issues in the awakening of nationalisms in the early twentieth century. Such was the case in Catalonia and Lithuania, where substate nationalist movements promoted activist initiatives to revive national culture. In a context of language diglossia, in which most theater billboards featured foreign names and titles, amateur choirs and theater groups became the main vehicles for mobilizing society toward the promotion of a new national culture. Using the methodologies of transnational history, this paper presents a comparative study of both national awakenings: the movement for a Catalan lyric theater (1898–1922) under Catalan Modernism, and the Lithuanian national revival from the legalization of the Lithuanian language in 1904 until the reestablishment of the independent state in 1918. As two regions without a mutual influence and belonging to different geopolitical contexts, the aim is to compare whether, under the same ideological process of a substate nationalist awakening, the role of musical theater was similar or not.

Different genres and forms of musical theater were used to channel the spread of the new national culture and to mobilize society. The symbols and references introduced in the dramaturgy of musical theater to “nationalize” the genres also show similarities. This suggests, therefore, the need to study nationalist repertoires through common parameters rather than treating them as individual movements.

Keywords: Transnational history, cultural activism, substate nationalism, national opera, operetta, symbolism, folk song.

Anotacija

Regioninėmis kalbomis atliekamo muzikinio teatro repertuaro plitimas ir nacionalinės operos žanro sukūrimas buvo pagrindiniai veiksniai, lėmę nacionalizmo atgimimą XX a. pradžioje. Ir Katalonijoje, ir Lietuvoje tautiniai judėjimai skatino iniciatyvas atgaivinti nacionalinę kultūrą. Kalbos diglosijos sąlygomis, kai daugumoje teatro afišų figūravo užsienietiški vardai ir pavadinimai, mėgėjų chorai ir teatro trupės tapo pagrindinėmis priemonėmis, mobilizuojančiomis visuomenę kurti naują tautinę kultūrą.

Naudojant transnacionalinės istorijos metodologijas, straipsnyje pateikiama lyginamoji abiejų tautinių atgimimų studija: katalonų modernizmo laikotarpio katalonų lyrinio teatro judėjimas (1898–1922) ir Lietuvos tautinis atgimimas nuo 1904 m. įteisinus lietuvių kalbą iki 1918 m. atkūrus nepriklausomą valstybę. Kadangi šie du regionai priklausė skirtingiems geopolitiniams kontekstams ir tarpusavyje nesąveikavo, siekiama palyginti, ar, esant tam pačiam ideologiniam procesui, subvalstybiniam tautiniam atgimimui, muzikinio teatro vaidmuo buvo panašus, ar ne. Skirtingi muzikinio teatro žanrai ir formos buvo naudojamos naujos tautinės kultūros sklaidai ir visuomenei mobilizuoti. Simboliai ir nuorodos, įtrauktos į muzikinio teatro dramaturgiją siekiant „nacionalizuoti“ žanrus, taip pat turi panašumų. Todėl tai rodo, kad nacionalistinius repertuarus reikia tirti naudojant bendrus parametrus, o ne laikyti juos atskirais judėjimais.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: transnacionalinė istorija, kultūrinis aktyvizmas, subvalstybinis nacionalizmas, nacionalinė opera, operetė, simbolizmas, liaudies daina.

Introduction

The starting point that motivates this research is the case study of the nationalist movement for a Catalan lyric theater (1898–1922). Closely linked to the Catalan national awakening of a substate, activist, and linguist nature, this movement sought to theorize and consolidate a national genre of Catalan musical theater to replace the

foreign repertoire. In this process, the traditional external influences, such as Castilian, Italian, or French, were openly rejected in the search for a unique style or genre. It was, as well, a means of articulating, spreading, and promoting the ideas and symbolic elements of Catalan nationalism to a mass audience.

Even if the events taking place in this region do not fit within the state dynamics occurring in the rest of Spain,

especially those centered in the Castilian capital of Madrid, this movement should not be dismissed as an isolated case within its sociocultural environment. The aim of this paper is to prove that this process of nation-building through an independently and newly created national culture was not unique to Catalonia but also to other substate nationalisms of the same period as part of a broader transnational practice.

The Catalan case study will be set in this paper alongside another European region that experienced a coetaneous national awakening of similar characteristics, presenting a comparison based on transnational history methodologies. The goal is to determine whether, under the same ideological process of a substate national awakening, the discourses and practices of cultural nationalism used to mobilize society and establish a national culture in the field of musical theater were also similar, despite belonging to different geopolitical contexts and areas of artistic influence.

The chosen case for this comparison is Lithuania and its national revival at the beginning of the twentieth century, from 1904, when the use of the Lithuanian language was legalized, until the restoration of the independent state in 1918. Both are substate movements of ethnolinguistic character within imperial states in the process of national homogenization (Russification, Castilianization), with linguistic diglossia. Moreover, both processes of conceptualizing and implementing a new national culture can be studied independently, since their similarities cannot be attributed to reciprocal influence, given that each was located in a different part of Europe and without apparent direct links between them.

The decades of the 1920s and 1930s, in which the political trajectories of the two cases diverged, will also be considered. While Lithuania became independent, creating its own state and new national institutions, such as the State Theatre, Spain entered the military and corporatist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, which initiated the repression of non-Castilian regional identities and languages, including Catalan. This will allow us to see whether the new administrative structures generated notable changes in the actions and ideas of both nationalist movements.

Special attention will be paid to which symbolic elements were considered representative of national cultural identity, how they were introduced into musical theater, and what kind of dramatic genres or styles were employed. The hypothesis proposes that, although there are stylistic differences depending on regional traditions, artistic influences of the area, and the education of their authors, the ideological and theoretical processes taking place were similar.

In addition, as a secondary underlying goal, this study seeks to provide a pluralistic view of the diversity of lyric formats and genres used during this period. While the historiography of music has focused mainly on constructing

the histories of national operas due to the greater musical sophistication of this genre, this paper highlights the importance of the “popular” genres of musical theater and the role they played in reinforcing feelings of national belonging reaching a broader social scope, especially through the active participation of amateur people in performances.

1. From Localism to Transnationalism

The need to present this paper arises from the challenges we encounter when contextualizing our initial case of study, the movement for a Catalan lyric theater (1898–1922), within the broader musical theater scene of Spain. The discourse advanced by Catalan intellectuals of this period was based on distancing themselves from the traditional Mediterranean influences that Catalan culture had long received, in order to define their own distinctive styles and national genres. Musical theater was one of the central issues to address, since it was considered, on one hand, the “total art” unifying the artistic disciplines of music, literature, dance, and painting, and, on the other hand, the most popular cultural product of mass consumption at the time. Catalanism thus placed special emphasis on creating and providing popular classes with a repertoire in the Catalan language, one that would also feature on stage the symbolic elements that represented national identity: folk songs and myths, historical legitimation through medievalist aesthetics, and an independent past distinct from Castile evoked through references to the kings and princes of the Crown of Aragon.

Castilian zarzuela, Italian opera, and French vaudeville and operetta were common in Catalonia, but Catalanist intellectuals viewed them as foreign influences that prevented Catalan authors from developing a unique genre that could authentically and intrinsically represent Catalan identity (Gual 1904)². In theorizing what the new genres of Catalan lyric theater should look like, Catalanist critics and thinkers openly rejected these Mediterranean influences, while trying to spark a new popular interest in Germanic and Central European models.

This phenomenon of a substate nationalism rejecting centralist cultural influence diverged from the discourses and practices taking place elsewhere in Spain, where Madrid—the capital of the kingdom—centered the cultural focus. When historiography has attempted to construct a unified narrative of the situation, taking Madrid as the paradigm, Catalonia has often been interpreted as a case of self-inflicted isolation and disconnection from the international cultural scene—a negative byproduct of nationalism, rather than a contribution to a unified patriotism participating in the statal Spanish zarzuela circuit.

Moreover, in the effort to shape a national genre in Catalonia, there was a strong emphasis on local folklore.

Most artistic proposals emerging from this movement argued that works should incorporate sardanas (instead of the waltzes typical of imported operettas or other Spanish rhythms) and quotations from Catalan folk songs (many of which the authors themselves had collected from rural towns). Folk songs, passed from generation to generation by oral transmission, were seen as especially powerful symbols, thought to be tied to the land and to carry the essence of the towns where they had traditionally been sung (Batlle 2001, 245–251). Local legends, tales, and myths also become subjects for lyric theater plots, while local traditions and customs are often depicted too in operettas with a more comic tone. What we observe, then, is a process in which the staging of microregional folklore—songs, dances, and tales from highly specific areas—was used to construct a new “national culture” intended to represent Catalonia as a whole.

One of the aims of this paper is precisely to emphasize that this use of microregional folklore to articulate a differentiated national identity through its staging in musical theater was not unique to Catalonia. Rather, it was common practice across different regions undergoing similar processes of national awakening during the same period. These regions followed, independently, comparable patterns in the process of conceiving a new national culture and in determining what symbolic elements made it “national.” By demonstrating this, we seek to “normalize” the case of Catalonia, which Spanish state historiography has often treated as a regional exception, and instead integrate it into a broader European context of nationalist awakenings.

1.1 Methodological Frame and Comparative Design

The idea of creating common frameworks to understand nationalisms across Europe has already been identified as a pending historiographical necessity. One of the classic distinctions in the study of nationalisms is the division between “civic” nationalisms in Western Europe and “ethnic” nationalisms in Eastern Europe, based on the supposed nature of these societies. Scholars such as Xosé Núñez have worked to dismantle this binary, showing that the elements of both types can be found throughout Europe (Núñez 2019, 22–27).

There are shared ideas, political concepts, theories of social implementation, and processes for creating cultural symbols, as well as bidirectional ideological transfers between nationalist movements in Western and Eastern Europe, including shared strategies of action and implementation of their programs (Núñez 2010). The differences in the development of nationalist movements depend on the sociocultural and economic conditions, and the geopolitical

context in which they developed, but not on their nature, nor as a consequence of a structural determination (Leersen 2006). It therefore remains a pending subject in European historiography to create a common framework for understanding nationalisms across Europe. As Anne-Marie Thiesse has stated, “there’s nothing more international than nationalism” (2001, 11).

This paper compares two cases of national awakening, one from each side of Europe, and shows how both movements present cultural and linguistic characteristics that they regarded as the intrinsic essence of the nation, as well as a strong civic and activist effort to bring their communities together and promote group consciousness. Consider the persistent initiatives of Mikas Petrauskas, who sought to establish amateur choirs and stage operettas, followed by social dances and parties, so that Lithuanians could gather and engage in cultural activity, creating a sense of belonging:

If Lithuanians in America are still Lithuanians today, it is only thanks to a group of good compatriots. Some are journalists, others create schools, publish articles, create all kinds of societies, establish theater troupes, form orchestras. The most important thing is the choirs, music fireplaces. I stayed in America for 17 years at various intervals and taught music privately and in choirs to more than 4,000 people. (Burokaitė [ed.] 1976, 92–93)

Similarly, Catalan artists such as Enric Morera and Lluís Graner became empresarios in Barcelona, investing their own savings to produce shows in the Catalan language for middle- and working-class audiences, with the intention of making high-quality culture in Catalan accessible (Cortès 2023). Not only do we see the presence of a shared language and cultural tradition here, but also the emergence of a wide network of civil associations and activists dedicated to promoting national culture and fueling a sense of national belonging.

When designing such a study, scholars recommend performing a synchronic comparison of different nationalisms—studying nationalist movements that unfolded simultaneously to assess whether contextual differences under the same global paradigm produced divergent outcomes (Núñez 2019, 22–27). It is also advised to compare nations that are geographically distant or lack obvious ties. Thus far, historiography has focused mainly on single case studies, with a prevalence of the nation-state as the analytical frame (Sluga 2004).

The few cases that establish comparative models examine neighboring countries or mesoregions with linguistic similarities (e.g., Spain/Portugal or Lithuania/Latvia). Very few have explored transnational comparisons (Langewiesche 2011) such as Catalonia/Lithuania. Núñez points out that the comparisons that have reached successful conclusions are those focused on resolving a specific problem

through a mid-range theory, rather than addressing broad problems across large territories seeking general theories. The task that remains, in both history and related cultural disciplines that deal with national(ist) topics, is to determine which are the parameters that should be considered when studying different cases within a single framework (Núñez 2019, 30–34).

It is important to emphasize that what we are examining here is not an “international” process but a “transnational” one, since we are speaking of nations that underwent the same process, but being independent from each other, not sharing direct contact or influences. “International” would apply, for example, to Italian opera, which encompasses a specific repertoire, style, and dramaturgy consciously exported and imitated in other regions that recognize and praise the external influence coming from another nation. By contrast, we are speaking here of a transnational process in which different nations independently generated similar discourses about which of their linguistic and cultural elements represented national identity and how to portray them in musical theater, without consciously imitating or being inspired by foreign influences. In seeking national uniqueness, they followed common patterns, which we can consider transnational.

We should aim, then, to develop a mid-range theory that allows us to group together cases following similar patterns and to study them as a shared transnational process rather than as isolated examples. The comparison proposed in this paper seeks to determine which are the shared characteristics of both cultural nationalist awakenings. While stylistic differences may exist in the music and texts, or while companies and theaters may have faced different outcomes depending on the contextual circumstances of each region, both cases present shared discourses on building a national culture through musical theater. The aim is to define the framework of operation and the outline of tendencies that emerged in these parallel processes.

2. A Comparison Between Both Revivals: Cases of Substate Nationalism and Civic Cultural Activism

The case chosen for the comparison is the Lithuanian national revival that takes place during the first decades of the twentieth century, beginning with the legalization of the Lithuanian language in 1904 and culminating in the reestablishment of the independent state in 1918. This case meets the previously mentioned requirements of a substate national awakening that was contemporaneous in time yet located in a different geopolitical context and cultural sphere of influence within Europe. We can therefore attempt a comparison based on their common similarities aiming to find shared patterns of cultural implementation of nationalist ideals.

Catalonia, for its part, it's a region that had been integrated into the Kingdom of Castile in 1714 after the War of Spanish Succession between Habsburg and Bourbon claimants to the throne. The memory of the Crown of Aragon and its independent institutions provided Catalanism with a historical legitimation for recovering autonomous governance. Between 1870 and 1890, the revindication of the cultural use of the Catalan language became increasingly public through the theatrical works of writers such as Jacint Verdaguer, Àngel Guimerà, and Narcís Oller.

It will be during the period of Catalan Modernisme, the regional variant of the international Art Nouveau movement spanning the 1890s to the early 1920s, when a strong cultural mobilization took place to create Catalan national styles in different fields of art. Musical theater became of particular importance, viewed as the “total art” uniting all disciplines (Aviñoa 2002 223–224). Providing people with a repertoire of musical theater in Catalan so that they would not have to consume exclusively Spanish zarzuela, as well as modernizing Catalan rural folklore for performance in the cities, were central tasks for cultural activists in order to familiarize the population of industrial centres with Catalan language and folklore.

The politization of the nationalist movement eventually achieved in 1914 the creation of the Commonwealth of Catalonia (Mancomunitat de Catalunya), the first administrative entity within the Kingdom of Spain that recognized the union of the four Catalan provinces until its dismantling in 1925 under the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.

Lithuania, meanwhile, had been a region of the Russian Empire since its annexation in 1795. Historically, however, it had been an independent duchy that, even if unified in the form of a commonwealth with the Kingdom of Poland under the Union of Lublin in 1569, had retained autonomous government and an official recognition as one of the two nations forming the unified state. However, during the nineteenth century, the imperial policies of Russification provoked rebellions in 1830 and 1863 that were responded with the closure of the University of Vilnius and the ban of the Lithuanian language. This ban prompted the book-smuggling movement, which kept the language alive until its decriminalization in 1904. The gatherings known as “Lithuanian evenings” also played an important role in sustaining the language alive (Daukšaitė 2002, 77–80). Choir associations and amateur theater groups were also key in mobilizing society toward the promotion of a national culture. The staging of amateur operettas, as well as of mysteries and miracles symbolizing the rebirth of the nation through the staging of mythological folklore, was particularly significant in shaping a shared national consciousness (Trinkūnaitė 2017, 100). In 1918, Lithuania's independence was reestablished in the context of the Russian Revolution and World War I.

Both are therefore cases of substate nationalism: regions integrated into larger imperial states that developed nationalist cultural awakenings at odds with the national identity that the imperial states sought to homogenize.³ Catalan nationalism opposed Spanish identity, while Lithuanian nationalism opposed Russian and Polish identities. Both were mainly based on shared linguistic and cultural traits—their own national languages and common folklore that are specific to their regions—as well as in historical memories of independence, with their own legal and nobiliary structures that legitimized the recovery of autonomy.⁴ Yet, as noted earlier, both movements also displayed traits of civic nationalism through the activist will to mobilize and structure civil associations to promote and establish a new national culture.

Being language one of the main defining elements of national identity, a shared characteristic of both societies was linguistic diglossia and the class connotations attached to language use. There is a process of substitution of Catalan and Lithuanian languages, displaced by the main “languages of culture,” reducing them to “peasant languages” with decreasing urban and administrative presence. In Catalonia, Spanish was promoted in education by the state, and used by elites, while in Lithuania, Polish (spoken by the aristocracy and clergy due to past ties with the Polish kingdom) and Russian (dominant in the Tsarist institutions in the capital of Vilnius) prevailed. Whether these restrictions were more or less severe⁵, in both cases they had direct effects on cultural offerings: the theaters in Catalonia were filled with Spanish zarzuelas and touring Spanish companies (Aviñoa 1985, 60–65), while in Lithuania theaters hosted Polish drama companies and Russian opera and operetta troupes (Bakutyte 2009), staging opera exclusively in the Russian language (Petrauskaitė 2011). In both cases, the Catalan and Lithuanian languages were relegated to folk and amateur culture and rural environments.

For both nationalist movements, the folk song became one of the central symbols of national culture. Folk songs were artistic, included lyrics in the national language, and embodied orally transmitted traditions handed down generationally over centuries and legitimized by history. As understood by Adrià Gual, folk songs are “a work of art that is the flower of our land”, tied to our childhood memory:

When we remember those times, sleepy songs come to our mind, that, with the ear of a child, still pure before the distressing sounds of life, we picked up straight from the lips of a loving mother, to the rhythm of a swinging crib [...] Those melodies [...] now come to us as intimate friends [...] calling to the deepest of our souls. (1904, VII–IX)

For Stasys Šimkus:

[...] our cultural and national rise was particularly related to the song. It is difficult to analyze today whether there was

more aesthetic admiration, or a patriotic feeling, or a desire to resurrect the nation everything together, because music, and especially a beautiful song, which brings pure aesthetic joy, also touches and awakens the noble desires of the soul. (Palionytė [ed.] 1967, 215–216)

Choirs and theater groups became the principal vehicles for congregating people and making them engage on tasks of cultural divulgation. The harmonization of folk songs was especially prolific, fueling strong choral movements in the two studied regions closely tied to the spread of their national revivals. As M. K. Čiurlionis observed:

Lithuanian music will still live on in folk songs or melodies, which in the meantime have the value of a museum [...] because only in them you can hear the echo of Lithuania. [...] Those songs are precious marble rocks waiting only for a genius, who will know how to make immortal works from them. (Čiurlionis 1910, 59–83)

National awakenings in both regions involved intense efforts through the decades to compile folk songs collected from peasants, harmonize them for choral performance, and eventually stage them in musical theater (Landsbergis 1992, 9–10) [figs. 1–2].

As to who led these movements and how, attention must be paid to a common phenomenon in the formation of national intellectual elites. These awakenings were led not by the traditional nobility but by a new class of intellectuals coming from a popular background. This was significant in that they were in direct contact either with rural communities that preserved folk traditions and songs or with workers and popular classes whom they envisioned as the audiences for their new national cultures.

In Catalonia, composer Enric Morera (1865–1942) was the main promoter of amateur choirs and seasons of musical theater in Catalan, while painter/writer Adrià Gual (1872–1943) led multiple theater companies dedicated to Catalan repertoire. Morera came from a family of musicians who had migrated to Buenos Aires, earning a living through teaching and playing in theaters and cafés. He later returned to Barcelona to learn from private teachers that he paid with his own savings, without officially enrolling in any conservatory. Gual, for his side, was the son of an artisan lithographer from Reus and studied painting also privately at the academy of Pere Borrell.

In the case of the Lithuanian revival, figures that stand out are composer Mikas Petrauskas (1873–1937), who took on the wide pedagogical task of promoting the opening of Lithuanian music schools and choirs, and composer and painter M. K. Čiurlionis (1875–1911), who carried out a relevant task in the promotion of Lithuanian painting organizing the Exhibitions of Lithuanian Art. He also developed theories about Lithuanian music, which he

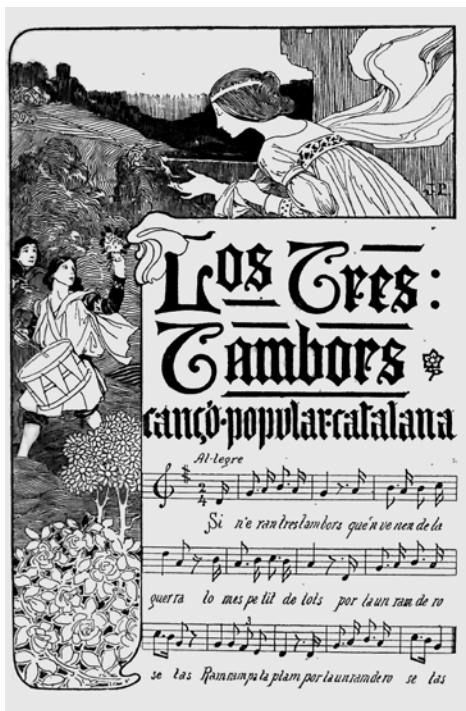


Figure 1: The folk song *Los tres tambors* (*The three drummers*) as compiled in the *Cançoner popular* by Aureli Capmany (1903: 21).



Figure 2: Stage picture of the musical vision *Los tres tambors*, by Adrià Gual and Enric Morera, whose plot is taken from the folk song while glossing its orchestrated melody (Principal Theatre of Barcelona, 1905). Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona: AFB3-117, record 56608.

published alongside the literary critical chapter of his wife Sofija Kymantaitė-Čiurlionienė in the book *Lietuvoje* (*In Lithuania*, 1910).

Both Petrauskas and Čiurlionis were the sons of church organists in small towns: Petrauskas was born in Palūšė and worked in the churches of Labanoras and Obeliai as a teenager, while Čiurlionis grew up between Senoji Varėna and Druskininkai. Both learned music from their fathers, eventually attending music school and studying at conservatories abroad.

The concept of the “popular” or “folk” was central to all of them when addressing the building of a national culture, from Mikas Petrauskas’s “liaudies opera” (“folk opera”) to Adrià Gual’s “cançó popular harmonitzada per a l’escena” (“folk song harmonized for the stage”). However, it presents different significations in their discourses. For some, “popular” meant creating a national culture for consumption by the popular classes that conformed the nation, a vision promoted by Morera and Petrauskas with their operetta repertoire. For others, “popular” meant grounding intellectual national culture in folk traditions, as pursued by Gual and Čiurlionis, and exemplified in the repertoire of symbolic lyric theater.

Folk songs were, indeed, a key element of the national imaginary. Either quotations of folk songs were woven into new pieces, or the vocal style of compositions imitated the folk intonations and rhythms. In Catalonia, musical visions

such as *Blancaflor* (1899) by Enric Granados and *La presó de Lleida* (*The prison in Lleida*, 1905) by Jaume Pahissa, both with lyrics arranged and glossed by Adrià Gual, took as their basis the harmonization and orchestration of homonymous folk songs, using the original lyrics as the plot for full dramatic pieces (Batlle, 258–264, 430–433). In Lithuania, Petrauskas’s opera *Eglė—žalčių karalienė* (*Eglė, Queen of Snakes*, 1924) used archaic modes and folk melodic intonations (Narbutienė 1976), while J. Karnavičius’s *Gražina* (1933) incorporated more than forty folk song quotations (Baublinskienė 2009, 378).

Another shared trait was the personal commitment of nationalist authors and artists, whose activist dedication to the building of a national culture led the civil mobilization required to settle choirs and drama companies, financing many from their own pockets despite knowing they would not recover the investment. It’s worth mentioning how Enric Morera destined his personal savings to produce the seasons of Teatre Líric Català that he directed in 1900 (Iglésias 1921, 33–35) and 1922 (Morera 1936, 58–63), and how Lluís Graner invested his personal fortune in the Espectacles-Audicions Graner, which staged high-quality productions of musical visions between 1905 and 1908 with affordable-price tickets for the lower classes (Gual 1960, 185–196). Petrauskas similarly financed the printing of his operetta scores to distribute them to choirs he had helped to establish to provide them with repertoire to stage:

If I print *Kaminakrėtys*, I will send it to Saint Petersburg to Sapir. [...] I doubt very much that *Kaminakrėtys* would return the investment after printing, because there will be few people who demand it. Well, I'll have to think about that. If there was money, I would print all my works regardless of anything, but the money is like swept away. It's true, I gave a concert in Chicago, the concert brought in 400 dollars, but I haven't had it for a long time. (Burokaitė [ed.] 1976, 109–112)

They were aware that such investments would not be recovered, since it was not a profitable business. However, they were not commercially motivated but pursued cultural and symbolic goals.⁶

Private initiatives to gather amateur theater groups demonstrate the activist dedication of the nationalist cultural sector. One example is Gabrielius Landsbergis-Žemkalnis's staging of *Mindaugas, Lietuvos Karalius* (*Mindaugas, King of Lithuania*, 1908), which directly competed with professional Polish companies presenting the same piece at the same time (Trinkūnaitė 2016). Another is the secret staging of *Birutė* in 1906, written by the same Landsbergis-Žemkalnis after his imprisonment for "Lithuanian propaganda," with music by Petrauskas, who was then being sought by Tsarist authorities for arrest (Landsbergis 1976). Similarly, the efforts of the Lithuanian Artists' Society to stage *La traviata* in Kaunas in 1920, under extremely precarious postwar circumstances, marked the beginning of Lithuanian opera (Petrauskaitė 2020, 29–36). This act of perseverance serves as a paradigm of the promoters' personal commitment, carried out as an expression of national cultural consciousness, regardless of the economic outcome.

On the Catalan stage, we also find notable initiatives led by actors. In 1910, the Borràs brothers—actors from the Principal Theatre company—rented the venue themselves to restore the Catalan repertoire after its previous director had shifted to Spanish-language theatre in search of greater profit, while Assumpció Paricio and Artur Balot created their own traveling company for the 1915–16 season to perform Catalan musical theater when no theatre empresario would permanently host them.

The fact that the actors and singers were amateurs demonstrates that this was a movement of strong civil mobilization, with ordinary people actively coordinating their efforts to consolidate a national culture. In venues such as the Sala Mercè in Barcelona, the Saló Gerió in Girona, and Ars-Lucis in Terrassa, as well as in plenty of other salons staging musical visions between 1904 and 1912 across Catalonia, all of the companies were formed by amateurs. Some later joined the professional stage, while others were simply motivated neighbors of their cities. From a methodological perspective, it is important to consider the actions of these lower and middle layers of society and how they perceived and experienced the national awakening in everyday life—what

has been termed "banal nationalism"—(Skey 2009). Traditional studies, by contrast, have tended to rely exclusively on the testimonies of the intellectual and political elite and well-documented institutions, generating a biased view (Haupt and Tacke 1996).

Closely linked to the engagement of amateurs in stage productions was the constant pedagogical intention to instruct the people of the nation, both performers and audiences. Writing about the birth in 1907 of the choir *Birutė*, based in Chicago, Petrauskas stated:

I taught music for about 25 years, I spent money and worked to acquire knowledge that is necessary for such a profession and what is necessary for the education of people. (Burokaitė [ed.] 1976, 85–86)

Indeed, in the Lithuanian context, Mikas Petrauskas led the way in establishing choral societies and Lithuanian conservatories in the USA, so the diaspora could have better trained performers (Petrauskaitė 2015, 280–326). The more educated Lithuanian singers and musicians became, the better performances they could present at Lithuanian gatherings, thus keeping the community engaged and providing them with better artistic standards. As Petrauskas stated himself:

My desire after coming to the USA was, and still is, to educate as many people as possible in music, so that when I leave here, they can lead choirs and small orchestras on their own, so that they all remember that Petrauskas, while living in America, did not sleep, but worked for the Lithuanian nation... (Burokaitė [ed.] 1976, 296)

Children were also a central focus. Petrauskas personally went to schools to audition young singers who would perform in his operettas (Burokaitė [ed.] 1976, 295–296). Some operettas, such as *Tarnaitė pamokė* (*The maid has taught*) by Petrauskas or *Musmirės* (*Amanita mushrooms*) and *Kur tiesa?* (*Where's the truth?*) by Antanas Pocius, were written specifically to include children on stage, which, as Petrauskaitė notes, was "a memorable lesson in music and nationalism for them" (2012, 160). Pieces such as *Girių karalius* (*The King of the Forest*) were also aimed at young audiences.

In Catalonia, similar efforts can be observed. Enric Morera founded the choir *Catalunya Nova*, composed of motivated workers on a socialist mission to educate the lower classes on their musical abilities. As Morera recalls in his autobiography, members were so committed that they were even willing to walk to Paris to attend concerts when unable to pay for travel expenses (1936, 45–49). The *Foment del Teatre Líric Català* association established a school of musical theater in 1903, offering free lessons in singing, declamation, and music reading to promote the

consolidation of trained Catalan companies. The Mercè hall staged musical visions performed mainly by children (Minguet i Batllori 1988), awakening in some of them the desire to pursue professional careers in Catalan musical theater. Similarly, the Espectacles-Audicions Graner in Barcelona held special sessions on Thursdays with discounts and toy raffles to attract the younger audiences to their “musical visions”.

It is also relevant to note the open rejection of established institutions and the determination to create new ones through coordination between nationalist authors, intellectuals, and amateurs. Sofija Čiurlionienė–Kymantaitė summarized this idea in *Lietuvoje* (1910, 7–12): “[...] it is not institutions who make culture, but cultural people who make cultural institutions for themselves [...]”. The intention was not to take over the existing institutions and convert them to Lithuanian enterprises from within, but to create their own new ones: new companies, choirs, and theaters born of national consciousness and controlled directly by them, thus keeping them accessible and free of institutional or bureaucratic barriers.

In both cases, the institutionalized opera houses presented obstacles for composers seeking to premiere new pieces, whereas smaller halls, amateur companies, and open-air stages proved to be more flexible options for premiering the new national repertoire. However, for present-day research, stable institutions with regular season such as opera theaters are easier to document than individual performances without stable frequency staged by smaller or even amateur companies, which left fewer traces in the press and generated less archival material, often relegating them to oblivion.

3. The National Genre(s): A Pluralistic Approach

There was never only one way of conceiving the new “national genre.” Just as nationalist movements were politically and socially plural and diverse, so too were the cultural forms they consumed. Different social classes, political ideologies, and even (non-)religious orientations engaged with and promoted different kinds of genres and styles within the spectrum of the new national culture. In this sense, we can argue that the differences among proposals were not only based on artistic criteria, but also on the kind of audience they aimed to reach, the ideals they sought to transmit, and their own conception of what constituted national identity and how it had to be portrayed.

Examining both the Catalan and Lithuanian national revivals, we can classify the production of musical theater into three main groups: popular operetta, symbolistic and mythological lyric theater, and opera. Each offered a different aesthetic and dramaturgical approach and circulated

within its own distribution networks, though in some cases the same authors contributed across multiple genres.

A notable multidisciplinary example from the Lithuanian scene is Jonas Dambrauskas, who simultaneously worked at the State Opera—where he reorchestrated Petrauskas’s opera *Eglė—žalčių karalienė* in 1939—composed his own operas (*Valdovas* [*The ruler*], libretto by Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas, and *Živilė*, libretto by Jonas Graičiūnas), wrote music for theatrical dramas (such as *Baisioji naktis* [*The frightful night*, 1936, text by B. Sruoga] and *Dvylika brolių juodvarniais laksčiusių* [*Twelve brothers flying like ravens*, 1932, text by S. Čiurlionienė–Kymantaitė]), and composed for symbolist and mythological mysteries (*Nuvainikuota Vaidilutė* [*Uncrowned Priestess*, 1927], *Amžius karžygys* [*The Warrior of Centuries*, 1930], and *Mūsų aukuras* [*Our pagan altar*, 1937]) (Bakutytė 2004, 16). Stasys Šimkus likewise ranged widely, from the operetta *Išivis* (*The expatriate*, 1921), to the musical tragedy *Čigonai* (*Gypsies*, ca. 1935), to the opera *Kaimas prie dvaro* (*Village by the manor*, 1941).

In Catalonia, Enric Morera was one of the most prolific composers, working indistinctively across operetta (such as *Lalegria que passa* [*The joy that passes by*], 1898, and *La reina del cor* [*The queen of the heart*], 1901), symbolistic musical visions (like *El comte l’Arnau* [*The Count Arnau*], 1905), lyric drama (the successful *La santa espina* [*The holy thorn*], 1907, to the later *Don Joan de Serrallonga*, 1922), and opera (from *La fada* [*The fairy*], 1897 to the late *Tassarba*, 1916) (Iglésias 1921, 71–74). Jaume Pahissa also began with musical visions and later moved into large-format opera, even reworking earlier pieces into operatic form, such as *La presó de Lleida* (*The prison in Lleida*, 1905) into *La princesa Margarida* (*Princess Margaret*, 1928). Joan B. Lambert followed a similar trajectory, starting his career with musical visions (*La mare de Déu* [*The Mother of God*], 1904; *Lo captiveri d’un sant* [*A saint’s captivity*], 1912), while also being closely involved with the management of the company, and eventually turned toward popular Castilian zarzuela (*Por una mujer* [*For a woman*], 1922).

These examples reinforce the connections among genres and demonstrate that they should not be analyzed as separate histories but as interconnected strands within a shared musical theater movement. Rather than adopting an evolutionist perspective that moves from simple operetta to large-format opera, it is more appropriate to view the different genres of musical theater as coexisting repertoires that addressed different cultural needs and appealed to different audiences. Even when opera was achieved, other genres were not abandoned, and composers continued to diversify their repertoire. In the following pages, we will examine each of these three categories individually in more detail.

3.1 Popular Operetta

The largest repertoire in the national language of both movements became operetta. Hundreds of titles were staged, involving dozens of companies and, significantly, amateurs actively participating in productions. This reflected not only the popularity of the genre but also a civic will to promote a form of national culture addressed to the popular classes.

Operetta required very little in the way of technical resources. Any group could take a text and stage a performance without needing to rent large theaters or assemble full orchestras. The pieces typically included songs that were short and easy to perform, sometimes requiring only voices or a small ensemble rather than a full orchestra. As a result, the genre was not dependent on higher institutions to host it; any stage or salon provided an adequate setting for amateur groups. This allowed for wide geographical diffusion. While in Catalonia the repertoire was mainly premiered on the motherland, with some exceptions arriving to the diaspora communities in America, the Lithuanian repertoire was mainly staged abroad.

A paradigmatic case is *L'alegria que passa* by Enric Morera and Santiago Rusiñol. This short piece for full orchestra, remained in repertory for more than twenty-five years in various Barcelona professional theaters. Morera also arranged it for band, so it could be performed by smaller ensembles, and published a reduction for voice and piano. The piece was staged in more than fifty municipalities across Catalonia by amateur or semi-professional groups, in small salons or even in open-air squares. The main centres of Catalan diaspora in America also arranged performances of *L'alegria que passa* in Havana (Cuba), Santiago (Chile), Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Asunción (Paraguay).

Popular operettas typically depicted scenes of traditional life in comic and entertaining ways with simple plots that were easy to follow. Their humour often included jokes and vocabulary considered vulgar, prompting criticisms of their “low intellectual” level. For example, *La sardana dels promesos* (*The sardana of engaged couples*) by Josep Morató and Adrià Esquerrà is based on jealousies surrounding the local tradition of a rural town of pairing engaged young couples to dance the sardana in the town square. *La dida seca* (*The dry nurse*) by Eduard Aulés and Carlos Oro, depicts under a comic tone the harsh rural economic reality: a man raising two children alone after the death of his wife, who was their wet nurse, while their parents served as soldiers in the American colonies—the children turning out as rude and foulmouthed as the rest of the men from the local tavern. Or *Les roselles* (*The poppies*) by Josep Maria Jordà and Adrià Esquerrà, a romantic comedy of misunderstandings, set against the religious tradition of leaving poppies in front of a statue of the Virgin Mary on an altar.

Authorial originality was often of little concern. Many works were translations or re-arrangements of other pieces under new titles, or re-used musical numbers from existing pieces, alongside well-known folk songs. The first operettas by Mikas Petrauskas were translations themselves, such as *Kaminkrėtys ir malūnininkas* (based on Jan Nepomucen Kamiński's Polish libretto *Kominiarz i młynarz czyli Zawalenie się wieży*) and *Adomas ir Ieva* (based on Ernest Blum and Raoul Toché's French libretto *Adam et Eve*) (Gruodytė 2021, 295–296).

Pijus Bukšnaitis also stands out in the field of translation, publishing operettas such as *Kornevilio varpai* (a Lithuanianized version of Charles Clairville's original *Les cloches de Corneville*), *Gražioji Galatėja* (arranging Franz von Suppe's melodies from *Die schöne Galathée* for choir), and *Grigutis* (adaptated from M. P. Starickio's Ukrainian drama *Oj ne chody Hryciu*). Some pieces, instead of new music, took musical numbers from other preexisting titles, such as *Kova už idėjas* (*Battle for ideas*, also translated by Bukšnaitis from Ukrainian) or *Kanklininkas* (*Kanklės player*, combining folk songs and music from diverse operettas, with text by J. Steponaitis).

On the Catalan stage, translations of French comedies were also common, though plots and names were always changed and adapted to the Catalan context, and the titles of the original versions were usually unacknowledged. Lluís Puiggarí was one of the most active literary re-arrangers, publishing titles such as *Permeti'm!* (*Allow me!*), *L'ajudant* (*The helper*), and *T'estimo!* (*I love you!*). While the texts were adapted, the music was always original, composed by Catalan authors both to suit local tastes and because importing foreign scores was expensive. In some cases, like *Com unes malves* (*Like mallows*), the same text circulated in both Spanish and Catalan previous versions. The press sometimes criticized the abusive practice of translations and rearrangements, with authors like Eduard Aulés known for recycling his own texts by doing not much more than just changing the title and adding a couple of musical numbers.

In Lithuania, other genres—especially mysteries and opera—resulted more attractive for the public during the interwar period, while operetta retained great popularity among migrant communities, particularly Lithuanian diaspora in the United States of America (Petrauskaitė 2012), as well as among Lithuanian workers that had moved to neighbor industrialized areas such as Riga and Saint Petersburg (Kliviš 2009).

According to Petrauskaitė's analysis of more than 110 Lithuanian operettas produced between 1901 and 1940 in the US, roughly 65 presented generic topics not directly tied to Lithuanian national identity, while 25 had explicitly national plots portraying Lithuanian heroes or settings. The remainder included fairy-tales, mythological, religious, educational, or revolutionary themes (2012, 163). However,



Figure 3. Group of actors from the Dainos Society in Panevėžys that performed *Kaminkrėtys ir malūnininkas*. Panevėžio apskrities Gabrielės Petkevičaitės-Bitės viešoji biblioteka.

these operetta gatherings were of special interest to reunite Lithuanians, allowing them to speak their native language, remember their origins, and be reminded of their traditional customs, awakening in them a national feeling and a sense of belonging to the Lithuanian nation in an environment of entertainment and celebration.

Mikas Petrauskas was the initiator and leading author of the genre. His operettas circulated widely, mainly among Lithuanian diaspora communities in the United States but also arriving to certain towns and cities across Lithuania. His 1903 arrangement of *Kaminkrėtys ir malūnininkas* (*The chimney sweeper and the miller*) for a Lithuanian society abroad was restaged in Lithuania in 1905, followed by *Adomas ir Ieva* (*Adam and Eve*). However, out of the 110 titles identified by Petrauskaitė, only fifteen are signed by Petrauskas, which indicated the broader involvement of other Lithuanian authors.

Kaminkrėtys ir malūnininkas was also staged, citing some examples, in Brooklyn in 1907, in Radviliškis in 1913, in Šiauliai in 1913 and 1938, in Chicago in 1918 and again in 1934, in Philadelphia in 1927 and 1933, in Baltimore and Worcester in 1939, and in New York from 1938 to 1940, becoming one of the most performed Lithuanian operettas. Another title written by Petrauskas, *Consilium facultatis*, which he edited in 1915, was staged in Klaipėda by the Singing Society, followed by a production of *Birutė* (Gruodytė 2021, 298). Also *Vaikas ar mergaitė?* (*A boy or a*

girl?) appeared on the stage of the State Theatre in Kaunas along with *Birutė* in 1925.

Although most of the documented performances of Lithuanian operetta took place abroad, there's also evidence of local initiatives in Lithuanian lands. The Dainos Society in Panevėžys was particularly active, staging Petrauskas's *Adomas ir Ieva* and *Consilium facultatis* in 1915. Even one of the local amateur performers, Vladas Paulauskas, wrote his own version of *Kaminkrėtys ir malūnininkas* in 1913 [fig. 3]. Into the 1920s, this society remained active staging operettas, as seen in their 1926 performance of *Kornevilio varpai* (*The bells of Corneville*).

In Catalonia, the Catalan Lyric Theatre company, directed by Enric Morera and Ignasi Iglésias in 1900, was one of the highlights. Morera sought to create a series of Catalan operettas that companies in the region could stage in place of Castilian zarzuela, which also was quite popular across Catalonia. While the project failed to maintain a stable company or theater that hosted Catalan operetta, numerous sporadic short seasons of Catalan operetta were mounted between 1900 and 1922, many of them in provincial theaters, temporarily replacing predominant Spanish titles. Morera invested considerable effort, time, and personal funds as an impresario commissioning and producing new works, since the lack of a broad repertoire was the main problem for existing companies that could potentially stage Catalan operettas. However, despite his

dedication, the initiative remained discontinuous and didn't arrive to establish a permanent institution (Aviñoa 1985, 287–311, 324–328).

Cultural centres and associations across the geography of Catalonia frequently hosted amateur groups performing Catalan zarzuelas, as the works were both entertaining for the public in smaller towns and easy to perform. For intellectuals, however, the term “zarzuela” was directly associated with Castilian identity, proclaimed to be the “Spanish national genre” of musical theater. Nationalist intellectuals, therefore, avoided the term, preferring “operetta” or “lyric theater” to differentiate themselves from Spanish culture. Yet, the general public, press, and amateurs commonly referred to this repertoire of Catalan operettas as “Catalan zarzuelas,” without attaching political meaning.⁷

These pieces played an important role by offering middle- and working-class audiences appealing repertoire in their own language, making them reflect on the cultural value of the customs and traditions of their daily life that they were watching performed on stage, nurturing a collective sense of national belonging. The fact that they were performed primarily by amateur groups is also relevant: their active participation demonstrated civic commitment to creating and sustaining a new national culture. Rather than passively consuming their language, folk songs, and dances, people were actively learning and performing them—a particularly meaningful process for migrant or mixed communities.

Thus, it was a relevant repertoire for nationalist activists to cultivate, serving two main purposes: first, to promote the cultural education of the lower classes in a field of their interest; and, second, to spread the elements that built national consciousness and a sense of national belonging. In the context of nationalist awakenings, bringing the broader population—including the working classes—to your side was essential for a successful establishment of the national project.

3.2 Symbolist and Mythological Lyric Theater

Another field to highlight comprises genres with different labels that are not straightforward to group but can be understood collectively as symbolist and mythological lyric theater. This trend brings together works that share a symbolist dramaturgy featuring medievalist aesthetics, mythological and folkloric references that evoke a glorious historical past, and an artistic combination of visuals, music, and poetic text (as an heir to the “total work of art”). It is strongly influenced by the modernist trends of Maeterlinck's symbolism and the *Théâtre d'Art*, in both its Parisian and Muscovite branches.

The aim is to create a highly artistic theater grounded in national folklore. The language tends to be poetic and

suggestive rather than narrative. Dramaturgy is based on eliciting feelings and emotions through the different senses that theater can mobilize (music, visual staging, and poetic language), seeking to arouse an irrational response in the spectator while rejecting naturalist dramaturgies based on logical narratives and audience reasoning. Because national belonging and patriotism are felt as irrational rather than logical, the public should be addressed through emotion (Gual 1901).

Moreover, medievalist and folkloric elements held strong symbolic value because they: 1) portrayed Catalan medieval institutions and nobility, recalling an independent past; 2) used an archaic Catalan language, legitimating the existence of their tongue across time; 3) divulged tales and legends that strengthened a common cultural imaginary for the nation based on rural folklore. These three elements were, in fact, the pillars on which political nationalist theories were built to legitimate the existence of their nationality.

Beyond its artistic interest, symbolism is closely linked to spiritualism and religious feelings; suggestive dramaturgies are especially apt for evoking the spiritual. In Catalonia, the musical visions received strong support from Catholic associations and leading figures from the regional church, while in Lithuania the staging of miracles and mysteries was often promoted by the Catholic Futurist (Ateitininkai) association (Trinkūnaitė 2017, 98). Catalan repertoire directly staged episodes from the Bible or legends of miracles performed by Catholic saints (conservatives and traditionalists claimed Catalan identity was intrinsically Catholic and thus part of national folklore). Lithuanian repertoire, while less directly linked to the church, often included spiritual content in a broader sense, such as priestesses and rituals or visual references to the crucified Christ [fig. 4].

In the Catalan region, the repertoire corresponding to this category is the “musical visions.” The first attempt to establish the genre occurred in 1898 with *Blancaflor*, a “harmonized folk song for the scene” by Adrià Gual, who commissioned the music from his friend Enric Granados. Gual theorized that folk songs—the most pure and innocent elements of traditional culture—, most intrinsically represented the national identity because of the generational oral transmission of the melodies, closely bound to the land where they were sung, and their moral and educational content. National culture, then, had to be based on staging folk songs. Although it was initially a failure, the theory was later taken up by the impressionist painter Lluís Graner, who added a layer of visual spectacular to folk stagings—electric and colorful light effects, fireworks, animals on stage, etc. The goal was to modernize folk culture to attractive urban audiences and, through theater, to restore the lost generational transmission of this rural folklore.



Figure 4. Fragment of a flyer announcing the mystery *Visi žmonės*, with a suggestive drawing between an allegorical Christ with a crown of thorns and an antique classical reference to a laurel crown. Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka.

A circuit of small recreational salons opened across Catalonia, performing musical visions alongside movie projections or artistic installations. From the southern cities of Reus and Tarragona, to Terrassa, Manresa, Arenys de Mar, and in the north, Girona, an active network of salons staged musical visions across the whole region between 1904 and 1912. Many of the artistic directors and impresarios were, in fact, impressionist painters such as Lluís Graner, Joaquim Vancells, Adrià Gual, or figures from the plastic arts, such as architect Rafael Masó. Their interest in “painting the light,” too limited by oil paint on canvas, led them to experiment with electric light in live performance, playing with shadow, color, and intensity on stage, making them some of the first lighting designers for the theater.

La matinada (*The sunrise*), conceived by Graner and commissioned from Adrià Gual and Felip Pedrell, is a paradigmatic example of this fusion of modernism and

traditional values. The main dramaturgical element that leads the action is electric light. Set in a single scene—a landscape of the rural nature with a forest and a river—the piece begins in complete darkness and, as the sun rises, welcoming the new day, the lighting intensifies. A hidden choir of peasants thanks the sun for giving them a new day and with God for giving them the purifying mission of working the land. A flock of lambs (a clear religious symbol) cross the stage with the peasants, who dance a sardana, the national folk dance. This mixture of folk symbols of national identity, religious references, and the purity of idealized nature and the rural world—presented in a suggestive scene aimed at triggering the audience’s emotions—paradigmatically exemplifies the dramaturgy of this kind of symbolist lyric theater.

The genre peaked at the Principal Theatre of Barcelona, when Lluís Graner installed his enterprise Espectacles-Audicions Graner in 1905. Alongside musical visions,

the program offered concerts and dramas translated into Catalan with the purpose of showing both international classics and the most modern foreign trends on a pedagogical mission to present them to Catalan audiences. Graner's commitment to the highest artistic standards, however, generated deficits even in his most successful productions, and he eventually went bankrupt. After his exile to America to avoid debts, the circuit of salons that performed musical visions gradually closed their doors; outside of Barcelona, the general public of smaller cities and towns was not yet ready for such lyrical, symbolist repertory. Some of the most famous productions were, as mentioned throughout this paper, *El comte l'Arnau* and *La presó de Lleida* at the Principal Theatre, *La mare de Déu* at the Sala Mercè and *L'oració de la nit* at the Saló Gerió in Girona, later performed by children at several schools in this northern region.

A further view of their theoretical standpoint was the internationality of folklore. Local folklore was considered the purest representation of national identity, yet nationalists were aware that legends and songs often had similar versions in other lands. Folklore was thus simultaneously national and international—rooted in local regional identity yet connecting with other nations universally:

We don't have to only remain on our own legends. All of them are siblings and beautiful, and only from them and for them can mankind comprehend the human secrets. (Gual 1901, 93)

In this sense, note the resemblance between the staging of *La dona d'aigua* (*Aloja*, literally translated as “water-woman”, also known abroad as undine), a musical vision produced at the Sala Mercè based on a Catalan mythological figure parallel of the Lithuanian *Jūratė*, with the sketched underwater world that Čiurlionis envisioned for the scenography of his unfinished symbolist opera.

In Lithuania, the initiator of symbolist theater was Vydūnas. Rejecting naturalism, his work is crafted not around a literary narrative but a combination of poetic text, gesture, and action to produce an emotional effect. He conceived theater as a return to spiritual ritual presenting deep philosophical reflections through complex metaphors, symbols, and suggestion. In line with the “total art” premise of symbolist dramaturgy, his language interweaves text with visual scenography and lighting, as well as the acoustic features of speech, music, and sound to create meaning (Martišiūtė 2004, 141–142).

His first operatic project—folk tale *Gilanda* pictured as a national opera—was left unfinished due to the death of his brother Albert Storosta, with whom he was writing the piece. Later on, it seems he was in touch with Česlovas Sasnauskas and adapted some of his dramas, such as *Karalaitė* (*Princess*), as opera librettos, but these projects were not developed (Palionytė 2002, 252–257). Still, he

left ample space for music in his dramas and mysteries. Not as standalone numbers between spoken parts, but as integrated musical and sonic elements. For example, *Jūry varpai* (*Sea bells*, 1920) includes short choral moments integrated within the action, and the repeated sound of sea bells that plays an important dramaturgical role; in the tragedy *Pasaulio gaisras* (*Fire of the world*, 1928), sounds of nature create a stage soundscape (Martišiūtė 2004, 144).

Music appears as a choral ensemble not merely “performing a song,” but functioning as a choral character that also creates a plastically changing scene on stage. In addition to choral scores, Vydūnas's texts include drawings specifying singer placement and the movements that they have to draw on stage. In *Likimo bangos* (*Waves of fate*, 1922), the choir performs “fogs with the forms of women and men,” while a personified Nature sleeps, awaiting spring; in *Jūry varpai*, the choir acts like sirens, creating the impression of a surging sea in the scene. Fire is also a symbolic element in Vydūnas's pieces: the choir of *Amžina ugnis* (*Eternal fire*, 1913) performs a musical-choreographic exaltation of fire; and in *Pasaulio gaisras*, as Martišiūtė explains, “the collective character is used to create the visions of the creation of the world, the awakening of the natural forces, and the human civilization striving to conquer them. In this drama, the plasticity of the chorus, the ability to change forms, fill the entire space of the stage is extremely important” (Martišiūtė 2004, 144).

The genre of the “mysteries,” also called “national mysteries” or “mysteries of the fate of the nation,” became especially relevant during the interwar period of independence. Mythological and fantastic depictions of Lithuania's past served as a collective way to channel the new national feeling. Stagings of mysteries and miracles grew into mass events, with increasingly complex music. New titles included harmonized songs and choirs by leading musical figures of the time, such as Jurgis Karnavičius, Jonas Dambrauskas, and Juozas Tallat-Kelpša, who were involved with the State Theatre's opera productions or would later stage Lithuanian operas there. Technical staff and artistic directors from the State Theatre also collaborated with the staging of mysteries, supporting large open-air stagings, underscoring the need to study these different genres together, given that the authors fluctuated from one to another and their histories are intertwined.

In 1923, the first outdoor mystery was performed in Kaunas, *Stebuklo valanda* (*Miracle hour*), with the support of the directors of the State Theatre, arousing great enthusiasm within Lithuanian society (Trinkūnaitė, 2017: 98). Other titles staged at the State Theatre, included *Spiritus* in 1925, with “music and ancient dances”; *Likimo kelias* (*On the paths of destiny*) in 1929 by Vincas Krėvė, with folk songs arranged by Karnavičius, and *Visi žmonės* (*All the people*) by Antanas Sutkus, with music by J. Tallat-Kelpša, a fantastic

piece that announced the inclusion of allegorical characters playing death, angels and demons.

The Catholic Futurist (*Ateitininkai*) association was also active in organizing open-air stagings of miracles. These became mass events, with spectators even climbing trees to watch performances that included symbolic elements such as smoking altars of eternal fire, ghosts, solemn processions, and, of course, singing choirs (Trinkūnaitė 2017, 98). In 1925, *Paparčio žiedas* (*Fern flower*) by Liudas Gira was praised as “a real Lithuanian theater, where by reviving ancient theater forms, the national element is placed at its base” (quoted in Trinkūnaitė 2017, 100), celebrating that it had gathered large audiences from diverse social backgrounds, creating an emotional sense of community. The piece staged an allegorical extinction and resurrection of the nation—a ritual of rebirth—mirroring Lithuania’s reestablished state.

The year 1930, marking the 500th anniversary of Vytautas the Great’s death, was especially remarkable. *Amžiu karžygys*, with text by V. Bičiūnas and choral and orchestral music by Jonas Dambrauskas, was staged “in honor of Vytautas the Great” in the open air at the Kaunas Oak Grove valley⁸, featuring more than fifty actors, four full choirs with more than 300 singers, the orchestra of the War Museum, as well as warriors and slaves, horse riders on stage, etc.

Nuvainikuota Vaidilutė, by Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas, with choruses by Jonas Dambrauskas [fig. 5] was another

grand staging that year. The spirits of Kęstutis and Birutė appear on stage, while Vytautas the Great’s echoing voice and God’s designation for the fate of Lithuania are heard. With State Theatre technical support, over 900 performers (including soldiers), four choirs, pyrotechnics, fantastic dances, horses, and more than 6,000 spectators, it became a truly massive event (Trinkūnaitė 2017, 103).

As Trinkūnaitė remarks, it is symbolic that, after such a successful trajectory, the last open-air mystery was staged in 1940 (2017, 106). However, such events, which gathered so many people and emphasized emotional bonding across different and plural social backgrounds, highlight the important social function these performances served during the interwar period in fostering a shared national feeling.

3.3 Opera

The field of opera was, in both cases, a complicated issue. The capitals of both Catalonia and Lithuania had an opera house, but national authors had difficulty staging their works there. Opera is the most institutional genre, since it requires a building and technical means not available to amateur companies or independent productions. As we have seen, nationalist movements were mostly based on civic activism and were reluctant to collaborate with established institutions. Whether a private opera house



Figure 5. Open-air stage for the performance of *Nuvainikuota Vaidilutė* in Kaunas, 1928. Wikimedia.



Figure 6. Stage of the Liceu Theatre for act I of *La princesa Margarida* by Jaume Pahissa and Adrià Gual. UAB/Arxiu de la Societat del Gran Teatre del Liceu.

without the administrative bureaucracy of the state, such as the Catalan Liceu, or a public institution created by the restored national state, as the case of the State Theatre in Kaunas, both focused on international canonical repertoire and provided little opportunity for local composers.

In Catalonia, the Gran Teatre del Liceu, the main Catalan opera house since 1847, generally refused to perform Catalan (or Spanish) operas. This was not opposition to the nationalist movement itself, since the opera house was one of the symbols of Catalan culture. Rather, it was an elitist issue in which Catalan was considered a “popular” language associated with peasants, while Italian was viewed as the language of high culture. As a private enterprise, the owners and artistic directors programmed almost exclusively Italian titles or pieces translated into Italian.

Of the very few Catalan operas staged, such as *Els Pirineus* (*The Pyrenees*, 1902) by Pedrell or *Empòrium* (1906) and *Titaina* (1912) by Morera, the librettos were translated from Catalan to Italian, provoking protests from the audience (Cortès 2004/05, 81–83). It was not until the 1910s that an exception was made with Jaume Pahissa, who premiered *Gal·la Plàcidia* (1913) and *La princesa Margarida* (1928)—adapted from the successful 1905 musical vision *La presó de Lleida*, even reusing the same stage design—at the Liceu in Catalan [fig. 6], along with other titles in Spanish in between (Cortès 2004/05, 84–85).

At the same time, important sectors of the intellectual elite and specialized press were calling on producers to “raise the level” and produce large-format operas instead of musical dramas or visions, while the opera house systematically refused to perform in Catalan.

[While speaking of the musical vision *La presó de Lleida*] why did he limited himself to gloss the folk song, [...] [when] the folk song is just an episode of a whole musical poem? [...]

How pleasant would it be to see a whole drama, what people call a true drama, a *long* piece, in three acts, written by a poet following that tragic tale that the folk people tell! [...] Do you see that our poets dream of folk songs to create remarkable pieces, long pieces? (Vallés, Emili, *Art jove* 8 [31/03/1906], 129)

Mr. Graner, what do we have to do? Don't you have the will to listen to what people from Barcelona and the whole Catalonia are demanding for a long time? Catalan opera, good and conscientious opera. With the artistic means that you have [...], with Catalan performers as we have, known some of them, still unknown some other. Are you not brave enough to give Catalan Art what it's missing, the necessary means for its enlargement and development? (Karr, Carme, *Juventut* 325 [03/05/1906], 281)

However, this intellectual elite, so loud in the press criticizing musical dramas, did not follow through with concrete initiatives to support the so missed national opera. When Carme Karr herself collaborated with producer Lluís Graner, she staged a one-act legend, *El testament d'Amèlia* (*Amèlia's testament*), including only a few musical numbers based on the folk melody of the same title, for which she required another composer's help with orchestration. As Enric Morera stated:

[...] but my triumph establishing a Catalan lyric theatre did not sit well for some people. Who could be the ones confronting the evidence? The same ones as always. Those who

do nothing. Those who often write on *their* journals praising themselves to each other. [...] Those that do not produce any pieces because they know they can't and that, if they try, they only show their ignorance [...] and years and years pass by and the tree of knowledge never gives any fruit, and if it does, it's already dead. (Morera 1936, 61–63)

A paradigmatic example was *El comte l'Arnau*, a folk song staged as a short symbolist piece at the Principal Theatre of Barcelona in 1905. It was a huge success, running for more than five months and selling more than 10,000 copies of the booklet with the lyrics, while at the same time Felip Pedrell tried to stage an operatic version of the same folk song in two acts, but failed to arrange a premiere (Cortès 1991/92, 94).

In Lithuania, the national opera also focused on canonical international opera.⁹ It began in 1920 under the Lithuanian Artists' Society and was nationalized in 1922 as a public institution of the new independent state. Its role was largely pedagogical: to introduce Lithuanian audiences to the main titles of the international repertoire (translated into Lithuanian) and to professionalize and consolidate a generation of Lithuanian opera singers. While it achieved the important cultural task of introducing Kaunas to the international opera scene and supporting the national language through the translation of all the productions to Lithuanian, it did not meet the creative needs of a new Lithuanian repertoire. As Trinkūnaitė quotes from Balys Sruoga (1925), the State Theatre was not able to respond to that “particularly important time of the nation [...] It does not represent the spirit of the nation, it does not stimulate the creative energy of the nation” (2017, 99), since it programmed Polish dramas and foreign opera, leaving very little space for Lithuanian authors.

Firstly, efforts to encourage leading musicians to compose operas failed. The State Theatre tried to encourage conductors such as Stasys Šimkus, Juozas Gruodis, and Juozas Tallat-Kelpša offering them internships, but none completed their projects. Tallat-Kelpša, for example, spoke of composing the opera *Gintaro pakrantėje* (*On the Amber coast*) as early as 1907. Sent to Italy with the full salary of an opera conductor from 1928 to 1929, he returned with nothing completed and later abandoned the project (Baublinskienė 2009, 372). For the season 1937/38, the State Theatre tried to involve Tallat-Kelpša once more in staging an opera, which was eventually postponed for the season 1940/41. His three-act opera *Vilmantė*, based on texts by Maironis, J. Talmantas and K. Inčiūra, including stylized folk songs, never saw the light of day, although, according to the press, he had handed in a draft and was orchestrating the piece (Baublinskienė 2009, 374).

Secondly, the State Theatre also rejected many existing pieces that had been written independently. One example was *Vaidilutė* (*The Priestess*) by Vytautas Bacevičius, which

drew on folk laments and panpipe music, written while he was studying in Paris (Stanevičiūtė 2024, 89). Auditioned in 1932, it initially received a generally positive evaluation by the management of the theatre before it was eventually discarded, since for Juozas Gruodis it was more of “a trial work than a finished work” (as quoted in Baublinskienė 2009, 373). “The parts of the singers seem monotonous and primitive, if you don't count the intervals and small notes that are not convenient for the singer. [...] The periods of the text sometimes do not match the periods of the music. [...] Chorus with existing accompaniment, if at all possible, would be very difficult to perform”. But also, “the libretto of that opera is too naive for the opera written with it to be shown publicly”. Bacevičius had arranged it himself, inspired by V. Mykolaitis-Putinas's mysteries, in a symbolist tone with mystic and moral-patriotic motives, including symbols of both paganism and Christianity. However, when Gruodis himself attempted to start writing an opera that same year, he eventually handed the libretto to another composer, finding the chosen text of *Tyrų duktė* (*The Daughter of Tyrai*) by Bronė Buivydaitė too lyrical (Baublinskienė 2009, 374).

Either because the works submitted were not technically strong enough¹⁰ or because their aesthetic proposals were not accepted, the State Theatre kept delaying the staging of Lithuanian operas and was not especially cooperative with younger composers. Reflecting on the institutions of interwar Lithuania, Vytautas Bacevičius wrote in a 1948 letter to Jeronimas Kačinskas:

How can you expect anything good from strangers when your own people used to be as angry as wolves? You must remember the times of the bureaucratic Ministry of Education in Lithuania, and what the Kaunas “Art Temple”, i.e. Theatre, used to do to young artists. (as quoted in Stanevičiūtė, 2024: 132-133)

Criticism mounted, and some figures, such as Mikas Petrauskas, who had been especially proactive in the promotion of Lithuanian musical theater, openly addressed the issue in 1928:

[...] our Kaunas Opera has nothing Lithuanian. We, Lithuanians, are so low in our music field, almost like the inhabitants of wild nations. Our artists do not try to promote their art at all, saying that our art does not exist. The society, having also received the mess of a foreign culture, got used to it, because it is more solemn and, of course, cheaper, accessible without difficulty. [...] (quoted in Burokaitė [ed.], 1976: p. 97-100)

Since the premiere of *Birutė* in 1906, no new Lithuanian opera was staged in Lithuanian lands until *Gražina* in 1933¹¹, with music by Jurgis Karnavičius and a libretto based on A. Mickevičius's homonymous poem. In the meantime, *Birutė* had been restaged in 1909 in Vilnius; in 1910 in Rokiškis and Marijampolė (where it was performed again

in 1914); and in 1919, 1921, and 1925 in Kaunas (Landsbergis 1976, 254). Petrauskas's second opera, *Eglė—žalčių karalienė*, premiered in 1924 in Chicago and did not reach Lithuanian stages until 1939, when it was reorchestrated by J. Dambrauskas for the State Theatre in Kaunas (Narbutienė 1976, 316–318).

Karnavičius, for his part, had already written stage music before *Gražina* for different mysteries. The next Lithuanian opera, *Trys talismanai* (*Three talismans*), was in fact an arrangement of an earlier mystery by Kazys Inčiūra with music by Antanas Račiūnas. Lithuanian musical theater had remained vibrant, but largely in the form of non-operatic genres.

For one reason or another, national authors found it difficult to access the opera houses. The institutionalization of national culture, though it provided the means for better and more stable productions, did not necessarily make it easier for national authors to see their works staged.

Conclusion

Although there are clear contextual differences that affect the quality, quantity, and outcome of the studied repertoire, the underlying discourses about the need for a new national culture—one that paid special attention to musical theater—and the creative approaches to nationalizing dramatic genres are very similar in both national movements. There are also stylistic differences: Lithuanian composers were influenced by the Russian, Polish, and German schools, while Catalan composers were mainly influenced by Italian and French music, as well as by the zarzuela tradition from Castilian Spain. However, the genres they approach to create a national culture, as well as the techniques and symbolic elements they employed to represent the national identity followed similar patterns.

These shared patterns allow us to conclude: 1) The Catalan musical theater scene and the discourses on the creation of their own national genre, independent of traditional Castilian and Italian influences, did not imply nor resulted in cultural isolation or disconnection from European trends. Other regions experiencing nationalist awakenings, such as Lithuania, were undergoing similar processes that led to similar results in the field of musical theater. 2) The new Lithuanian culture that began to flourish after the legalization of the Lithuanian language, even if not counting with many well-skilled authors and professional companies, was not far behind other substate nationalist movements that already had established cultural institutions, such as the Catalan case. By linking both cases, we shift from viewing them as isolated, local phenomena to seeing them as part of a wider transnational process that multiple regions experienced contemporaneously in the context of substate national awakenings.

The sociocultural context must also be considered. By the early twentieth century, opera was already undergoing a process of canonization, with the same titles repeated increasingly often on international billboards. The creation and premiere of new pieces took place instead in the field of popular musical theater, which was not bound by the rigid institutional structures of grand opera houses. In both cases, the histories of opera and popular musical theater were intertwined, with the same composers, writers, and actors contributing to both. The modernization of society called for new formats, such as operetta or musical drama with spoken parts, rather than long-format, fully sung operas. In Catalonia and Lithuania, very few operatic titles by national composers were premiered, while a large repertoire of operettas and mythological musical dramas was produced. Even if operas may be of greater qualitative interest from a musical perspective, quantitatively, the short-format genres prevailed by far.

From *Birutė* (1906), considered the first Lithuanian opera, to *Trys talismanai* (1936), the last before the 1940 occupation, only five new titles can be counted (Bruveris 2006, 541–547), while more than one hundred Lithuanian operettas were produced in the same period between Lithuania and its diaspora (Petrauskaitė 2012, 162). If we consider which were the largest and most massively attended events, these were the open-air mysteries. For example, *Nuvainikuota Vaidilutė*, by Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas with choirs by Jonas Dambrauskas, was staged for the 500th anniversary of Vytautas the Great's death in 1930, involving more than 900 people on stage (including four choirs and even soldiers with horses) with the technical staff of the State Theatre providing pyrotechnics and other effects (Trinkūnaitė 2017, 101–103).

The Catalan repertoire presents a similar situation. Very few Catalan operas were staged, and some were even forced by the Catalan opera house to be translated into Italian, such as *Els Pirineus* (*I Pirinei*, 1902) by Felip Pedrell or *Empòrium* and *Bruniselda* by Enric Morera (1906), which caused protests among the public. While composers struggled to stage their operas at the Liceu Theatre, just down the same street, the Principal Theatre of Barcelona had their names on its billboard announcing musical visions such as *La matinada* by Pedrell—innovative in its use of electric light as a dramaturgical element—and *El comte l'Arnau* by Morera. Musical dramas by Morera and the renowned writer Àngel Guimerà were as well successfully premiered at the Principal Theatre: *La santa espina* (1907), which included a sardana that became Catalonia's unofficial anthem, and *La reina vella* (*The old queen*, 1908), staged amid discussions of nominating Guimerà for the Nobel Prize.

There was a strong will to reach the people, to engage the broader population in the new national project, and to awaken in them a shared national consciousness. For this

purpose, popular genres were more effective than operas, which reached only a smaller, elite audience. The mass stagings of Lithuanian open-air miracles with thousands of participants created a sense of communal belonging. The Catalan musical visions presented a short-format entertainment for families to transmit rural folkloric references to children in industrial cities in recreative salons. The popular operettas performed by amateurs engaged smaller communities and promoted the use of the national language.

The social impact of these genres, and their ability to attract large cross-class audiences, made them especially valuable to activist movements of national awakening. By contrast, the staging of a national opera only congregated a smaller elite concentrated in the capitals. Still, producing national opera remained relevant for opera house audiences and for international promotion within operatic circuits. While both projects coexisted within nationalist movements, it is important to notice that they respond to different sociocultural needs, and that, in order to reach the full social spectrum of the national community that “has to be awakened,” not only one single genre could meet by itself the varied aesthetic needs of different ideological groups and social classes.

Therefore, opera should not be seen as the ultimate stage that has to be reached to consider a cultural process of nation-building successful. This has often been the traditional scholarly approach, reinforced by the discourse that intellectual elites held at that time, who claimed that musical comedies and dramas should evolve into the more complex and literary form of national opera. Following this argument, simpler or more popular genres have been dismissed by scholars as failures or proto-stages in the process of achieving a national opera, attributed to authors’ lack of training or audiences’ lack of education. While such factors may have played a role, it is important to recognize the social function of these repertoires in national awakenings, where the goal was to instill national consciousness throughout society.

It was not only about creating a form of high culture in the national language to prove the nation’s “civilized” status. More importantly, especially if we consider quantitatively the number of premiered titles, it was about engaging people in the national project by providing forms of culture they were already inclined to consume. The issue was not simply to “educate” audiences to move from vaudeville to national opera because they lacked artistic criteria, but also to provide them with vaudevilles in the national language, portraying situations from traditional daily life and replacing foreign repertoires so that audiences could see their own culture represented on stage in the form of genres that they already consumed.

Thus, rather than creating entirely new “national genres” with unique styles or dramaturgies, these movements

“nationalized” existing genres and aesthetic trends by inserting elements with symbolic national meaning: quotations of folk songs or folk-styled intonations, folk dances and rhythms, tales and myths arranged as plots for the plays, or depictions of traditional customs from the daily life of folk villagers. Pointing to the need to rethink nationalistic approaches to the history of musical theater, this vision aligns with Tatjana Marković’s (2019) theories about nineteenth-century national operas as national variations emerged from shared, common international genres, rather than as the isolated creation of multiple and distinct individual national genres.

References

- ¹ This research has been funded by the PhD fellowship program for the training of university professors (FPU20/04749) and its complementary grants for international mobility (EST24/00023) funded by the Ministry of Universities of Spain. It is part of the research project “Music and the city: spaces, institutions and encounters since the Industrial Revolution” (PID2021-124376NB-C32), funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation of Spain.
- ² In the case of the Lithuanian national revival, we can observe similar debates regarding the harmonization of folk songs, for example. Harmonizing Lithuanian folk songs using a style coming from Russian or German influence was not considered to be purely Lithuanian.
- ³ For the relations between the process of regional nationalist awakenings and empire national homogenization see Berger; Miller, 2008.
- ⁴ Journals such as *Les annales des nationalités*, which were the first European initiatives dedicated to the international divulgation and support to repressed nationalist movements in the continent, considered both Catalan and Lithuanian national movements as part of the same group of substate nationalisms. Between 1913 and 1916, we can find multiple issues on the Catalan and Lithuanian political situations regarding their national recognition.
- ⁵ A ban on Lithuanian language was enforced in 1865 by the Russian empire. It was prosecuted until 1904, eventually becoming the official language of the new state in 1918. In Catalonia, the opposite was the case. Although Spanish was promoted by the state and compulsory in education, Catalan language had been widely used until then. It is in 1922 when it’s administrative limitation and prosecution started under the regime of Primo de Rivera.
- ⁶ For a further explanation on the use of the concept of “symbolic capital” applied to national theater of this period, see Petrikas; Petrikienė, 2018.
- ⁷ The repertoire of Catalan zarzuela, however, has barely been studied by contemporary musicology and theater studies. The low literary quality of the texts and the simplicity of the music are key factors in this lack of interest. Still, for contemporary Catalanism, the fact that one of the most widespread genres carried the name “zarzuela,” with the correlation this implies with Castilian culture, is problematic. The few studies of “Catalan zarzuela” have instead focused on the intellectual

initiatives that Catalanism undertook to distance itself from the genre, overlooking the fact that a wide repertoire of local zarzuela was being written for amateur stages in the Catalan language.

⁸ There seems to be available footage of the rehearsals at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELEITO45Hf4>

⁹ Before independence, the Vilnius City Theatre hosted only foreign companies, mostly Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian troupes. Since 1864, opera and operetta performances were allowed only in the Russian language. Italian troupes also visited frequently until the beginning of the twentieth century (Daukšaitė 2002, 41).

¹⁰ Lithuanian educational institutions had been moved abroad by the Tsarist administration, and musical education was to be reestablished in Lithuania during the period of independence. The first music school in Kaunas was opened in 1919, and the one in Klaipėda started operating in 1923. Composers who studied abroad and were trained in new modernist styles and trends faced difficulties when coming back to Lithuania, since relevant teachers at the Kaunas Conservatoire, such as Juozas Naujalis, openly opposed Modernism (see Stanevičiūtė 2024, 131–39). However, many Catalan composers were not highly skilled either, since conservatoires were introduced in Spain quite late. The first music school in Barcelona opened in 1886, and Enric Morera, who went to Brussels to study harmony, often complained that young Catalan composers could not even harmonize folk songs properly (Morera 1936, 39–42) and that directors and authors were “bad musicians, without any knowledge whatsoever” (Morera 1936, 37–38) who would not be able to play his compositions. There are testimonies that, for example, the musical vision *Lany mil* (*The year one thousand*), commissioned by the Espectacles-Audicions Graner, could not be staged because the composer Joan Llongueras did not know how to properly orchestrate it for a full theater orchestra, leaving an unfinished draft (Manent and Medina 1997, 77–78).

¹¹ *Gražina* was premiered not without prior criticism and controversy about the nationality of its author, since Karnavičius, although Lithuanized, was of Russian origin. Similar criticism can also be seen in the Catalan context, where Enric Morera and Amadeu Vives were considered by the most radical nationalists as traitors to the Catalan cause because, at some point in their careers, they had written or translated pieces into Spanish and had staged them outside Catalonia.

Bibliography

- Aviñoa, Xosé. *La música i el modernisme*. Barcelona: Curial, 1985.
- Aviñoa, Xosé. “El teatre líric català: antecedents, desenvolupament i epígons (1894–1908). L’aportació musical, plàstica i literària.” *Anales de Literatura Española* 15 (2002): 223–29.
- Bakutyte, Vida. “Jono Dambrausko tautiškoji dramatinė muzika.” *Menotyra* 18, no. 1 (2004): 16–24.
- Bakutyte, Vida. “Operetė Vilniuje: už ir prieš (XIX a. antroji pusė ir XX a. pradžia).” *Menotyra* 16, no. 1–2 (2009): 12–22.
- Batlle, Carles. *Adrià Gual (1891–1902): Per un teatre simbolista*. Barcelona: Institut del Teatre; Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 2001.
- Baublinskienė, Beata. “Sceninė muzika: operos.” In *Lietuvos muzikos istorija*, vol. 2, *Nepriklausomybės metai, 1918–1940*, edited by Algirdas Jonas Ambrazas, 372–409. Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 2009.
- Berger, Stefan, and Aleksey Miller. “Nation-Building and Regional Integration, c. 1800–1914: The Role of Empires.” *European Review of History—Revue européenne d’histoire* 15, no. 3 (2008): 317–30.
- Bruveris, Jonas. *Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras*. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2006.
- Burokaitė, Jūratė, ed. *Mikas Petrauskas: straipsniai, laišškai, amžininkų atsiminimai*. Vilnius: Vaga, 1976.
- Čiurlionienė-Kymantaitė, Sofija, and Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis. *Lietuvoje (kritikos žvilgsnis į Lietuvos inteligentiją)*. Vilnius: Juozapo Zavadzčio išleidimas, 1910.
- Cortès, Francesc. “La música escènica de Felip Pedrell: Els Pirineus. La Celestina. El Comte Arnau.” *Recerca Musicològica* 11–12 (1991/92): 63–97.
- Cortès, Francesc. “Consideracions sobre els models operístics entre 1875 i 1936.” *Recerca Musicològica* 14–15 (2004/05): 77–85.
- Cortès, Francesc. “La zarzuela en catalán: un extenso camino a redescubrir.” In *La zarzuela, patrimonio de la Hispanidad: Crónica cantada de nuestra vida*, edited by Emilio Casares, 90–113. Almagro: Museo Nacional del Teatro, 2023.
- Daukšaitė, Gražina. “Koncertinis ir muzikinis teatrinis gyvenimas Lietuvoje.” In *Lietuvos muzikos istorija*, vol. 1, *Tautinio atgimimo metai 1883–1918*, edited by Danutė Palionytė-Banevičienė, 27–48. Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos akademija; Kultūros, Filosofijos ir Meno Institutas, 2002.
- Daukšaitė, Gražina. “Lietuviškieji vakarai.” In *Lietuvos muzikos istorija*, vol. 1, *Tautinio atgimimo metai 1883–1918*, edited by Danutė Palionytė-Banevičienė, 77–80. Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos akademija; Kultūros, Filosofijos ir Meno Institutas, 2002.
- Gruodytė, Vita. “The (Non-)seriousness of culture: the case of the Lithuanian operetta.” In *Opereta med obema svetovnimia vojnama = Operetta between the two world wars*, edited by Jernej Weiss, 293–307. Koper/Ljubljana: Založba Univerze na Primorskem; Festival Ljubljana, 2021.
- Gual, Adrià. “Teatre popular.” 1901. In *Teoria escènica*, edited by Carles Batlle and Enric Gallén, 84–94. Lleida/Barcelona: Punctum; Institut del Teatre, 2016.
- Gual, Adrià. *Blancaflor: cant popular armonisat per la escena*. Barcelona: Impr. Joseph Cunill Sala, 1904.
- Gual, Adrià. “El Teatre Líric Català.” 1904. In *Teoria escènica*, edited by Carles Batlle and Enric Gallén, 153–62. Lleida/Barcelona: Punctum; Institut del Teatre, 2016.
- Gual, Adrià. *Mitja vida de teatre: memòries*. Barcelona: Aedos, 1960.
- Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard, and Charlotte Tacke. “Die Kultur des Nationalen. Sozial- und kulturgeschichtliche Ansätze bei der Erforschung des europäischen Nationalismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Sonderheft* 16 (1996): 255–83.
- Iglésias, Ignasi. *Enric Morera: estudi biogràfic*. Barcelona: A. Artis, 1921.
- Klivis, Edgaras. “Staging the Nation: The Case of Lithuanian Fin de Siècle Theatre Productions in Foreign Industrial Centers.” *Methis: Studia humaniora Estonica* 3 (2009): 121–27.
- Landsbergis, Vytautas. “Apie Birutė.” In *Mikas Petrauskas: straipsniai, laišškai, amžininkų atsiminimai*, edited by Jūratė Burokaitė, 252–65. Vilnius: Vaga, 1976.
- Landsbergis, Vytautas. *M. K. Čiurlionis. Time and Content*. Vilnius: Lituanius, 1992.

- Langewiesche, Dieter. "Nationalismus—ein generalisierender Vergleich." In *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, edited by Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad, and Oliver Janz, 175–89. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.
- Leersen, Joep. "Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture." *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 4 (2006): 559–78.
- Manent, Albert, and Jaume Medina, eds. *Epistolari de Josep Carner*. Vol. 3. Barcelona: Curial, 1997.
- Marković, Tatjana. "How Much Is Opera Inter/National?" *Muzikološki zbornik / Musicological Annual* 48, no. 1 (2012): 91–107.
- Martišiūtė, Aušra. "Tautos dvasia, širdies kalba: Vydūno teatro vizija." *Darbai ir dienos* 39 (2004): 141–150.
- Minguet i Batllori, Joan M. "La 'Sala Mercè' de Lluís Graner (1904–1908): un epígon del Modernisme?" *D'art* 14 (1988): 99–117.
- Morera, Enric. *Moments viscuts (auto-biografia)*. Barcelona: Gráficas Barcelona, 1936.
- Narbutienė, Ona. "Eglė—žalčių karalienė." In *Mikas Petrauskas: straipsniai, laišakai, amžininkų atsiminimai*, edited by Jūratė Burokaitė, 297–318. Vilnius: Vaga, 1976.
- Núñez, Xosé. "Nations and Territorial Identities in Europe: Transnational Reflections." *European History Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2010): 669–84.
- Núñez, Xosé. *Patriotas transnacionales: ensayos sobre nacionalismos y transferencias culturales en la Europa del siglo XX*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2019.
- Palionytė-Banevičienė, Danutė. *Stasys Šimkus: straipsniai, dokumentai, laišakai, amžininkų atsiminimai*. Vilnius: Valga, 1967.
- Palionytė-Banevičienė, Danutė, ed. *Lietuvos muzikos istorija*. Vol. 1, *Tautinio atgimimo metai 1883–1918*. Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos akademija; Kultūros, Filosofijos ir Meno Institutas, 2002.
- Petrauskaitė, Danutė. "Between City and Village: The Development of Lithuanian Musical Culture in the End of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century." In *Musik-Stadt: Traditionen städtischer Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, vol. 1, edited by Helmut Loos, 60–75. Leipzig: Gudrun Schröder Verlag, 2011.
- Petrauskaitė, Danutė. "Operetė lietuviškoje egzodo scenoje JAV: pastangos išlikti ir prisitaikyti (XX a. pirma pusė)." *Lietuvos muzikologija* 13 (2012): 152–64.
- Petrauskaitė, Danutė. *Lietuvių muzikinė kultūra Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose, 1870–1990: tautinės tapatybės kontūrai*. Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2015.
- Petrauskaitė, Danutė. "Lietuvos operos teatro kūrimas Kaune: Juozo Žilevičiaus patirtys." *Ars et praxis* 8 (2020): 28–46.
- Petrikas, Martynas, and Asta Petrikienė. "Avant-Garde Theatre and Social Space: Lithuanian Examples." In *Reclaimed Avant-Garde: Spaces and Stages of Avant-Garde Theatre in Central-Eastern Europe*, edited by Zoltan Imre and Dariusz Kosiński, 100–16. Warsaw: Zbigniew Raszewski Theatre Institute, 2018.
- Skey, Michael. "The National in Everyday Life: A Critical Engagement with Michael Billig's Thesis of Banal Nationalism." *The Sociological Review* 57, no. 2 (2009): 331–46.
- Sluga, Glenda. "The Nation and the Comparative Imagination." In *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, edited by Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, 103–14. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Stanevičiūtė, Rūta. *Figures of Modernity: International Society for Contemporary Music and the Modern Music Movement in Lithuania*. Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2024.
- Thiesse, Anne-Marie. *La création des identités nationales: Europe XVIIIe–XXe siècle*. Paris: Seuil, 2001.
- Trinkūnaitė, Šarūnė. "XX a. pradžios Vilniaus lietuvių teatro šturmas: aistros dėl Mindaugio, Lietuvos karaliaus." *Krantai* 3 (2016): 68–71.
- Trinkūnaitė, Šarūnė. "Stebuklinė Lietuva: tautinės lauko misterijos tarpukario Lietuvoje." *Menotyra* 24, no. 2 (2017): 97–108.

Santrauka

XIX–XX a. sandūroje Europoje kilo subvalstybinio nacionalizmo banga, kurios metu įvairiuose regionuose vyko nacionalinis atgimimas. Tačiau įvairūs tautiniai judėjimai dažnai buvo tyrinėjami atskirai, kaip nepriklausomi istorijos reiškiniai. Straipsnyje, naudojant transnacionalinės istorijos metodologijas, lyginami dviejų atvejų tyrimai, siekiant nustatyti bendrus parametrus ir bendrą sistemą, leidžiančią suprasti tautinių atgimimų panašumus: Katalonijos *modernizmo* dalis – judėjimas už katalonų lyrinį teatrą (1898–1922) ir Lietuvos kultūros konsolidacija tautinio atgimimo metu nuo lietuvių kalbos įteisinimo 1904 m. iki nepriklausomos valstybės atkūrimo 1918 m.

Abu judėjimai vyko vienu metu; jie abu atitinka subvalstybinio nacionalizmo kriterijus, kai tapatybė grindžiama bendra kalba ir folkloru, atskirais nuo valstybinio nacionalizmo, taip pat istorine nepriklausomybės praeitimi, kurią šie judėjimai norėjo atkurti. Abu regionai taip pat pasižymėjo kalbos diglosija: regioninė kalba yra nuvertinama kaip valstiečių kalba, o valstybinė kalba laikoma „kultūros kalba“. Katalonijoje teatrai daugiausia statė ispanų sarsuelą ir italų operą. Lietuvoje opera buvo statoma tik rusų kalba, o operetės daugiausia – iš Vienos repertuaro. Šiame kontekste nacionalistiniai judėjimai skatino kurti naujus repertuarus nacionaline kalba ir konsoliduoti naujas kultūros institucijas, pvz., chorus ir teatro trupes, kad juos statytų.

Šio tyrimo tikslas – patikrinti, ar du tarpusavyje nesusiję regionai, priklausantys skirtingoms kultūrinės ir geopolitinės įtakos sritims, patirdami tą patį tautinio atgimimo procesą, išsiugdė panašias tendencijas konsoliduoti ir skleisti nacionalinę kultūrą ir ar jie naudojo tuos pačius simbolišnius elementus tautinei tapatybei kultūriškai atstovauti. Nepaisant neišvengiamų stilistinių skirtumų – atsižvelgiant į tai, kad autoriai davė išsilavinimą skirtingose kultūrinėse aplinkose ir turėjo prieigą prie skirtingų šaltinių bei kontekstų – galima matyti bendrus struktūrinius modelius.

Įvairios meno sritys nagrinėjamos nacionalistiniu požiūriu, nes kultūra buvo laikoma nacionalinės tapatybės išraiška. Ypatingą susidomėjimą kelia muzikinis teatras. Intelektuali požiūriu jis buvo laikomas „totaliu menu“, apimančiu visas meno disciplinas, o operos žanre – civilizuočiausia ir

aukščiausia meno forma. Žemesniosios ir vidurinės klasių atstovams operetė ir muzikinis dramos spektaklis buvo masinio vartojimo formos ir veiksmingiausios priemonės tautiniams idealams ir sąmoningumui visuomenėje skleisti.

Verta paminėti Enrico Moreros ir Àngelo Guimeros lyrinę dramą „La santa espina“ (1907), kurią Barcelonoje pastatė „Espectacles-Audicions Graner“ ir kurios sardana net tapo neoficialiu Katalonijos himnu; Lietuvos misterijas po atviru dangumi, tokias kaip Vinco Mykolaičio-Putino ir Jono Dambrausko „Nuvainikuota Vaidilutė“, kurios sutraukė tūkstančius žiūrovų ir įžiebė tautinio bendrumo jausmą per simbolinį Lietuvos mitologinio gimimo pastatymą.

Visuomenės mobilizavimas tautinei kultūrai remti vyko steigiant chorus ir teatro trupes, dažniausiai sudarytas iš entuziastų ir mėgėjų. Stasio Šimkaus, Pijaus Bukšnaičio, Antano Pociaus, Adrios Esquerros, Lluíso Puiggarí ir Francesco Montserrato Ayarbe sukurtos operetės atliko svarbų vaidmenį suteikiant medžiagos aktyviam nacionalinės kalbos vartojimui, tradicinių papročių vaidavimui ir bendros tapatybės skatinimui, naudojant pramogą kaip pedagoginę

priemonę. Tai rodo žmonių pilietinę valią išlaikyti ir konsoliduoti tautinį repertuarą.

Dar vienas bendras bruožas buvo kultūros atstovų visuomeninė veikla: daugeliu atvejų menininkai ir autoriai patys finansavo tautinį meną, siekdami simbolinės, o ne ekonominės naudos. Pavyzdžiui, Mikas Petrauskas kūrė chorus ir muzikos mokyklas, o Lluísas Graneris už savo asmenines lėšas išnuomojo pagrindinį Barcelonos teatrą ir jame įkūrė katalonų lyrinio teatro trupę, pristatančią itin menišką „muzikines vizijas“.

Galime daryti išvadą, kad tai, kas įvyko, buvo ne kokio nors naujo „nacionalinio žanro“, pasižyminčio savitu stiliu mi ir unikalios dramaturgija, gimimas, o veikiau jau buvusių žanrų „sutautinimas“, įterpiant simbolinę nacionalinę reikšmę turinčių elementų, tokių kaip liaudies dainų citatos ar jų stilių imituojančios intonacijos, liaudies šokiai ir ritmai, pjesių siužetams renkantis pasakas, mitus ar tradicinius kasdienio gyvenimo papročius.

Delivered / Straipsnis įteiktas 2025 03 01

Yevgeniya IGNATENKO

‘Bulgarian’ Polyeleos Refrains from Ukrainian and Belarusian Musical Manuscripts of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Their Origin and Adaptation

„Bulgariškų“ polielėjų refrenai iš XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių muzikos rankraščių: jų kilmė ir adaptacija

Ukrainian National Tchaikovsky Academy of Music, Kyiv 01001, str. Architect Gorodetsky 1-3 / 11
evgeniaopus31@gmail.com

Abstract

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Ukrainian and Belarusian church repertoire was intensively renewed through interaction with Balkan Orthodox chant traditions. This is evidenced by “Bulgarian,” “Greek,” “Serbian,” “Moldavian,” and “Wallachian” chants, written in Ukrainian and Belarusian *Heirmologia* of that time. Our object of study is the *polyeleos* refrains found in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated *Heirmologia* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the rubric “Bulgarian *prypila*.” These refrains are based on the poetic work of Filotei, a monk of the Wallachian Cozia Monastery in the southern Carpathians.

In liturgical practice, *polyeleos prypila* existed in both oral and written traditions. Our comparative study shows that all of Filotei’s *prypila* in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts were combined with the same melodic model and were performed using the technique of chanting “na podoben” (“according to the model”). The melody of Filotei’s *prypila* in Ukrainian and Belarusian *Heirmologia* was based on the late-Byzantine tune from the antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos—chiefly the tune associated with the non-psalmic text “Rejoice, joyful Maria” (*Χαίρε κεχαριστωμένη Μαρία*). The discovery of the Byzantine musical source of the “Bulgarian” *prypila* written in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts, and the mapping of intersections among various church-chant traditions, enriches the history of Orthodox church music with new facts and contexts.

Keywords: *Polyeleos*, *polyeleos prypila* of the Wallachian monk Filotei, Bulgarian *prypila*, Bulgarian chant, Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated *Heirmologia* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Kyivan exegesis of Byzantine music, antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos, magnification to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv.

Anotacija

XVI a. pab. ir XVII a. Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos bažnyčios repertuaras buvo intensyviai atnaujinamas sąveikaujant su Balkanų ortodoksų giesmių tradicijomis. Tai liudija „bulgarų“, „graikų“, „serbų“, „muntenų“ ir „valakų“ giesmės, užrašytos to meto Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos irmologijoje. Mūsų tyrimo objektas – daugiabalsių giesmių, polielėjų, refrenai, randami XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių notuoto giesmyno „Heirmologia“ rubrikoje „Bulgariški prypila“. Šie refrenai grįsti Valakijos Kozijos vienuolyne pietiniuose Karpatuose gyvenusio vienuolio Filotėjo poetiniais kūriniais.

Liturginėje praktikoje polielėjas priedainiai egzistavo ir žodinėje, ir rašytinėje tradicijose. Šis lyginamasis tyrimas rodo, kad visi Filotėjo *prypila* ukrainiečių ir baltarusių rankraščiuose buvo pritaikyti tam pačiam melodiniam modeliui ir atliekami naudojant „na podoben“ („pagal modelį“) giedojimo techniką. Filotėjo *prypila* melodija ukrainiečių ir baltarusių irmologijoje buvo pagrįsta vėlyvosios Bizantijos Švenčiausiosios Dievo Motinos antifonos melodija – ši melodija labiausiai sietina su nepsalminiu tekstu „Džiaukis, džiaugsmingoji Marija“ (*Χαίρε κεχαριστωμένη Μαρία*). Ukrainiečių ir baltarusių rankraščiuose užrašytų „bulgariškų“ *prypila* bizantinės muzikos šaltinio radimas ir įvairių bažnytinių giesmių tradicijų sankirtų žemėlapiu sudarymas praturtina ortodoksų bažnytinės muzikos istoriją naujais faktais ir kontekstais.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: polielėjai, Valakijos vienuolio Filotėjo polielėjų *prypila*, bulgariški *prypila*, bulgariška giesmė, XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių natomis užrašyta irmologija, Kyjivo bizantinės muzikos egzėgėzė, Švenčiausiosios Dievo Motinos antifona, Kyjivo kunigaikščio Volodymyro šlovinimas.

Introduction

Most of our contemporaries associate Ukrainian church music with choral polyphonic *a cappella* singing. Widely represented in the work of Ukrainian composers of the modern era, choral polyphony has become the musical

calling card of Ukraine. Yet the Ukrainian tradition of monophonic church chant dates back a thousand years, beginning with the baptism of Kyivan Rus’ in the tenth century and continuing up to the present day. For six centuries, from the late tenth to the late sixteenth, only monophonic chant sounded in Ukrainian lands. Polyphonic singing appeared

at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, marking a new Western direction in the development of Ukrainian church music. However, traditional Eastern-style monophonic chant was not replaced by polyphony. More than 1,100 Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated musical manuscripts (*Heirmologia*¹) from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries represent the traditional monodic church repertoire (Yasynovskiy, 1996). Monophonic and polyphonic church singing thus began to coexist, creating a unique profile of Ukrainian church music in the modern era (Ignatenko, "Ukrainian", 2023).

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ukrainian and Belarusian church repertoire was intensively renewed through interaction with Balkan Orthodox chant traditions. This is evidenced by the "Bulgarian," "Greek," "Serbian," "Mulanian," and "Wallachian" chants written in Ukrainian and Belarusian *Heirmologia* of that time. The issues of their origin, adaptation, and reception in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands have not yet been sufficiently investigated. Ukrainian and Belarusian liturgical repertoire, which has roots in the chant tradition of Kyivan Rus', is almost completely anonymous: composers' names were usually not indicated in the manuscripts. The new Balkan chants were likewise marked only with toponymic notes. They are all anonymous.

Our recent comparative study of Ukrainian-Belarusian and Greek-Byzantine manuscripts has demonstrated the Byzantine origin of the so-called "Greek" chants. We have attributed a considerable number of them, particularly the kalophonic works, to Byzantine composers of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, such as Ioannes Glykys, Ioannes Kladas, Manuel Chrysaphes, Longin the Monk, Joakeim Harsianites, Manuel Gazis, Anthimos Lavriotes (Ignatenko, 2020). Joakeim Harsianites for a time held the position of *domestikos* of Serbia. All attributed kalophonic Greek chants from Ukrainian and Belarusian *Heirmologia* are also found in the manuscripts of the sixteenth-century Putna music school, a fact that indicates close contacts between Ukrainian, Belarusian, Moldavian, and Wallachian monasteries (Ignatenko, "Moldavian", 2023). Moreover, in the course of working with the Greek repertoire, we discovered that the Greek-language Cherubic hymn of the outstanding Moldavian composer Evstatie, the *Protopsaltes* of Putna Monastery (†ca. 1546), was written in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts as an anonymous piece (Ignatenko, "Protopsaltes", 2023). Our study therefore revealed the close relationship between Ukrainian-Belarusian, Greek-Byzantine, Serbian and Moldavian-Wallachian Orthodox chant traditions and demonstrated the enormous heuristic potential of comparative research.

The object of our current research is *polyeleos* refrains written in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated *Heirmologia* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the

rubric "Bulgarian pryypila" (припѣла болгарскіє)². Can we prove that these *pryypila* are truly Bulgarian?

Our research pursues the following objectives:

- to provide an overview of historical and musicological studies on the *polyeleos* refrains;
- to identify the origins of the text and music of "Bulgarian *pryypila*" from Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated *Heirmologia* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries;
- to trace the history of the refrains as a literary and musical genre in the context of the development of *polyeleos*;
- to describe the peculiarities of the *polyeleos* refrains in Greek-Byzantine, Balkan and Slavic church chant traditions and determine their points of intersection;
- to analyze the *polyeleos pryypila* from Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts;
- to situate the Ukrainian and Belarusian *polyeleos pryypila* within the broader context of Greek-Byzantine, Balkan and Slavic church chant traditions.

The history of the *pryypila* is connected to the development of the *polyeleos*. It takes us back through centuries and across various Eastern Orthodox church chant traditions.

Initially, the chanting of Psalms 134 and 135 with the refrain *Hallelujah* on Matins or All-Night Vigil of the great holidays was called *polyeleos*. The Greek title *polyeleos* (πολυέλεος) originates from the last refrain of all twenty-six verses of David's Psalm 135: "for His mercy endures forever" (ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ). Since the word "mercy" (τὸ ἔλεος) was repeated twenty-six times, the designation "many-mercy" (πολυ-έλεος) emerged. Byzantine and Slavic musical manuscripts from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries already contain *polyeleos* (Myers, 2023).

In the thirteenth century, the Byzantine scholar and theologian Nikephoros Blemmydes (Νικηφόρος Βλεμμύδης, 1197–1272) compiled for the *polyeleos* a collection of Selected Psalms (Ἐκλογή στίχων ἐκ τοῦ ψαλτηρίου). Initially, the singing of selected verses of the psalms related to the feast at the conclusion of the *polyeleos* was practiced only in the monastery of the "Christ Who Is," founded by Blemmydes. By the end of the fourteenth century, these Selected Psalms with the refrain *Hallelujah* were sung in all Orthodox Churches (Barvinok, 1911, 185–209).

From the fifteenth century onward, in Slavonic-language Churches of Byzantine rite, the Selected Psalms of Nikephoros Blemmydes began to be sung with *pryypila* instead of the *Hallelujah* refrain. The content of the Old Testament psalms is relatively neutral, while the *pryypila*—the short laudatory troparia—succinctly summarize the theme of a particular feast. Blessed Makarij and Filotei the monk are mentioned in many manuscripts as the creators of these *pryypila*.

The notated polyeleos refrains written in Ukrainian and Belarusian Heirmologia of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the rubric “Bulgarian prypila” are based on the poetic work of Filotei, a monk of the Wallachian Cozia Monastery in the southern Carpathians.

Filotei’s autograph has not been found, but his work has survived in numerous handwritten copies and printed editions. The studies of Volodymyr Barvinok (1911, 185–209), Tit Simedrea (1970), Gheorghe Ionescu (1997), and Gabriela Ocneanu (2010) include lists of manuscripts and printed editions containing Filotei’s work.

The title of the prypila is the only source of information about Filotei: “The prypila on various feasts of the Lord and the Theotokos, to all the Venerable Great Fathers, and to the Holy and Great Martyrs, and to all the outstanding Saints that are singing with the selected psalm during the polyeleos. Starting from the eighth day of September. The work of sir Filotei the monk, the former logothete of the voivode Mircea” (Припѣла на въсѣкихъ влѣдчньихъ и бѣгѣрѣдичньихъ праздникъ. и въсѣмъ прѣдѣбнымъ ѡцемъ великымъ. И сѣтымъ и великымъ избраннымъ мѣчникомъ. и въсѣмъ нарѣчитымъ сѣтымъ. припѣващїася съ избраннымъ ѱлѣмомъ, егда поетсѣя полїелеѡ. Наченше ѡт осмаго дѣне, септемвриа мѣца. Творенїе кѡрѣ Филоѡфеа мѡнаха. лѡгѡѡета бывшагѣ, Мирча воѡводѣжъ)³. Thus, the polyeleos prypila were created by Filotei the monk, who was formerly the logothete of the Voivode Mircea the Elder (1386–1418).

A Brief Overview of the Main Historical and Musicological Studies on the Polyeleos Refrains

The polyeleos prypila of Filotei first attracted the attention of historians and later of musicologists. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ukrainian historian Volodymyr Barvinok studied the non-notated prypila of Filotei in the context of Nikephoros Blemmydes’ work. Barvinok:

- justified dating Filotei’s work to 1400–1418, during the reign of the Wallachian ruler Mircea the Great or the Elder;
- observed that the Slavonic-language prypila of Filotei are absent in Greek sources but appear in Bulgarian, Serbian, Moldavian, Wallachian, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian manuscripts and printed editions;
- noted that in the Kyivan editions of the Psalter (1624, 1642, 1678, 1693, 1697) Filotei’s work received the title “Bulgarian prypila”;
- drew attention to the fact that the seventeenth-century Kyivan Psalters did not contain magnifications to the Saints of Rus’;
- suggested that Blessed Makarij and other unknown authors supplemented Filotei’s prypila with magnifications to the Saints of Rus’ (Barvinok 1911, 185–209).

The Romanian historian Tit Simedrea published the non-notated prypila of Filotei, revealed their liturgical content, and presented a study based on a large corpus of the manuscripts and early printed books.

For the first time, the non-notated prypila were printed by Božidar Vuković in the *Collection for Travellers (Zbornik za putnike)* in Venice in 1536. That collection contained thirty-three prypila written in Church Slavonic of the Middle Serbian recension. Later Filotei’s work was published in Transylvania (1580), Vilnius (1586) and Kyiv (1624, with the note “Bulgarian prypila”). Summarizing his observations, Simedrea concluded that

- Filotei’s work was quickly adopted by all Slavonic-language Orthodox Churches, “from the Balkans to Moscow”;
- twenty-six polyeleos prypila belong to Filotei, while the rest were added later;
- although written without notation, the prypila were nonetheless sung;
- Filotei, a monk of the Cozia Monastery, wrote his work in Church Slavonic of the Middle Bulgarian recension, which was the liturgical language of the Wallachian Orthodox Church at that time;
- Ukrainians in the seventeenth century called Filotei’s prypila “Bulgarian” because they were written in Church Slavonic of the Middle Bulgarian recension (Simedrea 1970).

The Ukrainian musicologist Yurij Yasinovskiy noted that Filotei’s work became part of the Ukrainian-Belarusian church chant tradition. Non-notated and notated prypila of the Wallachian monk are found in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries written in *znamennaya* notation, as well as in the staff-notated Heirmologia of the late sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Yasinovskiy refuted Simedrea’s assertion that Filotei’s prypila disappeared from the liturgical books of the Eastern Slavs after the late seventeenth century. He documented that in 1789, the Pochaiv Lavra press published the non-notated *Magnifications (Величання)*, which were reprinted without changes in 1818 (Yasinovskiy 2001).

Filotei’s Non-notated Prypila in the Musical Manuscripts

Filotei’s non-notated prypila were inscribed in the musical manuscripts, which indicates their belonging to the oral chant tradition. They appear, for instance, in the Anthology (1550–1575) of the Putna school of music.⁴ In this manuscript, Filotei’s authorship was omitted in the heading to the prypila. Following his prypila, other magnifications were added, including those by Blessed Makarij.

As a result, the pryypila of different authors merged into one anonymous corpus. Despite this, they can be distinguished: “Come” (Прийдѣте) is the first word of most of Filotei’s troparia, whereas Makarij’s typically begin with “Magnify” (Величай). For this reason, Makarij’s pryypila are also referred to as *magnifications*.

In the Supraśl *Heirmologion* (1596–1601), one of the oldest Ukrainian-Belarusian staff-notated manuscripts, the non-notated pryypila of Filotei and Makarij were inscribed separately with an indication of authorship.⁵ The title of Filotei’s work follows the standard form. Blessed Makarij, as usual, was mentioned together with Mr. Nikephoros Blemmydes the

Selected psalms” (Блѣннаго макаріа и сщ҃енномниха и честнаго философа и ритора г҃ла никифора, то влѣмида. Фалмы избранныа, fol. 568v). The word “τω” before the surname “Blemmydes” reflects translation from the Greek, where the surname “Blemmydes” (Βλεμμύδης) is preceded by the genitive article “του” (τοῦ Βλεμμύδου). In this *Heirmologion*, the text of Filotei was significantly expanded, presenting forty-seven troparia. Magnifications to Serbian saints Sava and Simeon, as well as to the Saints of Rus’—Serhij, Varlaam and Cyril the Wonderworkers, Khariton the Confessor, Peter and Alexy, Theodosius and Anthony of the Caves, Roman and David the martyrs, and Prince Volodymyr, were added among others (fols. 565r-567v).

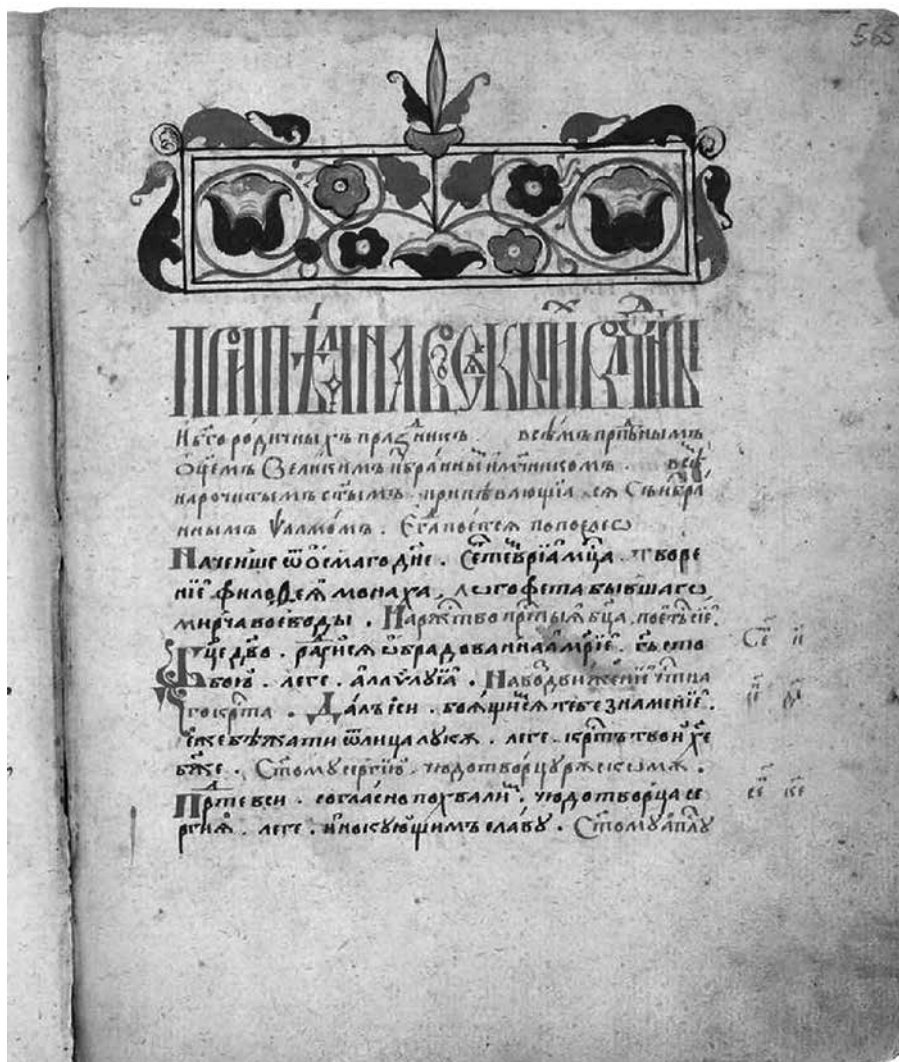


Figure 1. Beginning of the non-notated pryypila of Filotei under the title: “The pryypila on various feasts of the Lord and the Theotokos, to all the Venerable Great Fathers, and to the Martyrs, and to all the outstanding Saints that are singing with the selected psalm during the polyeleos. Starting from the eighth day of September. The work of Filotei the monk, the former logothete of the Voivode Mircea” (Припѣла на всѣакихъ вдчны и бгородичныхъ праздникъ. всѣмъ прѣдбнымъ отцѣмъ великимъ избраннымъ и мчникомъ. всѣмъ нарочитымъ сѣмъ припѣающіа са съ избраннымъ фалмомъ. Сгда поетса по [по]ли]елѣо. Наченше ѿт осмаго днѣ. Септемврїа мса. Твореніе Филофса монаха, логофета бывшаго, Мирча восоводы). © Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. Supraśl *Heirmologion* (1596–1601), fol. 565r, fond I, unit 5391.

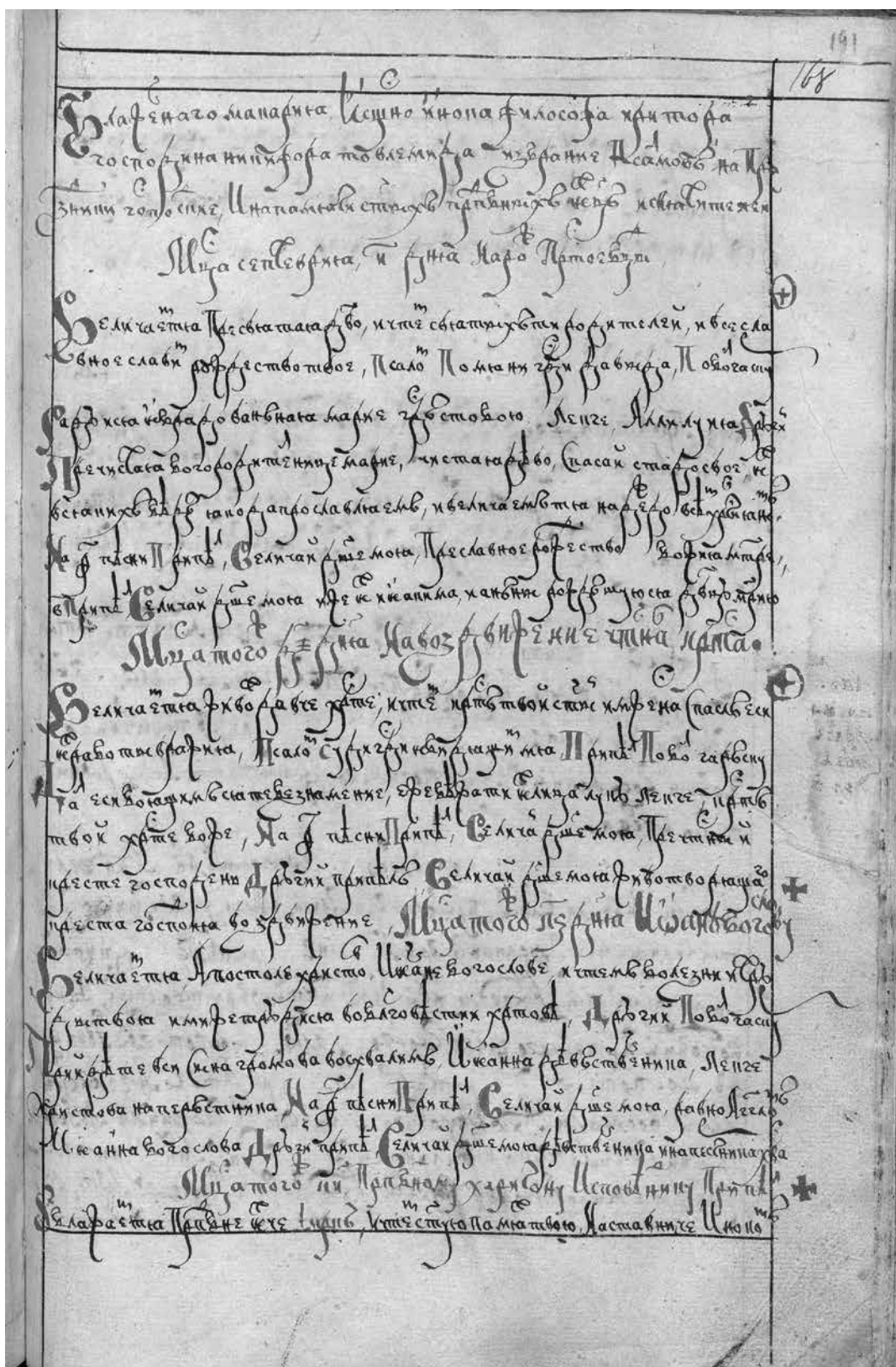


Figure 2. A combination of different prypila under the title: “By blessed hieromonk Makarij and philosopher and rhetorician Mr. Nikephoros Blemmydes the selection of psalms for the Lord’s feasts and for the memory of the Holy Venerable Fathers and Saints” (Блаженнаго макария и свщноинока философа и ритора господина никифора то влемеида избрание псалмовъ на праздники господские и на памяти стыхъ прпдбныхъ оѣць и святителей). Non-notated Filotei’s prypily were inscribed with the note “in Bulgarian” (По болгарску). © Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. Kyiv-Mezhyhiria Heimologion of the 1640s, fol. 191r, Collection of the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv, fond 312, unit 112/645.

The Kyiv-Mezhyhiria Heirmologion of the 1640s contains a unique collection of non-notated pryypila.⁶ In this manuscript, the Selected Psalms of Nikephoros Blemmydes and various pryypila were combined into one text. Blessed Makarij and Nikephoros Blemmydes were both mentioned in the heading. Filotei's pryypila were labeled "Bulgarian" (Бѡл), "in Bulgarian" (По болгарску), while others were titled "the second" (в"), "another" (Другий), "on the 9th ode" (на 9 пѣсни), "in Ruthenian" (По руску).

Filotei's Notated Pryypila in Ukrainian and Belarusian Heirmologia of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

As many researchers have noted, the toponym "Bulgarian" in the title of Filotei's pryypila first appeared in the Kyiv edition of the Psalter of 1624. Around the same time, this toponym also began to appear in musical manuscripts.

One of the earliest staff-notated manuscripts containing the notated polyeleos pryypila of the monk Filotei with the note "Bulgarian" is the Zhyrovichy Heirmologion from the 1620s.⁷ Unlike the Kyiv editions of the Psalter, however, this musical manuscript omits Filotei's name from the title.

The Zhyrovichy Heirmologion contains Filotei's polyeleos pryypila for selected feasts: the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos, the Feast of Pentecost, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian, the Transfiguration of our Lord, and the Dormition of the Theotokos. A small cycle of chants is dedicated to the feast of the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos. It includes two pryypila by Filotei in honor of the Theotokos, the first verse of the Psalm 132 (131) marked with the note "verse" (запѣл), a lesser doxology with pryypila by Filotei to the Holy Trinity and to the Theotokos, and a final *Hallelujah*.



Figure 3. The polyeleos pryypila under the title: "Pryypila for the feasts of the Lord and the Theotokos, and the Great Saints. <...> In Bulgarian" (Припѣла празникомъ гспдскимъ и бгородичнымъ, і стымъ, наричитымъ. <...> по болгарску). © Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. Zhyrovichy Heirmologion of the 1620s, fols. 14r-15v, fond I, unit 3368.

To the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian

Прийдѣте вси, Сына громава восхвалим, Иоанна
дѣвственника, **леге**. наперсника Христова
(Come all of you, praise the Son of Thunder, John the Virgin,
lege. breastplate of Christ).

On the Transfiguration of our Lord

Преобразується Исус мой и Господь на горѣ Фаворстѣй,
леге показав славу свою
(My Jesus and the Lord is transfigured on the Mount Tabor,
lege showed his glory).

On the Dormition of the Theotokos

Гѣсьнь ти исходную приношаем, Маріе, преставибося от
земных **леге** ко вѣчным обителем
(We bring you the last song, Mary, because you have passed
from the earthly **lege** to the eternal abode).

In the Heirmologion (1650–1675) from the village of Vaniv near Belz, the prypila conclude the polyeleos, which is labeled “Kyivan Polyeleos” (киевское пополюеѣс *sic!*) and “in Bulgarian” (по болгарьску, fol. 4v).⁹ This manuscript contains Filotei’s prypil to the Holy Trinity, which ends with “As it was in the beginning...” (І нынѣ...). It also includes two prypila by Filotei for the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos, one prypil dedicated to three Saints marked “to three Saints” (тѣмъ стѣлем), and the opening phrase of the second verse of Psalm 48 (49), annotated “the verse to the chant” (стих до напѣлу).

Polyeleos Prypila Presented in the Heirmologion of the Years 1650–1675 from the Village of Vaniv

Слава Ти, Троице Святая Отче, Слове и Душе Святый.
леге. Слава тебѣ, Боже
(Glory to You, Holy Trinity. Father, Word and Holy Spirit.
lege. Glory to you, God).

І нынѣ, и присно, и вѣки вѣком. Аминь
(As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world
without end. Amen).

Радуйся, обрадованная Маріе, Господь с тобою. **леге**.
Аллилуия
(Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. **lege**. Hallelujah).
Пречистая богородительнице Маріе, чистая Дѣво, спасай
стадо свое от всяких бѣд, яко да прославляем і величаем
тя, надежда всѣм хрестияном
(The purest Theotokos Maria, pure Virgin, save your flock
from all evils, let us glorify and magnify you, the hope of all
Christians).

Прийдѣте, Василия, Григорія восхвалим, Иоанна Златоуста-
го, **леге**. Троици поборники.
(Come, Basil, Gregory, praise, John Chrysostom, **lege**. the
defenders of the Trinity).

Услышите сия, вси языци
(Hear this, all peoples, *ps.* 48 (49):2).

Not only polyeleos prypila were called “Bulgarian.” The so-called “Bulgarian chant” (about 300 works, according to the Ukrainian musicologist Lidiia Kornii) made up a significant part of the liturgical chant repertoire recorded in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Kornii, Dubrovina 1998). The question of their origin is still debated, since chants called “Bulgarian” in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts have not been found in Bulgarian ones, of which very few have been preserved (Ignatenko, “Bulgarian”).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Great Manyava, or the Galician Skete, became an important center for the cultivation of Bulgarian chant. The Manyava manuscript of 1684 even bears the title “Heirmologion of Bulgarian chant” (Ірмолой напѣлу болгарскаго).¹⁰ Three Manyava musical manuscripts contain polyeleos prypila under headings such as “prypila to the feasts” (припѣла празником) and “prypila to the feasts of the Lord” (припѣла гдѣским празніком). In fact, these texts polyeleos prypila for the feasts of the Lord and the Theotokos. In the Manyava manuscripts of 1675–1676¹¹ and 1684,¹² there are five prypila: for the Transfiguration of our Lord, the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Dormition of the Theotokos and the Annunciation. Three of these are by Filotei. The prypila for the Sunday of the Prodigal Son and the Annunciation are later imitations of his work. In the Manyava Heirmologion of 1731–1733,¹³ there are four prypila: the same as in the Manyava manuscripts of 1675–1676 and 1684, except that the one for the Transfiguration of our Lord is omitted.

As we have seen, a single manuscript usually contained only a few prypila—most often dedicated to the Most Holy Theotokos and to the Holy Trinity. From this perspective, the Heirmologion from the first third of the eighteenth century in the collection of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society is unique, as it contains over thirty prypila by Filotei!¹⁴ Moreover, in this manuscript Filotei’s cycle concludes with a magnification to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv.

The Polyeleos Refrains in Greek-Byzantine, Balkan, and Slavic Church Chant Traditions: Intersection Points

An attributive feature of Filotei’s prypila, or their imitations, is the insertion of the untranslated Greek word *lege* (λέγε), written in Cyrillic as **леге**. *Lege*, meaning “say,” and *palin* (πάλιν), meaning “again,” are performance instructions woven into the chanted liturgical texts. In the manuscripts they were usually written in red and sung by the soloist to attract the attention of listeners and choristers, and to emphasize what was to be sung next (Chaldeakis 1997, 176). Such instructions were widely used in the Greek-Byzantine chant

tradition. Greek word *lege*, used in the work of Filotei, led us to search for a Greek-Byzantine source of “Bulgarian” *prypila*.

All researchers emphasize that Filotei’s cycle are absent from Greek manuscripts— a logical fact, given that they were written in Church Slavonic. The question, then, is how the Greek word *lege* came to appear in Filotei’s *prypila*. To answer it, we must turn to the history of the polyeleos genre.

Greek musicologist Achilleas Chaldeakis, who has studied the polyeleos in the Byzantine tradition, describes the special practice of inserting non-psalmic poetic texts into the chant of the polyeleos: “<...> there is a pre-existing Psalm (the Amomos or the Polyeleos or the antiphons), which is chanted at a specific part of the Matins service; and to this psalm, at certain major feasts, new poetic texts are added (by interpolation between its verses) with a view to celebrating the corresponding event of the church calendar. Hymnographical research has not, unfortunately, reached any sure and generally accepted conclusion concerning the time of the creation and insertion into liturgical practice, or the identity of the inventor of this kind of *enkomia*. The currently prevailing thesis places their composition in the early Palaeologan period, and dates their introduction into liturgical practice before the fourteenth century; the issue of the authorship of the *enkomia* (although we already know many imitators of this kind of poetry) remains obscure” (Chaldeakis 2011, 77). The practice of inserting non-psalmic texts between psalm’s verses was named “festive changes” (εόρτια ἀλλάγματα). The new poetic texts were called *enkomia* or *megalynaria*. Their interpolation was associated both with the polyeleos (especially the so-called *Latrinos Polyeleos*) and with the antiphons (notably the antiphon for the feast of All Angels).

Chaldeakis notes that the earliest interpolations of non-psalmic poetic texts appear in the *Latrinos Polyeleos*, specifically in the last ten verses (12–21) of Psalm 134. The history of this polyeleos began in Asia Minor: “The so-called *Latrinos Polyeleos* originated in the monastic state of Latros in Asia Minor (which flourished from the tenth to the thirteenth century), but was gradually, from the fourteenth century onwards, connected to the musical tradition of Constantinople, but also to that of «the whole world», as it is characteristically noted in the manuscripts” (Chaldeakis 2011, 79). The activity of the renowned Byzantine composer Saint Ioannes Koukouzeles gave the practice of inserting new poetic texts into the polyeleos an exceptionally broad dimension.

It is especially significant that the new poetic texts of the *Latrinos Polyeleos* contained the inserted performance cues *lege* and *palin* (Chaldeakis 2003, 553–577). This fact undoubtedly links the early Byzantine *enkomia* with Filotei’s *prypila*, since their poetic structures are strikingly similar.

Short verses of praise (*enkomia*) also appeared in the Bulgarian Church at roughly the same time. Bulgarian

researchers have identified them in a thirteenth-century musical manuscript for the service to Saint Joachim Osogovski (†ca. 1105), as well as in fourteenth-century manuscripts for the service to Saint Petka (Parask-eva) Tărnovska (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели в ръкопис” 1994).

We may therefore assume that at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Wallachian monk Filotei developed the practice of inserting non-psalmic poetic texts into the chant of the polyeleos in the Slavonic-language churches of the Byzantine rite, presenting the Slavonic short verses of praise known as *prypila*.

Filotei’s Notated *Prypila* in the Fifteenth-century Anthology EBE 928 by Isaiah the Serb

The earliest notated *prypila* of Filotei were found in a fifteenth-century musical manuscript: the Anthology EBE 928 of Isaiah the Serb, written in the Matejče (*Zhegligovo*) Monastery (Skopska Crna Gora, near Kumanovo, present-day North Macedonia).¹⁵ This manuscript demonstrates many distinctive features. It is bilingual, in Greek and Church Slavonic, with multiple texts set to one melody and numerous marginal inscriptions. Short polyeleos verses of praise were written under the rubric “Psalomnik” (ΨΑΛΩΜΝΙΚ) for the feasts of the Theotokos (fol. 64r) and All Saints (fol. 68r). The “Psalomnik” occupies sixteen pages (fols. 64r–80v), testifying to the rich polyeleos practice of the Matejče Monastery.

Bulgarian musicologist Elena Tončeva, who devoted several articles to this manuscript and focused especially on its polyeleos repertoire,

- attributed a significant number of the verses of praise (*megalynaria*) to Saint Ioannes Koukouzeles and Xenos Korones;
- discovered that some melodies of the “Psalomnik” were taken from the *Latrinos Polyeleos* and the polyeleos of Koukoumas (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели в ръкопис,” 1994: 645);
- noted that the anthology EBE 928 contains the earliest translation of Saint Ioannes Koukouzeles’ polyeleos repertoire into Church Slavonic;
- concluded that Isaiah the Serb composed his works using the technique of chanting “na podoben” (according to the model), selecting Byzantine melodies and formulas and adapting them to Slavonic texts (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели в ръкопис,” 1994).

The name of Filotei is not mentioned in the Anthology EBE 928 of Isaiah the Serb. Scholars who first studied this manuscript did not realize that Filotei’s work might be connected to this anthology. Later, however, Tončeva

- identified four Slavonic prypila of Filotei within the “Psalomnik” cycle of the Anthology EBE 928: for the Nativity and the Dormition of the Most Holy Theotokos, the Nativity of Christ, and the Holy Trinity;
- compared Filotei’s cycle of prypila with the “Psalomnik” of Isaiah the Serb and observed that while the first prypil to the Most Holy Theotokos is the same in both cycles, the subsequent texts and the structure of the cycles differ significantly (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели на Филотей,” 1994).

Given the substantial variation between the cycles of the polyeleos megalynaria of Isaiah and Filotei, Slovak musicologist David Pancha suggested that Isaiah’s cycle represented an older layer of the tradition, later edited and completed by Filotei (Pancha 2013). Indeed, the “Psalomnik” reads more like a draft. The working process is reflected in its bilingualism, its spontaneous notational style, and its varied handwriting. It appears more as a manuscript for private use than a chant book intended for church singers.

The aforementioned edition *Collection for Travellers* (*Zbornik za putnike*, Venice, 1536) published by Božidar Vuković, where Filotei’s non-notated prypila first appeared in print, reflects a later stage of the development and systematization of Slavonic polyeleos practice. In this edition, before Filotei’s cycle, a “Theotokos prypilo to the polyeleos” (припѣло Бци на полиелеω) was included. In this work, the last verses of Psalm 134 alternate with Theotokos megalynaria, some attributed to Saint Ioannes Koukouzeles and also present in the Anthology of Isaiah the Serb. Koukouzeles’ name, however, appears in neither the manuscript nor Vuković’s edition.

As already mentioned, the fifteenth-century Anthology of Isaiah the Serb EBE 928 preserves the earliest notated prypila of Filotei. Tončeva analyzed them within the context of the late-Byzantine polyeleos repertoire and identified the first melody of the “Psalomnik” in the Byzantine manuscript *Papadiki* EBE 2401 (mid-fifteenth century), among the chants of the antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos Λόγον ἀγαθόν¹⁶ (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели на Филотей,” 1994, 181). The same melody was also combined by Isaiah the Serb with troparia to the Holy Trinity and in honor of the Serbian Saint John of Rila. Thus, the “Psalomnik” clearly begins within the Greek-Byzantine tradition.

Antiphons are additional psalms sung at particular feasts, either after or instead of the polyeleos Psalms 134 and 135. By the late fourteenth century, six antiphons already appear in Byzantine musical manuscripts. Thus, the term “antiphon” refers not only to alternating choirs but also to psalmic substitutes for the polyeleos psalms (Chaldeckis 2003, 114–119, 170).

Psalm 44 (45), “My heart overflows with a pleasing theme” (Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν / Отрыгну сердце мое слово благо), was sung at feasts of the Most Holy Theotokos. Isaiah the Serb selected for his “Psalomnik” the first-mode melody combined with a non-psalmic text inserted after the opening phrase of the second verse of the Psalm 44 (45). This interpolation ends with the exclamation *Hallelujah*, separated from the preceding words by the instruction *Lege*:

Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν

(My heart overflows with a pleasing theme, ps. 44 (45): 2).

Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. *Λέγε*. Ἀλληλούια

(Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. *Lege*. Hallelujah).

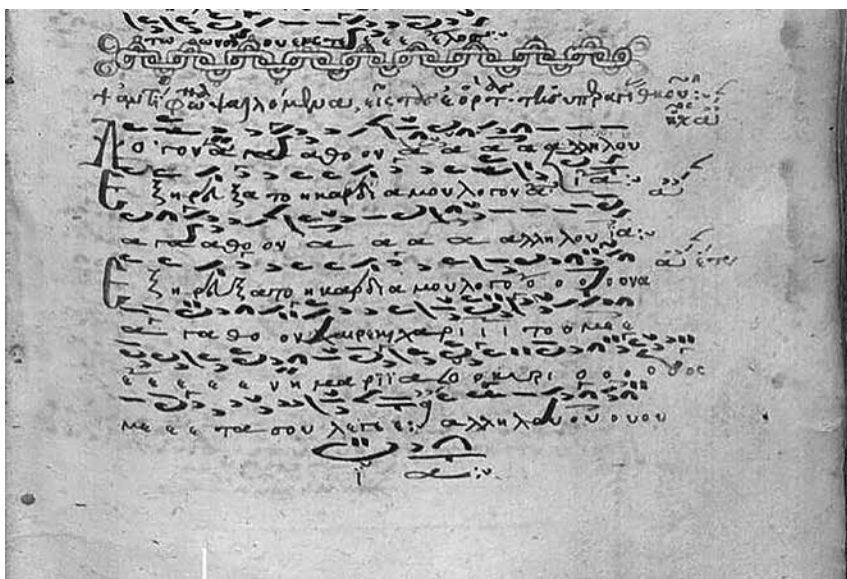


Figure 4. Beginning of the antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos Λόγον ἀγαθόν with the inserted text Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία (Rejoice, joyful Maria). © National Library of Greece in Athens, Papadiki of the years 1452–1469, fol. 136r, EBE 2401.



Figure 5. First troparion to the Most Holy Theotokos from the “Psalomnik,” with parallel text in Slavonic and Greek: Радуїся, обрадованная Маріє / *Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία* (Rejoice, joyful Maria). © National Library of Greece in Athens, Anthology of Isaiah the Serb of the fifteenth century, f. 64r, EBE 928.

The non-psalmonic text related directly to the Theotokos, presenting the Annunciation as narrated in the Gospel of Luke: the angel Gabriel’s words to the Virgin Mary that she would conceive a son to be called Jesus by the power of the Holy Spirit: “And the angel came to her and said, «*Rejoice, favored woman! The Lord is with you*»” (Luke 1:28).

Isaiah the Serb replaced the opening phrase of the second verse of the Psalm 44 (45) with the first phrase of the fourth verse of the Psalm 97 (98):

Ἐξηρεύσατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν
(My heart overflows with a pleasing theme, ps. 44 (45): 2).
Воскликните Богови вся земля
(Make a joyful noise to the Lord, all the earth, ps. 97 (98): 4).

At the same time, the final two words of the original Greek phrase (*λόγον ἀγαθόν*) were inscribed in cinnabar above the Slavonic phrase (*вся земля*). The following megalynarion to the Theotokos presents the same text in both Greek and Slavonic:

Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. Λέγε. Ἀλληλούια
Радуїся, обрадованная Маріє, Господь с тобою. **Λεγε.**
Аллилуия
(Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. **Lege.** Hallelujah).

The Greek-Byzantine musical manuscript EBE 899 (second half of the fifteenth century) contains a closely related melodic version of the megalynarion “Rejoice, joyful Maria,” written in the plagal of the first mode under the rubric “On the Annunciation” (Εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμόν)¹⁷. Unlike manuscript EBE 2401, this megalynarion continues the final phrase of the second verse of Psalm 95 (96) and omits the instruction *Lege*:

Εὐαγγελίσεθε ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ
(Tell of his salvation from day to day, ps. 95 (96): 2).
Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. Ἀλληλούια
(Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. Hallelujah).

The studied megalynarion—a non-psalmonic text from the Byzantine antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos, translated into Slavonic—became the first prypil of Filotei’ cycle:

Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. Λέγε. Ἀλληλούια
Радуїся, обрадованная Маріє, Господь с тобою. **Λεγε.**
Аллилуия
(Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. **Lege.** Hallelujah).

Filotei’s polyeleos cycle is organized in a chronological order, as the holidays run throughout the church year. The church year starts in September, so the cycle begins with a prypil “Rejoice, joyful Maria” for the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos. This prypil was also sung on the feast for Meeting of the Lord and the Annunciation, as stated in Vuković’s edition *Collection for Travellers* of 1536.

Returning now to the Ukrainian and Belarusian musical manuscripts containing Filotei’s works labeled “Bulgarian prypila”: Ukrainian musicologist Yuriy Yasinovskiy observed that all of Filotei’s prypila were sung to the same melody, and that the magnification in honor of Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv is nearly identical with another prypila. He concluded that a local Ukrainian melody, stylistically related to the Balkan-Slavic chant tradition, had been combined with the text honoring Volodymyr, and that this melody was therefore designated “Bulgarian” (Yasinovskiy 2001).

A thorough study of Filotei’s prypila, based on numerous sources, was undertaken by Slovak researcher David Pancha (2013). He focused on the “Bulgarian” prypila found in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts. In particular, he:

- compared the various versions of the pryypila with other “Bulgarian” chants of the first mode, showing their melodic similarity;
- compared the melody of the pryypila from the Ukrainian-Belarusian Heirmologia with those from the Anthology EBE 928, concluding: “A short comparison reveals some common features; however, the evolution of the Ruthenian melody from the old Serbian model I consider to be improbable” (Pancha 2013, 480).
- summarized: “The melodies in various Ruthenian and pre-Chrysanthine Romanian sources from the seventeenth century to the present day are based on one common archetype, built up on motifs from the ‘Bulgarian’ first mode. The relationship of the old

Serbian psalomniki to the Filotean pripěla remains an open question” (Pancha 2013, 484).

The Results of Our Research

In liturgical practice, the polyeleos pryypila existed in both oral and written traditions. Our comparative study showed that all of Filotei’s pryypila recorded in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the rubric “Bulgarian pryypila” were based on the same melodic model. They were performed using the special technique of chanting “na podoben” (according to the model), in which a familiar melody was combined with different texts. Each time, the

Музична партитура для одного голосу, написана в першому режимі (D-dur, 4/4). Текст: Ра - ду - и - ся, об - ра - до - ванна - я Сла - ва Ти, Трой - це Дал є - си зна - ме - ні - є бо - я - щим - ся Те - Воз - вра - ти, Гос - по - ди, плъ - не - ні - є Прий - дъ - те вси, Сы - на гро - мо - ва Пре - об - ра - зу - ет - ся И - сус Пъснь ти ис - ход - ну - ю при - но - ша -

Музична партитура для одного голосу, написана в першому режимі (D-dur, 4/4). Текст: Ма - - - - - рі - є, Гос - подъ с то - Свя - - - - - та - я, От - че Сло - - - - - бе, Гос - - - - - по - ди, є - же бъ - жа - душ на - ших и во - са - ди вос - - - - - хва - лим, И - о - ан - мой и Гос - подъ на го - ръ см, Ма - - - - - рі - є, пре - ста - ви - бо -

бо - - - ю. ле - - ге.
 ве и Ду - ше Свя - тый. ле - - ге.
 ти от ли - ца лу - ку. ле - - ге.
 страх Твой во серд - ца на - ша. ле - - ге.
 на двѣст - вен - ни - ка. ле - - ге.
 Фа - вор - стѣй. ле - - ге.
 - ся от зем - ных. ле - - ге.

Ал - ли - лу - и - я.
 Сла - ва те - бѣ, Бо - - же.
 крест Твой, Хрис - те Бо - - же.
 на - са - ди - те - лю бла - гим.
 на - перст - ни - ка Хрис - то - - ва.
 по - ка - зав сла - ву сво - ю.
 ко вѣч - ным о - би - те - лем.

Figure 6. Filotei's prypila from the Zhyrovichy Heirmologion of the 1620s, fols. 14r–15v. Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, fond I, unit 3368.

melody was slightly adjusted according to the length of the verbal text and its accentual pattern. Comparative analysis demonstrates the recurrence of the same melodic framework and closely related tunes, more or less elaborated.

The melody of all of Filotei's prypila in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts derives from the late-Byzantine tune of the antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos *Λόγον ἀγαθόν*, particularly the setting combined with the non-psalmic text "Rejoice, joyful Maria" (*Χαίρε κεχαρισταμένη Μαρία*). Isaiah the Serb most likely adapted the Church Slavonic translation of this Greek text (Радуйся, обрадованная Маріє) to the same melody.

EBE 2401

Ε ξη ρευ ξα το η καρ δι α μου λο γο ο ο ο ο ο να α γα θε ον

EBE 928

λο γο ον α α α α γα α θε ο ον.
Въс клик нѣ те бо го ви въ са а а а а а въ са зем лна а а.

NLUV I 3368

По-мя-ни, Гос-по-ди, Да-вы-да и всю кро-тость е - го:

EBE 2401

χαι ρε και χα ρι ι ι το ο με ε ε ε ε ε νη

EBE 928

χαι ρε και χα ρι ι τω ω με ε ε ε νη η
ρα δου и се. об ра. а до о о. ва а. а а а нна а а

NLUV I 3368

Ра - ду - и - ся, об - ра - до-ван-на - я

EBE 2401

μα ρι ι α ο ο κυ ρι ο ο ο ο ο ος

EBE 928

μα α ρι αμ. ο ο κυ ρι ι ο ο ος
ма а а рї є. го о о сподь го ос подь

NLUV I 3368

Ма - - - ρι - є, Гос - подь с то - бо -

EBE 2401
με ε ε τα σου λε γε ε:

EBE 928
με τα α σου. λε γε ε
с то бо о о ю. ле ге е

NLUV I 3368
ю. ле ге.

EBE 2401
α λλη λου ου ου ι α

EBE 928
α λλη η η λου ι α

NLUV I 3368
Ал - ли - лу - и - - - я.

Figure 7. The megalynarion “Rejoice, joyful Maria” (collation of sources): Papadiki, mid-fifteenth century, National Library of Greece, Athens, EBE 2401, fol. 136r; Isaiah the Serb’s anthology, fifteenth century, National Library of Greece, Athens, EBE 928, f. 64r; Zhyrovichy Heirmologion, 1620s, Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, fond I, unit 3368, fol. 14r.

породившаго нас святым крещенієм

(Come, all Rus’ cathedrals, praise our forefather Basil¹⁸, **lege** who birthed us by the holy baptism).

Filotei’s *prypila* written in the anthology EBE 928, were sung with various melodies. Instead, only one melody entrenched in the Ukrainian and Belarusian liturgical practice. In musical manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this melody was recorded using five-line notation.

The later imitations that complemented the cycle of Filotei, followed the tradition of chanting “na podobn”. Thus, the magnification to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv was combined with the same late-Byzantine melody from the mid-fifteenth century.

Magnification to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv

Прийдѣте, вси Русїи собори,
похвалим праотца нашего Василїя, **леге**

Such a text without music was written in the *Suprasl* Heirmologion of 1596–1601 (fol. 567r). With a melody, this text was fixed in the later manuscript of the first third of the eighteenth century, where the word “*Rus*” (Русїи) was replaced by the word “*Russian*” (Росїїстїи)¹⁹. By that time, a big part of the Ukrainian territories had already been integrated into the Russian Empire. For ideological reasons, the Old Rus’ in the megalynarion to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv became Russia.

The studied megalynarion to the Most Holy Theotokos “Rejoice, joyful Maria” was rendered in Middle Byzantine notation in the Greek-Byzantine manuscripts and in five-line Kyivan notation in the Ukrainian and Belarusian Heirmologia. Therefore, Middle Byzantine notation was decoded by five-line Kyiv one.

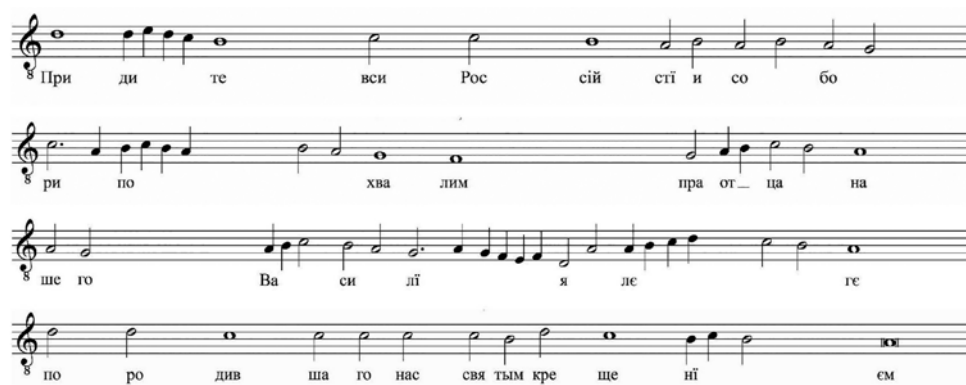


Figure 8. Prypil in honor of Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv. © Vasył Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv. Heirmologion of the first third of the eighteenth century, Collection of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, fond I, unit 235, fol. 247v.

Middle Byzantine semeiography did not contain sufficient information about the rhythmic and temporal organization of chant. Kyiv exegesis gave us this information. The mode of the megalynarion to the Most Holy Theotokos “Rejoice, joyful Maria” was not indicated in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts. A five-line notation provokes contemporary performers to imagine a musical scale that consists of tones and half-tones. In our opinion, this approach is erroneous, since it does not correspond to the Byzantine modal system. Greek-Byzantine manuscripts contain the necessary information. The studied megalynarion “Rejoice, joyful Maria” is of the first mode / the plagal of the first mode.

The comparison of two different notational systems of Byzantine music’s codification yielded interesting results. Parameters of the work, that were not defined by authentic Middle Byzantine semeiography, were complemented by Kyivan notation, and vice versa, parameters of the work, that were not defined by Kyivan notation, were complemented by Middle Byzantine semeiography. It significantly enriches our understanding of the musical work and allows us to offer its historically informed performance interpretation and analysis.

The discovery of the Byzantine musical source of the “Bulgarian” *prypila* written in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the mapping of intersections among various church-chant traditions, enriches the history of Orthodox church music with new facts and contexts. Our study shows the unity of Eastern Christian church chant traditions, which is not obvious due to the variety of their linguistic and sound implementations. Melodies that were used as models have been sung in different areas of Christendom throughout the centuries. They have become sacred and canonical. They ensure a symbolic unity of all believers in

their prayers to God and in their desire to praise the Lord alongside angels.

References

- 1 In Ukrainian and Belarusian traditions multi-genre church chants’ collections containing the main liturgical repertoire were called *Heirmologia*. From the late sixteenth century Heirmologia were written in Kyivian square notation, which is a local variant of the European five-line musical semeiography.
- 2 The Slavic-language term for the notion “refrains” was written in two ways: *prypila* (припїла) or *prypily* (припїли).
- 3 Typicon of the Neamț monastery of the years 1519–1523, fol. 269v, BAR, ms. slav. 101, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, see: (Simedrea 1970).
- 4 Anthology (1550–1575), fols. 236r-240v, BAR 283, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest.
- 5 Supraśl Heirmologion (1596–1601), fols. 565r-573r, fond I, unit 5391, Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, https://irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/cgi-bin/irbis_ir/cgiirbis_64.exe?S21CNR=20&S21STN=1&S21REF=2&C21COM=S&I21DBN=ELIB&P21DBN=ELIB&S21All=%3C.%3EID%3D0000281%3C.%3E&&S21FMT=fullwebr [last checked: 2025 20 03].
- 6 Kyiv-Mezhyhiria Heirmologion of the 1640s, fols. 191r-195v, Collection of the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv, fond 312, unit 112/645, Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv.
- 7 Zhyrovichy Heirmologion of the 1620s, fols. 14r-15v, fond I, unit 3368, Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. “Bulgarian” *prypila* were published in: (Kornii, Dubrovina 1998: 173–177).
- 8 The troparion on Sunday of the Prodigal Son is a later imitation of Filotei’s work.
- 9 Heirmologion of 1650–1675 from the village of Vaniv near Belz, fols. 5r-6v. National Library of Poland in Warsaw, Rps 12058 I, <https://polona.pl/preview/36e09068-c7ca-4dbc-b86f-6a9339ce9614> [last checked: 2025 26 03].
- 10 Manyava Heirmologion of 1684, fol. 10r, ms. slav. 10845, National Library of Romania, Bucharest.

- ¹¹ Manyava Heirmologion of 1675–1676, fols. 118v–120v, ms. slav. 10846, National Library of Romania, Bucharest.
- ¹² Manyava Heirmologion of 1684, fols. 134r–135v, ms. slav. 10845, National Library of Romania, Bucharest. Facsimile: (Tončeva 1981: 282–286).
- ¹³ Manyava Heirmologion (1731–1733), fols. 184v–185v, BAR 525, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest.
- ¹⁴ Heirmologion of the first third of the eighteenth century, fols. 243r–47v. Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv, Collection of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, fond I, unit 235.
- ¹⁵ Anthology of the fifteenth century, EBE 928, National Library of Greece in Athens.
- ¹⁶ Papadiki of 1452–1469, fol. 136r, EBE 2401, National Library of Greece in Athens.
- ¹⁷ Papadiki of the fifteenth century, fol. 83v, EBE 899, National Library of Greece in Athens.
- ¹⁸ Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv was baptized with the name Vasyl.
- ¹⁹ Heirmologion of the first third of the eighteenth century, Collection of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, fond I, unit 235, fol. 247v, Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv.

Bibliography

- Barvinok, Volodymyr [Барвинок Владимир]. *Nikyfor Vlemmid i jeho sochynenia* [Nikephoros Blemmydes and His Works]. Kyiv: Tipografia Aktsionernogo Obshchestva “Petr Barskij v Kieve,” 1911.
- Chaldaeakes, Achilleus [Χαλδαιάκης Αχιλλέας]. *Ho polyeleos stēn byzantinē kai metabyzantinē melopoiia* [The Polyeleos in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Melopoeia]. Edited by Gr. Stathis. Athens, 2003.
- Chaldaeakes, Achilleus. “From the Ritual of the Matins Service: The Insertion of Poetic Texts in the Chant of the Polyeleos.” *Muzikologija* 11 (2011): 75–101. <https://doi.org/10.2298/MUZ1111075C>. Accessed March 20, 2025.
- Chaldaeakes, Achilleus [Χαλδαιάκης Αχιλλέας]. “Hē melopoiēsē stichōn tou polyelēou apo ton maīstora Iōannē Koukouzēlē” [The Setting of Verses for the Polyeleos by the Maistor Ioannis Koukouzeles]. In *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform. Acts of a Meeting Held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 1993*, edited by C. Troelsgård, vol. 2, 173–87. Athens: Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, 1997.
- Ihnatenko, Yevheniia [Ігнатенко Євгенія]. “Bohars’kyi naspiv” [Bulgarian Chant]. *Velyka ukrains’ka entsyklopediia* [Big Ukrainian Encyclopedia]. https://vue.gov.ua/Болгарський_наспів. Accessed March 20, 2025.
- Ihnatenko, Yevheniia. “Die byzantinischen Gesänge in den ukrainischen und weißrussischen Handschriften des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts: Identifizierung der Quellen.” *Theorie und Geschichte der Monodie* 10 (2020): 189–210 (in German), 211–28 (in Russian).
- Ihnatenko, Yevheniia. “Moldavian and Ukrainian-Belarusian Church Chant Traditions: Common Repertoire as a Fact of Interaction.” *Rukopysna ta knyzhkova spadshchyna Ukrainy* [Manuscript and Book Heritage of Ukraine] 30 (2023): 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.15407/rksu.30.027>. Accessed March 20, 2025.
- Ihnatenko, Yevheniia. “Protopsaltēs Evstatie of Putna’s Cherubic Song of the Plagal of the First Mode in Ukrainian and Belarusian Musical Manuscripts.” In *Analele Putnei* [Annals of Putna] XIX, 1 (2023): 399–416.
- Ihnatenko, Yevheniia. “Ukrainian and Belarusian Church Music of the 17th Century: Meeting of East with West.” *IMS–RASMB, Series Musicologica Balcanica* 4 (2023): 92–108. <https://doi.org/10.26262/smb.v0i4.8129>. Accessed March 20, 2025.
- Ionescu, Gheorghe. “Filotei monahul de la Cozia (secolele al XIV-lea – al XV-lea). Pripelele după polyeleu” [Filotheos the Monk of Cozia (14th–15th Centuries): The Refrains after the Polyeleos]. *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Seria teatru, muzică, cinematografie* [Studies and Research of Art History: Theater, Music, Cinema Series] 44 (1997): 5–32. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române.
- Kornii, Lidiia, and Liubov Dubrovina [Корній Лідія, Дубровіна Любов]. *Bohars’kyi naspiv z rukopysnykh notoliniinykh irmolov Ukrainy kintsia XVI–XVII st.* [Bulgarian Chant from Handwritten Staff-Notated Heirmologia of Ukraine, Late 16th–17th Centuries]. Kyiv, 1998.
- Myers, Gregory. “The Music for the Slavonic Polyeleos Revisited.” *Bulgarian Musicology* 1 (2023): 25–57.
- Oceanu, Gabriela. “New Results on the Transmission of Filotheos’ Pripēla.” In *Church, State and Nation in Orthodox Church Music: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Orthodox Music*, edited by Ivan Moody and Maria Takalaroshchenko, 191–201. Joensuu: ISOCM, 2010.
- Pancha, David. “The Filothean Pripēla: Analysis of Text and Melody.” In *Unity and Variety in Orthodox Music: Theory and Practice. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Orthodox Music*, edited by Ivan Moody and Maria Takalaroshchenko, 471–84. Joensuu: ISOCM, 2013.
- Simedrea, Tit. “Les ‘pripēla’ du moine Philothée: Étude – texte – traduction.” *Romanoslavica* 17 (1970): 183–225. Bucharest.
- Toncheva, Elena [Тончева Елена]. “Polieleinīte pripele na Filotei v slavyanoezychnata pesennost prez XV v.” [The Polyeleos Refrains of Filotheos in Slavic-Language Chant of the 15th Century]. *Starobalgarska literatura* [Old Bulgarian Literature] 28–29 (1994): 177–88. Sofia.
- Toncheva, Elena [Тончева Елена]. *Manastirāt Goliam Skit – shkola na “bolgarskij rospev.” Skitski “bolgarski” irmoloi ot XVII–XVIII v.* [The Velikij Skit (Skit Mare) Monastery: A School of “Bolgarskij Rospev.” “Bolgarski” Heirmologia of the 17th–18th Centuries from the Skit Monastery]. 2 vols. Sofia: Muzyka, 1981.
- Toncheva, Elena [Тончева Елена]. “Polieleinīte pripele v rükopis Atina 928 (Isaieva antologija, 15 v.) i otnoshenieto im kum Türnovskata khimnografka traditsiia” [The Polyeleos Refrains in Manuscript Athens 928 (Isaiah’s Anthology, 15th Century) and Their Relation to the Tarnovo Hymnographic Tradition]. *Türnovska knizbovna shkola* [Tarnovo Literary School] 5 (1994): 641–64.
- Yasynovs’kyi, Yurii [Ясіновський Юрій]. “Muzyka” [Music]. In *Istoriia ukrains’koi kul’tury, u 5 tomakh. T. 2: Ukrains’ka kul’tura XIII – pershoi polovyny XVII st.* [History of Ukrainian Culture, in 5 Volumes. Vol. 2: Ukrainian Culture of the 13th – First Half of the 17th Century], 460–65. Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 2001.
- Yasynovs’kyi, Yurii [Ясіновський Юрій]. *Ukrains’ki ta bilorus’ki notoliniini irmoloi 16–18 stolit’: Katalog i kodikologichno-pa-*

leobrafichne doslidzhennia [Ukrainian and Belarusian Staff-Notated Heirmologia of the 16th–18th Centuries: Catalogue and Paleographical Study]. Lviv: Misioner, 1996.

Santrauka

XVI a. pab. ir XVII a. Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos bažnytinis repertuaras buvo intensyviai atnaujinamas sąveikaujant su Balkanų ortodoksų giesmių tradicijomis. Tai liudija „bulgarų“, „graikų“, „serbų“, „muntenų“ ir „valakų“ giesmės, užrašytos to meto Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos irmologijoje. Jų kilmės, adaptavimo ir priėmimo Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos žemėse klausimai dar nėra pakankamai ištirti.

Mūsų tyrimo objektas – XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių notuotos irmologijos rubrikoje, pavadintoje „Bulgariški *prypila*“, rasti polielėjų refrenai. Šie refrenai grįsti Karpatų pietuose Kozijos vienuolyne, Valakijoje, gyvenusio vienuolio Filotėjo poetiniais kūriniais. Toponimas „bulgariški“ Filotėjo *prypila* pavadinime atsirado 1624 m. Kyjive išleistame psalmyne. Maždaug tuo pačiu metu šis toponimas pasirodė muzikos rankraščiuose. 1620 m. pasirodęs Žyrovicų *Heirmologion* yra vienas seniausių rankraščių, kuriame natomis užrašyti vienuolio Filotėjo polielėjų *prypila* turi priedą „bulgariški“.

XV a. serbo Izaijo antologija „EBE 928“ pateikia seniausius notuotus Filotėjo *prypila*. Bulgarijos mokslininkė Elena Tončeva išanalizavo juos vėlyvosios Bizantijos polielėjų repertuaro kontekste ir bizantiniame rankraštyje „Papadiki EBE 2401“ (XV a. vid.) tarp giesmių Švenčiausiajai Dievo Motinai atrado pirmąją serbiško „Psalomnik“ melodiją.

Liturginėje praktikoje polielėjų *prypila* egzistavo ir žodinėje, ir rašytinėje tradicijose. Mūsų lyginamasis tyrimas rodo, kad visi Filotėjo *prypila*, užrašyti ukrainietiškuose ir baltarusiškuose rankraščiuose, buvo sujungti su tuo

pačiu melodiniu modeliu. Jie buvo atliekami pasitelkiant giedojimo techniką „na podoben“ („pagal modelį“). Filotėjo *prypila* melodija ukrainiečių ir baltarusių irmologijoje buvo pagrįsta vėlyvosios Bizantijos Švenčiausiosios Dievo Motinos antifonos melodija – ši melodija labiausiai sietina su nepsalminiu tekstu „Džiaukis, džiaugsmingoji Marija“ (*Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία*). Vėlesnės imitacijos, papildžiusios Filotėjo ciklą, sekė „na podoben“ giedojimo tradiciją. Taigi Kyjivo kunigaikščio Volodymyro šlovinimas buvo susietas su ta pačia vėlyvosios Bizantijos melodija iš XV a. vidurio.

Tyrinėta Švenčiausiąją Dievo Motiną šlovinanti giesmė „Džiaukis, džiaugsmingoji Marija“ graikų-bizantiniuose rankraščiuose buvo užrašyta vidurinės Bizantijos notacijos stiliumi, o ukrainiečių ir baltarusių irmologijoje – Kyjivo notacijos stiliumi. Todėl vidurinės Bizantijos notacijos stilius buvo iššifruotas naudojant Kyjivo notacijos stilių. Vidurinės Bizantijos semiografijoje nepakanka informacijos apie šios giesmės ritminę ir laikinę struktūrą; šią informaciją pateikia Kyjivo egzegezė. Ukrainiečių ir baltarusių rankraščiuose megalinarijaus „Džiaukis, džiaugsmingoji Marija“ modusus nėra nurodytas; reikalingą informaciją suteikia graikiški-bizantiniai rankraščiai: kūrinys yra pirmojo moduso.

Dviejų bizantinės muzikos kodifikavimo notacijų sistemų palyginimas davė rezultatų, kurie gerokai praturtino mūsų supratimą apie kūrinį ir leido pasiūlyti jo istoriniu požiūriu pagrįstą atlikimo interpretaciją ir analizę.

„Bulgariškų“ *prypila*, užrašytų XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių rankraščiuose, kaip bizantinės muzikos šaltinio radimas ir įvairių bažnytinių giesmių tradicijų sankirtų žemėlapis praturtina ortodoksų bažnytinės muzikos istoriją naujais faktais ir kontekstais. Mūsų tyrimas atskleidžia Rytų krikščioniškų bažnytinių giesmių tradicijų vienovę, kuri dėl jų kalbinės ir garsinės įvairovės nėra akivaizdi. Melodijos, kurios buvo naudojamos kaip modeliai, per amžius buvo giedamos įvairiose krikščioniškojo pasaulio srityse. Jos tapo šventos ir kanoninės. Tokios melodijos užtikrina simbolinę visų tikinčiųjų vienovę jų maldose Dievui ir troškimuose šlovinti Viešpatį kartu su angelais.

Delivered / Straipsnis įteiktas 2025 03 29

Vytautas GERMANAVIČIUS

Naujas alteracijos simbolių šriftas mikrointervalams žymėti „Microsoft Word“ programoje

A Newly Developed Font of Accidental Symbols Designed for the Notation of Micro-Intervals in Microsoft Word

Kauno technologijos universiteto Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakultetas, A. Mickevičiaus g. 37, Kaunas, vgermana@gmail.com, v.germanavicius@ktu.lt

Anotacija

Daugelyje muzikos notacijų programų esantys simboliai skirti ketvirtatonių mikrotonams žymėti, o trečiatoniai, šeštatonai, aštuntatonai, dvyliktatonai ar šešioliktatonai vis dar neturi pasaulyje visuotinai pripažinto notacijos standarto. Straipsnyje pateikiama Vakarų pasaulio notacijos sistemų, įtrauktų į standartinio muzikinio šrifto (*Standard Music Font Layout*) išdėstymo specifikaciją „SmuFL“ – natūralių derinimų Beno Johstono *Extended Just Intonation*, *Helmholtz-Ellis*, *Sagittal* ir lygių temperacijų *Stein-Zimmermann*, *OMicron* simbolių, – analizė, mikrotoninės muzikos notacijų metodai, pasaulinė praktika, taikoma mažesniems nei pustonis intervalams žymėti. Taip pat siūloma standartizuoti notacijos sistemą, įvedant naujus modifikuotus simbolius, komparatyvinės analizės būdu atrinktus mažųjų mikrotonų alteracijos ženklus mikrointervalams žymėti.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: mikrotonų alteraciniai ženklai, notacijų simboliai, lietuvių tradicinių dermių notacija, mikrointervalų atstumai, šiuolaikinės notacijų sistemos.

Abstract

Most music notation software provides symbols for indicating quarter-tone microtones; however, third-tones, sixth-tones, eighth-tones, twelfth-tones, and sixteenth-tones still lack a universally recognized notation standard. This article analyzes Western notation systems included in the Standard Music Font Layout (SMuFL) specification—namely, the natural tuning systems of Ben Johnston’s *Extended Just Intonation*, the Helmholtz-Ellis system, and Sagittal, as well as equal temperament systems such as Stein-Zimmermann and OMicron. It also examines methods for notating microtonal music, international practices for indicating small intervals, and proposes a standardized notation system through newly modified symbols. These symbols, selected via comparative analysis, function as accidentals for the notation of small intervals.

Keywords: microtonal accidentals, notation symbols, notation of Lithuanian traditional scales, interval distances, notation systems.

Įvadas

Remiantis naujausiais lietuvių tradicinės vokalinės ir instrumentinės muzikos intervalų atstumų dermėse tyrimais (Germanavičius 2022; Ambrazevičius, Budrys, Višnevska 2015), kuriuose buvo nustatyti nesutampantys su 12-TET lygios temperacijos intervalų atstumai ir derinimai, kilo poreikis tikslesniam intervalų tradicinėse dermėse ir šiuolaikinės muzikos pavyzdžiuose žymėjimui. Ankstesni lietuvių folkloro tyrėjai prie užrašytų, bet originalaus skambėjimo neatitinkančių natų rašė papildomus žodinius paaiškinimus arba apytikslus mikroalteracijos ženklus, skirtus labiau tam tikroms etnomuzikologų tyrėjų grupėms. Šie žymėjimai nebuvo integruoti į bendrą garso aukščio žymėjimo sistemą, prie tokių garsų paprastai buvo pridedami tam tikri simboliai, žymintys nuokrypį ir parodantys „netikslų“ garsų atstumą, kartu ir dermės struktūrą. Pavyzdžiui, lietuvių liaudies dainų tyrėja etnomuzikologė Jadvyga Čiurlionytė 1940 m.

išleistame „Tautosakos rinkėjo vadove“ (Čiurlionytė 1940: 100) rekomendavo rodyklėmis (↑↓) žymėti mažesnę kaip pusės tono garso paaukštinimą ir pažeminimą, rašomą virš natos, kryžiuko pavidalo galvutėmis (⋈) – neapibrėžto aukščio garsus, o banguotomis *glissando* linijomis – „įvažiavimus“ į pirmąjį melodijos garsą. Šiuos ar panašius ženklus savo transkripcijose vėliau pasitelkė fonetinės lietuvių liaudies melodijų transkripcijos pradininkė Genovaitė Četkauskaitė (Četkauskaitė 2007: 7–8).

Straipsnyje pateikiama siūlymų, kaip, įvedant naujus simbolius, komparatyvinės analizės būdu atrinktus ketvirtatonių ir kitų mikrotonų¹ alteracijos ženklus mikrointervalams žymėti, standartizuoti muzikos notacijos sistemą. Naujas alteracinių ženklų šriftas kuriamas pasitelkiant Vakarų pasaulio notacijos sistemų simbolių analizę, mikrotoninės muzikos notacijos metodus, pasaulinę mažiesiems intervalams žymėti taikomą praktiką, plačiai naudojamą ir šiuolaikinės muzikos kompozitorių kūryboje.

Natūraliojo garsaileio derinimų alteracijos

Pasaulio muzikos praktikoje natūralių derinimų², arba švarios intonacijos intervalų, atstumus lemia sveikųjų skaičių dažnių santykiai (*ratio* 3:2 arba 4:3), kurie atitinka natūraliojo harmoninio garsaileio serijos tonus. Pavyzdžiui, natūraliajame garsailelyje nuo C tonai G₃ ir C₄ sudaro natūraliąją kvartą santykiu 4:3. Šiuo ir kitais atstumais suderinti intervalai skamba itin švariai ir yra vadinami natūraliaisiais, jie neatitinka XX a. koncertinėje praktikoje naudojamų 12-TET temperacijos lygių intervalų atstumų vienoje oktavoje išsidėstymo.

Ankstesnėse epochose styginiai muzikos instrumentai – smuikas, altas, violončelė ar kontrabosas – buvo derinami natūraliosiomis (grynosiomis) kvintomis arba kvartomis, bet derinant klavišinius muzikos instrumentus natūralių intervalų buvo nedaug dėl temperacinių³ technologijų specifikos susidarant mažiesiems komos intervalams, kurie keisdavo intervalų dydžius derinant instrumentus pasirinkus skirtingas temperacijas⁴, todėl koncertinėje praktikoje buvo galima girdėti daug disonuojančių sąskambių, bet platesnę tembrų įvairovę. Šių intervalų notacijai žymėti atsirado daugybė alteracinių ženklų: pavyzdžiui, renesanso muzikos meistrai Nicola Vicentino mažąjį *diesis*⁵ žymėjo tašku virš natos, Gioseffo Zarlino naudojo ženklą x norėdamas išskirti šį intervalą. Vicente Lucitano savo 1553 m. traktate „Introductione facilissima, et novissima, di canto fermo, figurato, contraponto semplice, et in concerto“ „toną dalijo į 9 komas ir žymėjo skirtinga alteracija, nurodanti tono aukštinimo skirtumus“ (Nicholson, Sabat 2018: 12). Giuseppe Tartini veikale „Trattato di musica“ (1754) panaudojo naują simbolių (skaičiaus 7 inversiją) natūraliajai septimai $\frac{7}{4}$ žymėti. Ją Benas Johnstonas įtraukė į praplėstą natūraliojo derinimo (*extended just intonation*) notacijos sistemą. XIX a. atstovai Arthuras Oettingenas⁶, Moritzas Hauptmannas ir Hermannas von Helmholtzas propagavo tikslią sintoninės komos notaciją (Nicholson, Sabat 2018: 12). Pirmenybę jie teikė Ptolemajo natūraliajai derinimo sistemai, o ne 12-os lygių garsų derinimui, kurio populiarumą skatino auganti fortepijonų gamyba ir platinimas. Taigi XX a. fiksuoto aukščio instrumentuose (pvz., akustiniams fortepijoniams taikant 12-TET lygią temperaciją) visi intervalai, išskyrus oktavas, sudaro iracionaliųjų skaičių dažnių santykius, o tai reiškia, kad šiame derinime nesusidaro natūralių intervalų proporcijų, todėl naudojami standartinės alteracijos ženklai keičia intervalo aukštį vienu ar dviem lygiais pustoniais.

Žmogaus balsas yra vienas lanksčiausių muzikos instrumentų, dauguma *a cappella* vokaliųjų ansamblių garso aukščio derinimą gali keisti kūrinio atlikimo metu, išgaudami natūralų ar pasirinktos temperacijos intervalų skambesį. Taip pat styginiai muzikos instrumentai, neturintys dalmenų, variniai pučiamieji, turintys slankiklį (trombonai), vožtuvus (valtornos, fiugelhornai, sakshornai,

Vagnerio tubos), ar mediniai pučiamieji, turintys vožtuvus, gali keisti intervalų aukštį koncerto metu. Kiti mediniai pučiamieji mikrointervalus, natūralųjį derinimą ar 12-TET lygią temperaciją gali išgauti pūstuku arba koreguodami aplikatūros technikas.

Viena pirmųjų notacijos sistemų, nurodančių intervalų dermės žymėjimą, kai prie natos alteracinio ženklo (diezo ar bemolio) prirašomi papildomi ženklai, buvo pasiūlyta Helmholtzo⁷ ir aprašyta jo knygoje „On the Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music“ (1863) (Helmholtz 1912: 276). Trečiojo vokiško leidimo pratarmėje Helmholtzas rašė: „Norėdamas tiksliai perteikti garsų aukštį grynojo arba natūraliojo derinimo sistemoje, nuo pat pradžių atsakiau Hauptmanno⁸ pasiūlyto metodo, kuris tam tikrais atvejais buvo nepakankamai aiškus, ir pasirinkau pono A. von Oettingeno sistemą (p. 276), tai jau rašiau M. G. Guéroutl prancūziškame šios knygos vertime... Heidelbergas, 1870 m. gegužė“ (Helmholtz 1912: vii). Šioje notacijos sistemoje naudojami pliuso ir minuso ženklai nurodo intervalo dydį ir aukštį, pavyzdžiui, jei nuo pagrindinio tono susidaro natūrali didžioji tercija, antras garsas žymimas su (+) ženklu, jei natūrali mažoji tercija – su (–) ženklu, Pitagoro mažoji tercija – (|), jei natūrali kvinta – (\pm). Taip pat šalia antros natos užrašomi apatinio indekso skaičiai, rodantys, kiek sintoninių komų⁹ (*ratio* 81:80) intervalas yra susiaurintas. Pavyzdžiui, natūrali didžioji tercija – C + E₁, F + A₁, mažorinis trigarsis C + E₁ – G, minorinis trigarsis – A₁ – C + E₁ arba C₁ – E_b + G₁ (Helmholtz 1912: 276–277). Panaši sistema buvo sukurta Carlo Eitzo¹⁰ ir panaudota Jameso Murray Barbouro knygoje „Tuning and Temperament a Historical Survey“ (1953) (Benson 2008: 164). Šioje sistemoje prie Pitagoro intervalų sekos pridedami teigiami ar neigiami viršutinio indekso skaičiai, rodantys intervalo komų skaičių. Čia Pitagoro didžioji tercija nuo C yra žymima C – E⁰, natūrali didžioji tercija žymima C – E⁻¹. Pitagoro derinimo pagrindu sukurtos notacijos simbolių praplėtimas aukštesniems pirminiams skaičiams žymėti išdėstytas Helmholtzo, Elliso, Wolfo, Monzo sistemoje, ASCII simboliai ir pirminio faktoriaus vektoriai aprašyti Monzo „Tonalsoft“ enciklopedijoje (Monzo, *Tonalsoft Encyclopaedia*).

Nors šiose natūraliojo intervalų derinimo sistemose nurodomi gana tikslūs garso aukščių alteracijos ženklai, kompozitoriai sukūrė naujus notacijos metodus intervalams penklinėje žymėti. Jamesas Tenney¹¹ ir daugelis kitų natūralius intervalus derino centų santykiais, kad atlikėjai tono aukštį galėtų patikrinti elektroniniais derinimo prietaisais, skirtais tiksliai muzikos instrumentų derinimui (Garland 1984; Wannamaker 2021: 288–289).

XX a. 7 deš. pradžioje Johnstonas pasiūlė alternatyvų požiūrį, pakeisdamas konvencionalią alteracijos ženklų (septynių „baltų“ klavišų diezų ir bemolių) notaciją papildomais ženklais, skirtais praplėsto natūraliojo derinimo, t. y.

Alteracijos simbolis	Ratio santykis	Atstumas centais	Paskirtis (intervalo aukštinimas/)	Alteracijos simbolis	Ratio santykis	Atstumas centais
+	81/80	21,51 ct	10/9–9/8	-	80/81	-21,51 ct
#	25/24	70,67 ct	6/5–5/4	b	24/25	-70,67 ct
7	35/36	-48,77 ct	9/5–7/4	∟	36/35	48,77 ct
↑	33/32	53,27 ct	4/3–11/8	↓	32/33	-53,27 ct
13	65/64	26,84 ct	8/5–13/8	εl	64/65	-26,84 ct
17	51/50	34,28 ct	25/24–17/16	∟l	50/51	-34,28 ct
19	95/96	-18,13 ct	6/5–19/16	6l	96/95	18,13 ct
23	46/45	38,05 ct	45/32–23/16	εz	45/46	-38,05 ct
29	145/144	11,98 ct	9/5–29/16	6z	144/145	-11,98 ct
31	31/30	56,77 ct	15/8–31/16	lε	30/31	-56,77 ct

1 lentelė. Beno Johnstono 31 harmonikos ir subharmonikos serijų alteracijos ženklų lentelė (Gann 2024: 1; <https://www.kylegann.com/BJNotation.html>).

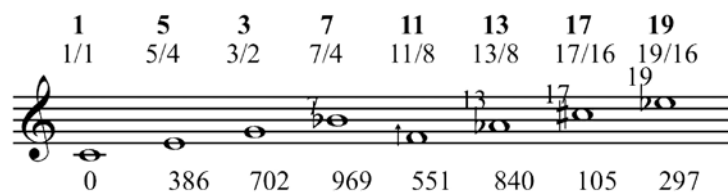
aukštesnių pirminių skaičių, intervalų alteracijai žymėti. XVI a. muzikos teoretikai pripažino, kad prieš natą rašomas alteracijos ženklas multiplikuoja tono dažnį atitinkama konstanta, pavyzdžiui, diezas (#) dauginama tono aukštį *ratio* 25/24 (pvz., C–C#) santykiu, o bemolis tokiu pačiu santykiu *ratio* 24/25 sumažina (70,67 ct), prilygindamas mažąją terciją (6/5) didžiajai tercijai (5/4) (Gann 2019: 118). Šiuo principu remiasi Johnstono natūraliojo derinimo sistema, kurią jis praplečia naujais alteracijos ženklais, t. y. alteracijos ženklas multiplikuoja tono aukščio dažnį tam tikra apibrėžta konstanta intervalų serijoje aukštyrą iki 31-os harmonikos ir žemyn iki 31-os subharmonikos (žr. 1 lentelę).

Johnstono notacijoje mažorinė dermė nuo C derinama natūraliuoju derinimu, joje kvintos intervalas, esantis tarp D (9:8 *ratio* santykiu virš C) ir A (5:3 *ratio* santykiu virš C), yra viena sintonine koma siauresnis už Pitagoro tobulą kvintą (3:2).¹² Johnstonas prie raidės, žyminčios toną, prideda (+) ar (-) ženklus, kurie nurodo komos (81:80) intervalų skaičių. Taigi tobulų kvintų seka yra F C G D A+ E+ B+, joje trys tonai A, E ir B, esantys virš tonų F, C ir G, suderinti Prolemajo didžiosiomis tercijomis (5:4). Kompozitorius pasiūlo naujų simbolių septimos (7&7), undecimos (↑ ir ↓), tercdecimos (13&εl) ir kitų pirminių skaičių intervalams

žymėti ir sukuria tikslu intonavimu pagrįstą praplėsto natūraliojo derinimo (*Extended Just Intonation*) sistemą (Johnston 2006: 77–88).

Šioje sistemoje intervalų *ratio* santykiai nekinta, „daugelyje savo kūrinių kompozitorius muzikos instrumentus derina standartiniu tono aukščiu, kai A = 440 hercu, taigi tonas C = 264 hercai, o styginių kvarteto kaip ir styginių orkestro laisvų stygų notacija išsidėsto taip: C–, G–, D–, A, E“ (ibid.: 136).

2000–2004 m. kompozitorius ir smuikininkas Marcas Sabatas kartu su kompozitoriumi Wolfgangu von Schweinitzu sukūrė kitą notacijos simbolių sistemą – praplėstą Helmholtz–Elliso¹³ natūraliojo derinimo aukščių notaciją (*The Extended Helmholtz–Ellis JI Pitch Notation*). „Šiuo metodu galima žymėti bet kurią garso aukštį iš bendro aukščių kontinuumo, t. y. bet kurią natą penklinėje, kuri drauge su kita nata sudaro, pavyzdžiui, natūralųjį intervalą, harmoninius aukščio santykius ir derinimo sistemą“ (Sabat, Schweinitz 2004). Praplėstos Helmholtz–Elliso grynosios intonacijos (JI) garsų žymėjimo sistemos principas yra bet kokių sveikųjų skaičių dažnių santykį pateikti kaip tikslų nuokrypį nuo standartinio (įprastai 12-TET), naudojant standartinius alteracijos ženklus ir



1 pav. Beno Johnstono praplėsto natūraliojo derinimo obertonų 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 17, 19 nuo C alteracijos žymėjimas (Fonville 1991: 121).

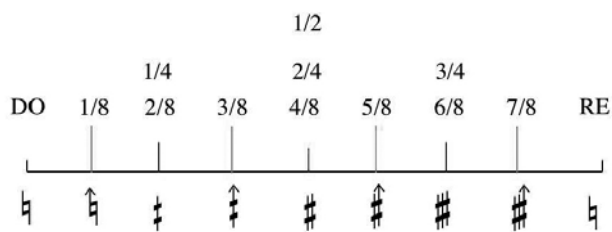
2 lentelė. Ketvirtatonių alteracijos ženklų, tarp jų *Stein-Zimmermann* simbolių, kuriuos naudojo daugelis kompozitorių, lentelė.

	+ 1/4	- 1/4	+ 3/4	- 3/4		+ 1/4	- 1/4	+ 3/4	- 3/4
Behrens Senegalden (1892)	s	+			Moedecai Sandberg (1930)	⚡	⚡	⚡	⚡
Richard Stein (1905)	♯	♭	♯	♭	B. A. Zimmermann (1960)	♯	♭	♯	♭
Richard Stein (1923)	♯	♭	♯	♭	B. A. Zimmermann (1961)	♯	♭	♯	♭
Jörg Mager (1915)	♯	♭	♯	♭	Charles Ives (1965)	♯			
Willi Mollendörf (1917)	♯	♭	♯	♭	Roman Vlad (1964)	♯	♭		
George Rimsky-Korsakov (1925)	♯	♭			Paavo Heininen (1963)	♯	♭		
Julian Carrillo (1920)	♯	♭	♯	♭	Marek Koplent (1963)	♯		♯	
Ivan Wyschnegradsky (1918)	♯	♭	♯	♭	Klaus Huber (1965)	♯		♯	
Alois Habà (1920)	♯	♭	♯	♭	Iannis Xenakis (1966)	♯		♯	
Alois Habà (1927)	♯	♭	♯	♭	Jean-Etienne Marie (1976)	♯		♯	
John Foulds (1931)	♯	♭			Alain Bancquart (1967)	♯	♭	♯	♭
George Enesco (1934)	♯	♭	♯		Björn Fongaard (1968)	♯	♭	♯	♭
Pierre Boulez (1946)	♯	♭	♯	♭	Bruno Bartolozzi (1968)	♯	♭	♯	♭
Mauricio Kagel (1953)	♯	♭	♯	♭	Raymond Baervoets (1969)	♯	♭	♯	♭
Sylvano Bussotti (1958)	♯		♯		György Ligeti (1970)	♯	♭	♯	♭
Krzysztof Penderecki (1959)	♯	♭	♯	♭	Witold Litoslawski (1971)	♯	♭	♯	♭

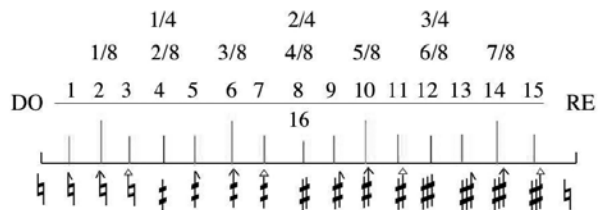
Kitas logiškas žingsnis standartizuoti mikrotonų notacijos simbolius – dermę dalijant į aštuntatonių arba dvyliktatonių. Šiuo atveju rodyklės pridamos prie standartinio simbolio ir *Stein-Zimmermann* užrašyme tampa „norma“ aštuntatoniams žymėti (Greffin-Klein, n. d.), nors kitais atvejais jos pridamos ir dvyliktatoniams žymėti (Chahin 2017). Žymint aštuntatonių rodyklėmis dubliuojamas alteracijos ženklas: pavyzdžiui, pusės diezo alteracija su rodykle aukštyne atitinka diezą su rodykle žemyn, nes aštuntatonių atstumas yra lygus 25 ct ir dalija ketvirtatonių (50 ct) per pusę. Tačiau žymint dvyliktatonių (16,67 ct) dubliavimo nėra, nes rodyklės prie alteracijos ženklo dėl atstumų skirtumo neatitinka to paties intervalo. Visi šie

alteracijos ženklai įtraukti į „SmuFL“ kaip išplėstiniai *Stein-Zimmermann* notacijos simboliai, turintys savo kodus nuo U + E290 iki U + E29F³⁰.

Ketvirtatonių, aštuntatonių ir šešioliaktatonių notacija įdiegta *OMicron* šrifte.³¹ Ketvirtatoniai užrašomi naudojant *Stein-Zimmermann* alteracinius ženklus, o aštuntatoniai – pridant rodykles į viršų. Šešioliaktatoniai žymimi skaidant rodyklę: prie rodyklės viršūnės pridetas brūkšnyns reiškia tono pakėlimą šešioliaktatonių. Šriftas taip pat siūlo trečiatonių (*third tone*), penktatonių (*fifth tone*), šeštatonių (*sixth tone*), septintatonių (*seventh tone*), dešimtatonių (*tenth tone*), dvyliktatonių (*twelfth tone*) ir keturioliaktatonių (*fourteenth tone*) simbolius.



5 pav. Aštuntatonių notacija (*OMicron*).



6 pav. Šešioliaktatonių notacija (*OMicron*).

„SMuFL“ ir muzikos notacijos programinė įranga „MuseScore“ pateikia daugiau notacijos simbolių, skirtų kitų dydžių mikrotonams žymėti, tačiau trečiatoniai, šeštatoniai, aštuntatoniai, dvyliktatoniai ir šešioliaktatoniai vis dar neturi visuotinai pripažinto notacijos standarto galbūt todėl, kad šie mikrotonai praktikoje naudojami daug rečiau nei ketvirtatoniai (Greffin-Klein, n. d.).

Alteracinių simbolių šriftas mikrointervalams lietuvių tradicinėse dermėse ir šiuolaikinėje muzikoje žymėti

Remiantis XX a. 4 deš. Lietuvių tautosakos archyve saugomų lietuvių liaudies dainų ir jų instrumentinių versijų įrašų tyrimo (2020–2022 m.) rezultatais (Germanavičius 2023: 75–101; Germanavičius 2024: 58–75), iš daugiau nei 140 vokalinės ir instrumentinės muzikos pavyzdžių, programa „Melodyne“³² buvo nustatyti dermių intervalų atstumai, kurie buvo lyginami su natūraliojo garsaileio ir lygios temperacijos 12-TET sistemomis. Identiškas tyrimas atliktas su JAV lietuvių imigrantų XX a. pradžios įrašais (2024 m.)³³, saugomais Smithsono institute (*Smithsonian Institute Folkways Collection*) Vašingtone, taip pat panaudotas „Shellac“ kolekcijos archyvas iš Lietuvos kultūros muziejaus Čikagoje, Lietuvos tyrimo centro Lemonte, Lietuvos nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo bibliotekos, iš viso 23 pavyzdžiai.

Atsižvelgiant į mokslinių tyrimų, kuriuose buvo analizuota klausia suvokiamų intervalų atstumo dermėse skirtumai profesionalų ir neprofesionalų ansambliuose (Ternström 1991: 48; Vos 1984; Hall, Hess 1984: 191),

išvadas, pasirinkti intervalų nuokrypių santykiai, žymintys vieną ar kitą intervalą³⁴, taip pat susisteminti sutartinių, monodijų, medinių trimitų, skudučių, kanklių ansamblių garsaileių blokai sumodeliuoti į bendrą vokalinės-instrumentinės muzikos intervalų grafiką – dainų garsaileių spektrą (Germanavičius 2024 : 150) (nuo žemiausio iki aukščiausio garso). Juose sužymėti mikrotonai, rodantys tam tikrus derinimo nuokrypius, lyginant su 12-TET sistema. Šioje sistemoje nustatyti mikrotonai atitinka natūralių intervalų atstumus: dvyliktatonis aproksimuoja natūralius mažosios sekundos (182 ct) ir pažemintosios kvintos (680 ct) intervalus, šešioliaktatonis – natūralios didžiosios tercijos (386 ct), aštuntatonis – natūralios pažemintosios kvartos (476 ct), šeštatonis – natūralios mažosios septimos (969 ct) intervalus (Ellis 1884: 370), ketvirtatonis – 11 harmoniką, arba padidintosios kvartos (551 ct) intervalą 12-TET lygios temperacijos sistemoje, kuriems žymėti reikia pritaikyti tam tikrus alteracijos ženklus.

Beje, ištyrus instrumentinės muzikos pavyzdžių padaryta išvada, kad medinių trimitų instrumentų derinimas yra galbūt pagrįstas natūraliojo garsaileio serija ir atitinka dažniausiai atliekamas harmonikas Nr. 3, 5, 9, 11, arba natūralios tercijos, sekundos, pažemintosios kvintos, padidintosios kvartos intervalus, aptinkamus ir kituose lietuvių liaudies instrumentuose bei vokalinėje muzikoje – sutartinėse ir monodijose. Galima paminėti padidintosios ir sumažintosios kvartos intervalus (harmonikos Nr. 11, Nr. 21), išskirtus Juliaus Juzeliūno teoriniame darbe „Akordo sandaros klausimu“ (Juzeliūnas 1972: 55), taip pat atliktame sutartinių tyrimo (Germanavičius 2024: 206).

Lietuvių tradicinės vokalinės ir instrumentinės muzikos intervalams žymėti buvo pasirinktos ne natūraliojo derinimo *just intonation* notacijos simbolių sistemos, nes išanalizavus dainų pavyzdžius nebuvo nustatyta vieno konkretaus derinimo ar temperacinės sistemos, kurią galima būtų priskirti tradicinių dermių derinimui³⁵, nors atskirose dainų grupėse galima buvo rasti natūralių intervalų ar natūraliojo derinimo pavyzdžių. Todėl siekiant pasiūlyti bendrą alteracijos ženklų lietuvių garsaileių intervalikai žymėjimą, atmetus natūraliojo derinimo „Sagittal“, praplėtus Helmholtzo–Elliso ir Johnstono notacines sistemas, buvo pasirinktas *Stein-Zimmermanno* ir *OMicron* notacijos simbolių žymėjimo standartas. Jis įdiegtas daugelyje muzikos notacijos programų ketvirtatoniams ir šeštatoniams žymėti, tačiau kitų mikrotonų žymėjimas nėra standartizuotas. Taigi tonų alteracijos ženklai lietuvių tradiciniams garsaileiams žymėti buvo pasirinkti iš šių notacijos sistemų; jiems sukurtas naujas dizainas (žr. 3 lentelę).

3 lentelė. Mikrotonų alteracijos ženklai natūraliesiems intervalams žymėti 12-TET sistemoje (lentelės autorius Vytautas Germanavičius).

					Alteracijos ženklų aproksimacijos		
Ketvirtatonių alteracijos (50 ct)	Ketvirtatonių į viršų / žemyn		3 ketvirtatoniais į viršų / žemyn		11 harmonika, padidintoji kvarta (551 ct)		
Simbolio kodas	♯	♮	♯	♮			
Šeštatonių alteracijos (33,3 ct)	Šeštatonių į viršų			Šeštatonių žemyn		<i>Stein-Zimmermann</i> alteracijos	7 harmonika, mažoji septima (969 ct)
Simbolio kodas	♯	♮	♮	♯	♮		
Aštuntatonių alteracijos (25 ct)	Aštuntatonių į viršų		Aštuntatonių žemyn		<i>OMicron, Stein-Zimmermann</i> alteracijos	21 harmonika (471 ct), pažemintoji kvarta (476 ct)	
Simbolio kodas: Standartinis Rodyklės	♮	♯	♮	♯			
Dvyliktatonių alteracijos (16,7 ct)	Dvyliktatonių į viršų		Dvyliktatonių žemyn		<i>OMicron, Stein-Zimmermann</i> alteracijos	Mažoji sekunda (182 ct), arba pažemintoji kvinta (680 ct)	
Simbolio kodas: Standartinis Rodyklės	♯	♮	♯	♮			
Šešioliaktatonių alteracijos (12, 5 ct)	Šešioliaktatonių į viršų		Šešioliaktatonių žemyn		<i>OMicron, Stein-Zimmermann</i> alteracijos	5 harmonika, didžioji tercija (386 ct)	
Simbolio kodas: Standartinis Rodyklės	♯	♮	♯	♮			

3 lentelės pirmuose blokuose pateikti ketvirtatonių ir šeštatonių alteracijos ženklai pasirinkti iš *Stein-Zimmermann* notacijos standarto, kuris visuotinai naudojamas daugelyje pasaulio šalių. Kadangi kitų mikrotonų žymėjimas nėra standartizuotas, aštuntatonių ir dvyliktatonių simboliai sukonstruoti prijungiant rodyklę prie standartinio simbolio, pasinaudojant šaltinių *OMicron* ir *Stein-Zimmermann* teikiama grafine notacijų klasifikacija. Šešioliaktatonių alteracijos ženklas pasirinktas iš *OMicron* sistemos, į kurią bemolių alteracijos nėra įtrauktos (Banquart, Agon, Andreato 2024: 282) Šioje sistemoje rodyklės reiškia aiškią notacinę logiką, pavyzdžiui, tono dalyboje aštuntatoniais ketvirtatonis su rodykle ♯ yra lygus 3/8, o 4/8 sudaro pustonį. Šešioliaktatono dalybos sistemoje trys alteracinio ženklo rodyklės linijos reiškia tris nuosekliai susijungiančias trikampio kraštines, formuojančias mikrotonų simbolius ketvirtatono ribose, ir jos sudaro išbaigtą trikampį ♯ ♮ ♮. Šiuo atveju pasirenkamas standartinis

alteracijos ženklas pridedant vieną trikampio kraštinės rodyklę, žymincią šešioliaktatonį (žr. 4 lentelę), dvi trikampio kraštinės žymi dvyliaktatonį, visas trikampis – aštuntatonį, juodas trikampis – šeštatonį. Taigi siūlomi alteraciniai ženklai sudaryti iš pasirinktų standartinių diezo, bemolio, bekaro simbolių ir sukurtų sudėtinių dviejų notacijos sistemų pateikiamų simbolių specifikacijų. Šriftui sukurti buvo naudojama „FontCreator“ programa³⁶, o jų modifikacijai pasitelktas „Gonville“ šriftas³⁷.

Lentelėje mikrotonų žymėjimo alteracijos ženklui priskiriamas vienas kompiuterio klaviatūros mygtukas. Pirmoje eilėje skaičiai žymi šeštatonių ir ketvirtatonių simbolius nuo 1 iki 0; antroje raidės nuo Q iki Y ir nuo U iki O – aštuntatonių ir tris pustonų simbolius; trečioje raidės nuo A iki H – dvyliaktatonių simbolius; ketvirtoje raidės nuo Z iki N – šešioliaktatonių simbolius. Svarbu pažymėti, kad kuriant alteracinių ženklų dizainą visi simboliai, žymintys mikrotonus, išskyrus ketvirtatonių,

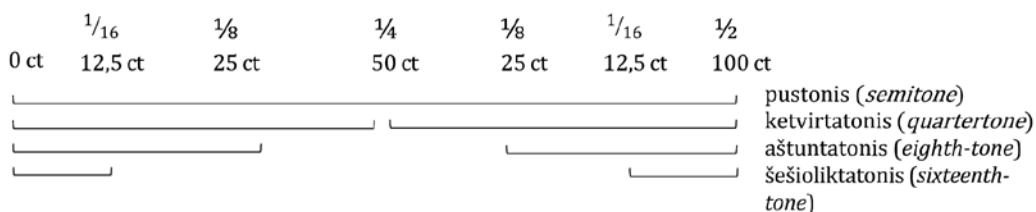
4 lentelė. Naujo standartizuoto šrifto alteracijos simboliai mikrointervalams žymėti, išdėstyti kompiuterio klaviatūroje (lentelės autorius Vytautas Germanavičius).

Klaviatūros mygtuko skaičius	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	0
Šeštatonių simboliai	♯	♯̂	♯̃	♯̄	♯̅	♯̆	Ketvirtatonių Simboliai	♯̇	♯̈	♯̉	♯̊
Klaviatūros mygtuko raidė	Q	W	E	R	T	Y		U	I	O	
Aštuntatonių simboliai	♯̂	♯̃	♯̄	♯̅	♯̆	♯̇	Pustonių Simboliai	♯̈	♯̉	♯̊	
Klaviatūros mygtuko raidė	A	S	D	F	G	H					
Dvyliktatonių simboliai	♯̂	♯̃	♯̄	♯̅	♯̆	♯̇					
Klaviatūros mygtuko raidė	Z	X	C	V	B	N					
Šešioliktatonių simboliai	♯̂	♯̃	♯̄	♯̅	♯̆	♯̇					

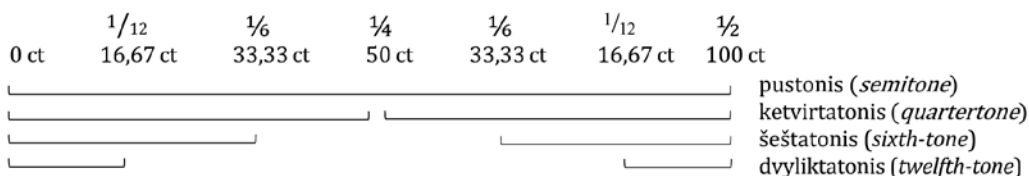
buvo suskirstyti į vieną seką nuo siauriausio iki plačiausio mikrointervalo, pasitelktas pustonio simbolio standartas, pagal kurį buvo modeliuojamos kuriamo ženklų rodyklės, pavyzdžiui, jos nupieštos dvyliktatonių ir šešioliktatonių simboliuose ar modifikuotos šeštatonių, aštuntatonių rodyklių dizaine. Ne visi standartiniai simboliai turi bemolio alteracinius ženklus (aštuntatoniai, dvyliktatoniai, šešioliktatoniai), todėl prie pustonio standartinio simbolio, žyminčio bemolį, buvo pritaikytos skirtingos rodyklės, t. y. naujame šrifte šešioliktatonio rodyklė turi vieną vėliavėlę, dvyliktatonio rodyklė – dvi vėliavėles, prie aštuntatonio

rodyklės stogelio pridėdama trečia kraštinė sudaro baltą trikampį, šeštatonio rodyklė – juodą trikampį, ir tai atitinka mikrointervalų didėjimo seką, kuri baigiasi ketvirtatonių alteraciniais ženklais.

Mikrointervalinė struktūra pustonio ribose gali būti grindžiama skirtingais simetrinės dalybos principais, lemiančiais akustinio suvokimo ir derinimo sistemos specifiką. 7 ir 8 pavyzdžiuose pateikiami du pustonio segmentavimo modeliai: padalijimas į ašonias lygias dalis (po 12,5 cento) ir į šešias apytiksliai vienodas dalis (apytikriai po 16,67 cento).



7 pav. Pustonio dalyba į keturias dalis (lentelės autorius Vytautas Germanavičius).



8 pav. Pustonio dalyba į šešias dalis (lentelės autorius Vytautas Germanavičius).

Pirmuoju atveju pustonis struktūruojamas pagal proporcijas $\frac{1}{8} - \frac{1}{4} - \frac{1}{8} - \frac{1}{2}$, čia simetriškas mikrotonų išsidėstymas aplink centrinį toną (50 ct) sudaro ketvirtatonio intervalų pagrindą. Antruoju modeliu siekiama dar smulkesnės pustonio dalybos: naudojama struktūra $\frac{1}{12} - \frac{1}{6} - \frac{1}{4} - \frac{1}{6} - \frac{1}{12} - \frac{1}{2}$ užtikrina tankesnę mikrotoninį tinklą, taip pat simetriškai išsidėstantį aplink centrinį toną. Nors abi dalybos sistemos remiasi centro simetrija, pustonio segmentavimas į šešias dalis pasižymi didesniu mikrointervalų tankumu ir sudaro sąlygas preciziškesnei mikrointonacinei raiškai, kai detalus intonacijos valdymas tampa vienu iš kompozicinės struktūros formavimo principų.

Tačiau pustonio segmentavimo į keturias ar šešias dalis modeliai yra skirtingai pritaikomi atlikėjų praktikoje, tai priklauso nuo instrumento, techninių gebėjimų ir muzikinio konteksto. Keturių intervalų pustonio dalyba (25 ct) dažniausiai siejama su ketvirtatonių naudojimu, šiuolaikinėje muzikoje ji jau yra įsitvirtinusi, ją naudoja vokalistai, stygininkai, taip pat atliekantys muziką pučiamaisiais ir daugeliu elektroninių muzikos instrumentų. Ši dalyba santykinai lengviau intonuojama, nes atitinka natūralų žmogaus gebėjimą diferencijuoti intervalus, didesnius nei maždaug 20 centų. O šešių intervalų pustonio dalyba (16,67 ct) reikalauja aukštesnio lygio intonacinio tikslumo ir dažnai taikoma tik tam tikrais atvejais, kai mikrointervalinė muzika atliekama su specialiai tam pritaikytais instrumentais (pvz., skaitmeniniais sintezatoriais, mikrotoniniais klavišiniais instrumentais) arba glaudžiai bendradarbiaujant su kompozitoriumi. Vokalistams ir stygininkams, turintiems gerai išlavintą klausą ir kontrolę, tokia sistema yra įveikiama, tačiau praktikoje dažnai naudojami papildomi grafiniai arba garsiniai orientyrai (pvz., intonaciniai pavyzdžiai, elektroniniai audiosignalai).

Abiejų dalybų simetriškas išsidėstymas aplink pustonio centrą padeda atlikėjui orientuotis intonaciškai, ypač kai muzikinėje medžiagoje kuriama mikrointervalinių sąsambių ir temperuotų tonų pusiausvyra. Nors šie pustonio dalijimo modeliai gali būti taikomi ir tradicinėje, ir eksperimentinėje bei elektroninėje muzikoje, kartais intonacinė realybė nukrypsta nuo teorinės idealizacijos: atlikėjai remiasi ne griežtomis centų vertėmis, o girdimais santykiais, akustiniais orientyrais ar stilistinėmis nuojautomis. Todėl nors teoriškai ir 25 ct, ir 16,67 ct intervalų dydžiai yra galimi, praktikoje mikrotonai realizuojami lankstesniu, akustiškai grįstu pagrindu, o tikslus centų paskirstymas padeda labiau kaip orientacinė sistema nei privaloma intonavimo norma.

Didžiausias šiuolaikinių notacijos sistemų privalumas – galimybė tiksliai užrašyti harmoninių natūralių intervalų serijas ar lygios dalybos temperacijas, praplečiant tradicinę penklinę naujais simboliais. Tai leidžia kompozitoriams, muzikologams, etnomuzikologams ir klasikinės muzikos atlikėjams intuityviai ar pasitelkus klausą įvertinti atskiro tono aukštį ir jo vietą muzikinėje sistemoje. Šis tikslumas

ypač svarbus šiuolaikinėje muzikoje, kur dažnai siekiama išėiti už įprastų 12-os lygių garsų tempercijos ribų ir eksperimentuoti su mikrotonais bei sudėtingomis intervalų struktūromis. Jei palygintume šiuolaikines notacijos sistemas su tradiciniu intervalų aukščio žymėjimu, paremtu *ratio* santykiais (t. y. tiksliais matematinėmis proporcijomis), matytume, kad šiuolaikinės notacijos dažnai tampa tam tikru kompromisu. Nors *ratio* santykiai suteikia teorinį pagrindą suprasti intervalų aukštį ir jų harmoninę reikšmę, jie dažnai nurodo tik apytikslų intervalų dydį, o atlikėjams gali būti sunku aiškiai suvokti, kuris intervalo variantas teisingas arba tinkamiausias konkrečiam kūrinui.

Daugeliu atvejų kompozitoriams naudojant šiuolaikines notacijas mikrotonams žymėti, atlikėjai turi perprasti labai daug naujų grafinių simbolių, o muzikos tyrėjai pasinerti į įvairių mikrotonų žymėjimo simbolių paieškas. Skirtingos notacijos gali būti painios, todėl pasidaro sunkiau kurti muziką, ją atlikti ir tyrinėti.

Šiame kontekste ypač aktualu yra pristatyti standartizuotą mikrointervalų žymėjimo šriftą. Tikėtina, kad jis gali išspręsti daug mikrointervalų alteracinių simbolių užrašymo problemų, ypač tekstiniuose formatuose. Šis naujas šriftas suteikia galimybę aiškiai ir patogiai žymėti mikrotoninius intervalus, palengvina muzikos komponavimą, leidybą, analizę ir atlikimą. Be to, jis skirtas ne tik tradicinių dermių intervalikai, bet ir šiuolaikinės muzikos pavyzdžiams, kurie reikalauja plačios mikrotoninės raiškos. Šriftas apsiriboja penkių mikrotonų ir pustonio alteracijos ženklais, o tai suteikia lankstumo daugeliui muzikinių sistemų.

Išvados

Mikrotoninių intervalų žymėjimo poreikis lietuvių tradicinių dermių tyrimuose atskleidė būtinybę ieškoti specifinių, išplėstinių notacijos priemonių, kurios atitiktų ne tik muzikinės raiškos, bet ir praktinio žymėjimo poreikius. Analitiniu-kūrybiniu metodu, atlikus šiuolaikinių notacijos sistemų analizę, lietuvių tradicinių dermių mikrotonams žymėti siūlomi nauji išplėstiniai netolygios intervalikos žymėjimo alteracijos ženklai, plačiai naudojami muzikos kūryboje ir mikrotoninės muzikos užrašymo praktikoje. Pasirinkimas naudoti lygių temperacinių sistemų pagrindu kurtas alteracijas, o ne natūraliojo derinimo sistemas buvo paremtas ir metodologiniais, ir praktiniais sumetimais: tyrimuose nebuvo nustatytas konkretus derinimo modelis, o „SmuFL“ standartu grįsti simboliai yra plačiai palaikomi programinėje įrangoje ir lengvai pasiekiami vartotojui, užtikrinant platesnes taikymo galimybes.

Sukurti ir adaptuoti nauji simboliai šeštatoniniams, aštuntatoniniams, dvyliktatoniniams ir šešioliaktatoniniams mikrointervalams yra reikšmingas indėlis į mikrotoninės notacijos sistematizavimą. Jie paremti sudėtiniais grafinais

sprendimais, kurių koncepcija vystyta pasitelkiant komparatyvinę analizę ir remiantis „SmuFL“ ir IRCAM (*OMicron*) šrifto struktūra. Taip sukurtas naujas šrifto dizainas „GermanicusV_AS.otf“ lietuvių tradiciniams garsaeiliams ir šiuolaikinės muzikos notacijų pavyzdžiams žymėti „Microsoft Word“ programoje:

- a) ketvirtatoniai, pustoniai – *Stein-Zimmermann*, „SmuFL“ standartas,
- b) šeštatoniai – *Stein-Zimmermann*, „SmuFL“ standartas, sudėtiniai simboliai (autorai Vytautas Germanavičius, Laimonas Janutėnas),
- c) aštuntatoniai – *Stein-Zimmermann*, *OMicron* šriftas, sudėtiniai simboliai (autorai Vytautas Germanavičius, Laimonas Janutėnas),
- d) dvyliktatoniai – *Stein-Zimmermann*, *OMicron* šriftas, sudėtiniai simboliai (autorai Vytautas Germanavičius, Laimonas Janutėnas),
- e) šešioliktatoniai – *Stein-Zimmermann*, *OMicron* šriftas, sudėtiniai simboliai (autorai Vytautas Germanavičius, Laimonas Janutėnas).

Šriftą „GermanicusV_AS.otf“ galima atsisiųsti <https://shorturl.at/UBBOc> ir naudoti „Microsoft Word“, Sibeliaus ar kitose muzikos notacijos programose.



Mikrotoninės muzikos užrašymas visuomet rėmėsi personalizuota kiekvieno kompozitoriaus sukurta sistema, tačiau XX–XXI a. susisteminus natūraliojo derinimo („SmuFL“: Beno Johnstono, Helmholtzo–Elliso JI (*HEJI*), Sagittal) ir lygių temperacijų sistemas („SmuFL“: *Stein-Zimmermann*, *Gould*, *Stockhausen*; Ircam: *OMicron*) atsirado poreikis šių notacijų simbolių standartizuoti ir pritaikyti tiksliai mikrointervalų žymėjimui. Šis darbas pratęsia XX–XXI a. vykstantį mikrotoninių sistemų standartizavimo procesą, kuriame išskiriamos dvi pagrindinės notacijos kryptys – natūraliojo derinimo ir lygių temperacijų. Naujasis šriftas prisideda prie antrosios krypties plėtos, siūlydamas alternatyvą, tinkamą ne tik lietuvių tradiciniams garsaeiliams žymėti, bet ir bendresniam mikrointervalų notacijos pritaikymui šiuolaikinėje muzikinėje kūryboje.

Nuorodos

- ¹ Mikrotonas, mikrointervalas (gr. *μικρός*, *mikrós* – mažas) – bet kuris intervalas ar aukščio skirtumas, mažesnis už pustonį, vadinamas mikrotonais ar mikrointervalais, pavyzdžiai, ketvirtatoniai, penktatoniai, aštuntatoniai, šeštatoniai ir t. t. Įvairiose kultūrose šis terminas vartojamas skirtingai, pvz., anglų kalboje *microtone*, *microinterval* yra sinonimai, prancūzų kalboje *micro-tone*, *micro-tonale* vartojami retai, dažniausiai pasirenkamas *micro-intervale* ar *microintervalité* terminas, vokiečių kalboje *Mikrointervall* ar *Kleinintervall* yra lygiaverčiai terminai, ispanų kalboje atitinkamai *microtono* ir *microtonalismo*.
- ² Natūralusis derinimas (angl. *just intonation*, pranc. *l'intonation juste*) – derinimo sistema, kuri remiasi natūraliojo garsaeilio tonų seka, joje garsų aukščiai, apibrėžiami sveikųjų skaičių dažnių *ratio* santykiais, formuoja netolygius intervalų atstumus dermėse. Šioje sistemoje taip pat naudojami septyni, vienuolikos ir aukštesnių skaičių intervalų *ratio* santykiai, tai vadinama praplėstu natūraliojo derinimu (angl. *extended just intonation*), siekiant šiuos derinimus atskirti nuo senosios ir klasikinės muzikos trečio ir penkto skaičiaus ribos derinimų. Natūraliojo derinimo sistema grindžiama grynąja oktava (2:1), grynąja kvinta (3:2) ir didžiąja tercija (5:4). Natūralioji kvarta natūraliajame garselyje randama kaip natūraliosios kvintos apvertimas 4:3 (498 ct) ir atitinka garsus sol–do (garsaeilyje nuo C). Taigi C–F atitinka 21 harmoniką arba mikrointervalą santykiu 21:16 (471 ct), C–F atitinka 11 harmoniką arba tritonio mikrointervalą santykiu 11:8 (551 ct).
- ³ Temperacija (lot. *temperamentum*) – muzikos garsų organizavimo sistema, kurioje intervalų aukštis nebūtinai gali atitikti sveikųjų skaičių *ratio* santykius.
- ⁴ 12-TET derinimo sistemoje didžioji tercija lygi 400 ct, tačiau 5 skaičiaus ribos (Ptolemajo) – 386,314 ct, 3 skaičiaus ribos (Pitagoro) – 407,820 ct, atitinkamai komos intervalo santykiai 81:80 ir 81:64 sudaro dviejų tercijos intervalų 21,506 ct sintoninės komos skirtumą. Terminas „riba“ (*limit*) atitinka harmoninio garsaeilio harmonikų numerius, išreikštus *ratio* santykiais, ir jų skaičių pasirinkto derinimo sistemoje. Ptolemajo sistemoje sintoninės komos intervalas susidaro derinant 4 grynąsias kvintas, peržengia 2 oktavas ir didžiąją terciją ($4 \times 701,95 \text{ ct} - (2 \times 1200 \text{ ct} + 386,3 \text{ ct}) = 2807,8 \text{ ct} - 2786,3 \text{ ct} = 21,5 \text{ ct}$, arba 22 centai. Taip pat intervalas, esantis tarp natūraliosios didžiosios tercijos ir Pitagoro tercijos (81:64), kurio *ratio* 81:80. Pitagoro sistemoje komos intervalas susidaro, kai 12-os pačiliui einančių grynujų kvintų seka peržengia 7-ą oktavą, kai oktava lygi 1200 ct, grynoji (natūralioji) kvinta 701,95 ct ($12 \times 701,95 \text{ ct} - (7 \times 1200 \text{ ct}) = 8423,4 \text{ ct} - 8400 \text{ ct} = 23,4 \text{ ct}$, arba 24 ct skirtumas).
- ⁵ *Diesis* vidutinio tono temperacijose buvo vadinami komos intervalai.
- ⁶ Arthur von Oettingen (1836–1920) – vokiečių fizikas, muzikos teoretikas, parašė teorinį darbą „Harmoniesystem in dualer Entwicklung“ (Dorpat, 1866).
- ⁷ Anglų mokslininkas Alexanderis Ellisas pirmasis išvertė visą Helmholtzo veikalą „Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik“ („Apie garso pojūčius kaip fiziologinį muzikos teorijos pagrindą“) į anglų kalbą. Vertimas išleistas 1875 m. Mokslininkas išvertė trečiąją vokišką leidimo versiją (1870 m.) ir papildė ją išsamiais paaiškinimais, komentarais ir priedais. Vėliau Ellisas papildė

- ketvirtąją vokišką leidimo versiją (1877 m.) ir 1885 m. išleido antrąją knygos vertimo į anglų kalbą leidimą.
- ⁸ Moritz Hauptmann (1792–1868) – vokiečių teoretikas ir kompozitorius, parašė teorinę knygą „Die Natur der Harmonik und Metrik“ (1853).
- ⁹ Koma (lot. *comma*, gr. *κόμμα* arba *κόπτω* – pjaunu) – apibūdina mažuosius muzikos intervalus arba du šalia esančius garso aukščius, gaunamus atlikus skirtingų dydžių intervalų skaičiavimus natūraliojo garsaileio temperacijose.
- ¹⁰ Carl Eitz (1838–1924) – vokiečių mokslininkas, pedagogas, tyrinėjo akustinius muzikos reiškinius.
- ¹¹ James Tenney (1934–2006) – amerikiečių kompozitorius ir muzikos teoretikas, daug nuveikė garso sintezės, algoritminės ir spektrinės kompozicijos, procesinės muzikos, praplėsto natūraliojo derinimo srityse. Savo teoriniuose darbuose nagrinėja muzikos formas, tembro, konsonanso ir disonanso, intervalų harmoninius santykius.
- ¹² Žr. [https://microtonal.miraheze.org/wiki/Ben_Johnston_\(composer\)](https://microtonal.miraheze.org/wiki/Ben_Johnston_(composer)).
- ¹³ Alexander John Ellis (1814–1890) – anglų matematikas, filologas ir fonetikas. Jo pasiūlyta intervalo matavimo sąvoka ir užrašymas padarė didžiulį poveikį lyginamajai muzikologijai (vėliau etnomuzikologijai). Analizuodamas įvairių Europos muzikos tradicijų dermes, tonų sistemas, Ellisas priėjo išvadą, kad tonų sistemų įvairovės negalima paaiškinti vienu fizikiniu dėsniu, kaip teigė to meto mokslininkai, kad muzika nėra vien tik fizika. Ji yra kultūros, istorijos ir žmogaus pasirinkimo produktas. Ellisas išvertė ir išsamiai pakomentavo Hermanno von Helmholtzo veikalą „On the Sensations of Tone“ (1875).
- ¹⁴ Hermann von Helmholtz. *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik*, 1863.
- ¹⁵ Svarbu pažymėti, kad anksčiau visuotinai priimtini pažemintų, natūralių, paauskintų intervalų žymėjimai buvo naudojami Pitagoro tobulai kvintų sekai apibrėžti.
- ¹⁶ Išsamus atvirojo kodo notacijos simbolių ir šriftų sąrašas pateikiamas *Plainsound Music Edition* svetainėje; žr. <http://www.marcsabat.com/pdfs/notation.pdf>.
- ¹⁷ Praplėstoje *Helmholtz-Ellis* natūraliojo derinimo sistemoje Pitagoro didžioji tercija nuo C žymima C–E♭, o natūrali didžioji tercija – C–E♭.
- ¹⁸ Termino „riba“ (*limit*) derinimo konceptą pirmą kartą pristatė ir panaudojo savo kūriniuose amerikiečių kompozitorius Harry Partchas, apibrėždamas didžiausią sveikųjų skaičių kiekį pasirinktame derinime. Riba atitinka harmoninio garsaileio harmonikų numerius, išreikštus *ratio* santykiais, ir jų skaičių pasirinktame derinime. Partchas gretino 11-os skaičių ribos sistemą su 3-ų skaičių ribos Pitagoro derinimo sistema (Nicholson, Sabat 2018: 20).
- ¹⁹ Intervalai 2/1 – oktava, 3/2 – kvinta sudaro 3/1 santykį, 12-os kvintų ciklą sudaro 7 oktavos, 7 oktavos + 12 oktavų = 19-TET; analogiškai 2/1, 3/2 ir 5/4 sudaro 5/1 santykį, t. y. dvi oktavas ir terciją x 12 = 28-TET.
- ²⁰ Žr. https://microtonal.miraheze.org/wiki/Sagittal_notation [žiūrėta 2024 12 09].
- ²¹ „Sagittal Songbook“ – kūrinių vokalui rinktinė, 2013 m. sudaryta kompozitoriaus Jacobo A. Bartono. Joje 48 kūrinius sukūrė 15 skirtingų kompozitorių, naudodami įvairius instrumentų derinimus.
- ²² „SmuFL“ – tai muzikos simbolių specifikacija, skirta konvencinei muzikos notacijai žymėti. Joje pateikiamas standartinis būdas tūkstančiams simbolių atvaizduoti vieno (nuo formato nepriklausomo) šrifto „Unicode“.
- ²³ „Steinberg Media Technologies GmbH“ – muzikos programų notacijos, įrašų technologijų leidybos kompanija.
- ²⁴ „Unicode“ – tarptautinis ženklų kodavimo standartas, pagal kurį visoms kalboms ir rašmenims suteikiamas unikalus kiekvieno ženklo numeris, todėl beveik visi ženklai yra prieinami įvairiose platformose, programose ir įrenginiuose.
- ²⁵ SmuFL, <https://www.w3.org/2021/03/smufl14/tables/stein-zimmermann-accidentals-24-edo.html> [žiūrėta 2024 12 04].
- ²⁶ EDO (angl. *equal division octave*) – lygios oktavos dalybos sistemos.
- ²⁷ Richard Stein (1882–1942) – vokiečių teoretikas ir kompozitorius.
- ²⁸ Bernd Alois Zimmermann (1918–1970) – vokiečių kompozitorius.
- ²⁹ Cituojama iš anoniminės diskusijos „Steinberg Forum“. Buvo aptariama, ar ketvirtatonio alteracijos ženklai „Dorico“ muzikos notacijos programinėje įrangoje turėtų būti ženklinami su rodyklėmis, ar jie turėtų atitikti *Stein-Zimmermann* alteracijas (Anon 2020).
- ³⁰ SmuFL, <https://www.w3.org/2021/03/smufl14/tables/extended-stein-zimmermann-accidentals.html> [žiūrėta 2024 12 04].
- ³¹ *OMicron* yra nemokamas šriftas, skirtas muzikos notacijai ir kūrybai, sukurtas ir išstobulintas IRCAM mokslo laboratorijoje.
- ³² „Melodyne“ programa atlieka aukštos raiškos dermės spektrinę analizę (naudojant „Short-Time Fourier Transform“ (STFT), „Constant-Q Transform“ metodus), kuri leidžia suskaidyti garso signalą į dažnį, amplitudę, fazę ir laiką. Tai padeda identifikuoti kūrinio garsaileio harmonikas ir įvertinti kiekvienos garsų serijos pagrindinį dažnį (F0) net ir polifoniniuose garso įrašų pavyzdžiuose. Ši programa naudoja F0 pagrindinio tono nustatymo algoritmus natos aukščiui sekti. Nors tikslios garso analizės metodikos nėra atskleistos, pasiūlyti autokoreliacija, cepstralinė analizė, fazės vokoderio technikos. Šios programos inovacija yra DNA (*Direct Note Access*) metodas, padedantis išskirti atskiras natas ar jų grupes iš polifoninio garsų konteksto, nustatyti natų pradžios ir pabaigos taškus. „Melodyne“ naudoja tranzientų aptikimo algoritmus, pagrįstus energijos kontūrais (*energy envelopes*), spektriniu srautu (*spectral flux*), natų pradžios funkcija (*onset detection functions*, ODF), kad keičiant garso aukštį arba tempą garsas išliktų natūralus, taip pat ši programa taiko formantų korekcijos algoritmus, naudoja muzikinį „intelektą“, kad nustatytų kūrinio tonaciją ir dermę. Nors kitose programose įdiegti panašūs garso apdorojimo įrankiai, „Melodyne“ išsiskiria savo gebėjimu tiksliai atpažinti ir redaguoti atskiras natas polifoniniuose kūriniuose, išlaikydama natūralų garsą, jį integruodama į muzikinį kontekstą. „Melodyne“ programos kūrėjas Peteris Neubäckeris sukūrė specialius matematinius modelius, kurie gerokai pranoksta tradicinius signalų apdorojimo algoritmus kitose garso tyrimo programinėse įrangose.
- ³³ Vytautas Germanavičius, „Adapting unequal tuning systems to new technological environments and applying them to compositional and performance practices“. International Symposium *The Microtonal Village*, The Sheen Center for Thought & Culture, Greenwich House, 2024 m. rugsėjo 19–22 d., Niujorkas, JAV.

- ³⁴ Paklaida iki $-/+25$ ct žymi harmonikas, paklaida žymi mikrotonus: $1/4 = 40-60$ ct, $1/6 = 28-39$ ir $61-72$ ct, $1/8 = 20-27$ ir $73-80$ ct. Vadovaujantis Vakarų muzikos praktika, mikrointervalai apskaičiuojami dalijant oktavą pustomiais 100 ct atstumu, kai ketvirtatonis lygus 50 ct (24-TET), šeštatonis – 33,3 ct (36-TET), aštuntatonis – 25 ct (48-TET), dvyliktatonis – 16,7 ct (72-TET), šešioliktatonis – 12,5 ct (96-TET).
- ³⁵ Lietuvių tradicinių dermių ir istorinių derinimų komparatyvinis tyrimas atliktas Kauno technologijos universitete, mokslo grupė – dirbtinis intelektas, duomenų analitika ir modeliavimas, tyrimo autoriai dr. Mindaugas Kavaliauskas ir dr. Vytautas Germanavičius, 2024 m.
- ³⁶ „FontCreator“ programa yra vienintelis šriftų įrankis, leidžiantis visiškai kontroliuoti ir keisti esamą šriftą, nesvarbu, jis sudėtingas ar pažangus, išsaugant visus „OpenType“ išdėstymo funkcijų duomenis. Taip užtikrinama, kad kiekviena subtili originalaus dizaino detalė liktų nepakitusi (<https://www.high-logic.com/font-editor/fontcreator>).
- ³⁷ „Gonville“ – tai muzikos užrašymo ženklų rinkimo šriftas, jame yra penklinių raktų, natų galvučių, kotelių, vėliavėlių ir panašių simbolių. Jis suderintas su „GNU Lilypond“ muzikos užrašymo ženklų graviravimo programa, skirta aukščiausios įmanomos kokybės natoms kurti, ir leidžia kompiuteriu spausdintus ženklų įrašus paversti tradiciškai graviruotomis natomis (<https://github.com/OpenLilyPondFonts/gonville>).
- Literatūra**
- Ambrazevičius, Rytis, Robertas Budrys, and Irena Višnevska. *Scales in Lithuanian Traditional Music: Acoustics, Cognition, and Contexts*. Kaunas: ARX reklama, 2015.
- Anon. *Default Microtonal / 24-EDO Accidentals*, 2020. <https://forums.steinberg.net/t/default-microtonal-24-edo-accidentals/145855>.
- Četkuskaitė, Genovaitė. *Lietuvių liaudies dainų antologija*. Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 2007.
- Chahin, Rami. *Towards a Spectral Microtonal Composition: A Bridge Between Arabic and Western Music*. Mainz: Schott Music, 2017. https://schott-campus.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Chahin_Towards_Spectral_oa.pdf.
- Čiurlionytė, Jadvyga. „Kaip užrašinėti liaudies melodijas.“ In *Tautosakos rinkėjo vadovas*, red. J. Balys, 77–111. Kaunas: Lietuvių tautosakos archyvas, 1940.
- Bancquart, Alain, Carlos Agon Carlos, and Moreno Andreatta. „Microtonal Composition.“ In *The OM Composer's Book 2*, edited by Jean Bresson, Carlos Agon and Gérard Assayag, 279–304. Paris: DELATOUR FRANCE, IRCAM-Centre Pompidou, 2008. <http://recherche.ircam.fr/equipes/repmpus/moreno/AndreattaMicrotonality.pdf> [žiūrėta 2024 12 12].
- Benson, David J. *Music: A Mathematical Offering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. <https://homepages.abdn.ac.uk/d.j.benson/pages/html/music.pdf>
- Eitz, Carl A. *Das mathematisch-reine Tonsystem*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1891.
- Ellis, Alexander J., and Alfred J. Hipkins. „Tonometrical Observations on Some Existing Non-Harmonic Musical Scales.“ *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 37 (1884): 368–385. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/114325>.
- Fonville, John. „Ben Johnston's Extended Just Intonation: A Guide for Interpreters.“ *Perspectives of New Music* 29/2 (121) (1991): 106–137.
- Gann, Kyle. *The Arithmetic of Listening*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019.
- Gann, Kyle. *How to Use Ben Johnston's Just Intonation Notation* [n. d.]. <https://www.kylegann.com/BJNotation.html> [žiūrėta 2024 12 06].
- Germanavičius, Vytautas. *Archajinių derminių struktūrų transformacija ir adaptacija naujose mikrotoninėse kompozicijose: daktaro disertacija*, Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 2022.
- Germanavičius, Vytautas. „Identification of Microtonal Interval Relations in Lithuanian Vocal and Instrumental Folk Music and their Application in Music Composition. In *Mikrotöne Small is Beautiful IV*, edited by Agustin Castilla-Ávila, 75–101. Salzburg: Mackinger Verlag, 2023.
- Germanavičius, Vytautas. „In Search of Archaic Code as a Symbol of the Interval Structure in Folk Music Scales.“ In *Mikrotöne Small is Beautiful V*, edited by Agustin Castilla-Ávila, 58–75. Salzburg: Mackinger Verlag, 2024.
- Germanavičius, Vytautas. *Nuo natūralių muzikos derinimų link etnogarsaeilių sistemų: teorija versus kūryba*, Vilnius: Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 2024.
- Gould, Elaine. *Behind Bars: The Definitive Guide to Musical Notation*. London: Faber, 2011.
- Greffin-Klein, Alexandra. *MICRO-INTERVALS: Achievability, Limits, Notation and How to Practice Them* (n. d.). <http://www.alexgreffinklein.com/en/micro-intervals-and-accidentals/>.
- Hall, Donald E., and Hess Joan Taylor (1984). „Perception of musical interval tuning.“ *Music Perception* 2/2 (1984): 166–195.
- Helmholtz, Hermann von. *On the Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music*. London, New York: Longmans, Green, 1912.
- Hufflen, Jean-Michel. „History of accidentals in music.“ *TUGboat* 38/2 (2017): 147–156. <https://tug.org/TUGboat/tb38-2/tb119hufflen-music.pdf>.
- Innervik, Kjell Tore. *Using quartertones in notation software* (2008). https://prosjekt.nmh.no/quartertonemarimba/pages/mainpages/scoring_software.html.
- Jedrzejewski, Franck. *Dictionnaire des musiques microtonales: 1892–2013*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014.
- Johnston, Ben. „A notation system for extended Just Intonation.“ In *'Maximum Clarity' and Other Writings on Music*, edited by Bob Gilmore. Urbana and Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2006 [2003].
- Juzeliūnas, Julius. *Akordo sandaros klausimu*. Kaunas: Šviesa, 1972.
- Matmati, Jawher. *Au-delà de la notation: vers une réconciliation du maître et dumarteau* (2021–2022). https://www.conservatoiredeparis.fr/sites/default/files/Recherche-Editions/TEP_MATMATI_2021.pdf.
- Monzo, Joe. *Tonalsoft Encyclopaedia*. <http://tonalsoft.com/enc/h/hewm.aspx>. tonalsoft.com.
- Nicholson, Thomas, and Marc Sabat. *Fundamental Principals of Just Intonation and Microtonal Composition*. Universität der Künste Berlin, Studio für Intonationsforschung und mikrotonale Komposition, 2018. <https://masa.plainsound.org/pdfs/JI.pdf>
- Pournader, Roozbeh. „Proposal to encode two accidentals for Iranian Classical Music.“ April 23, 2020. <https://www.unicode.org/L2/L2020/20159-iran-music-symbols.pdf> [žiūrėta 2024 12 04].

- Sabat, Marc. *The Extended Helmholtz Ellis JI Pitch Notation*. Plainsound Music Edition, 2005. <http://www.marcsabat.com/pdfs/notation.pdf> [žiūrėta 2024 12 08].
- Sabat, Marc, and Wolfgang Schweinitz. *The Extended Helmholtz-Elis JI Pitch Notation*. Plainsound Music Edition, 2004. <https://masa.plainsound.org/pdfs/notation.pdf>
- Safari, Sarvenaz, and Manfred Stahnke. *1001 Mikrotöne*. Neumünster: von Bockel Verlag, 2015.
- Secor, George D., and David C. Keenan. "Sagittal: A Microtonal Notation System." *Xenharmonikôn: An Informal Journal of Experimental Music* 18 (2006): 1–26.
- SMuFL (Standard Music Font Layout). <https://www.w3.org/2021/03/smuf14/tables/extended-stein-zimmermann-accidentals.html> [žiūrėta 2024 12 04].
- Spreadbury, Daniel. *Standard Music Font Layout (SMuFL), Version 1.4, Final Community Group Report 16 March 2021, 2021*. <https://www.w3.org/2021/03/smuf14/>.
- Stone, Kurt. *Music Notation in the Twentieth Century*. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1980.
- [Tenney, James]. *The Music of James Tenney. Soundings*, edited by Peter Garland. Vol. 13, Santa Fe, New Mexico: Soundings Press, 1984. OCLC 11371167.
- Ternström, Sten. "Perceptual evaluations of voice scatter in unison choir sounds." *Journal STL-QPSR* 32 / 2–3 (1991): 041–049.
- Vos, Joos. "The perception of mistuned fifths and major thirds: Thresholds for discrimination, beats, and identification." *Perception & Psychophysics* 32 (1982): 297–313.
- Wannamaker, Robert. *The Music of James Tenney*, vol. 1: *Contexts and Paradigms*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021.

Summary

This article proposes a standardization of the musical notation system by introducing newly designed notational symbols selected through comparative analysis for quarter-tones and other microtonal accidentals to represent microintervals. A new font for these accidentals was developed on the basis of symbols used in Western notation systems for just-intonation and 12-tone equal temperament (12-TET) divisions. These systems include those of Moritz Hauptmann and Hermann von Helmholtz, Ben Johnston's Extended Just Intonation, the Extended Helmholtz-Ellis JI Pitch Notation, and George Secor's Sagittal notation, all

of which have been incorporated into the Standard Music Font Layout (SMuFL) specification. In addition, the Stein-Zimmermann extension of quarter-tone symbols, characterized by arrows indicating smaller intervals, is widely used by composers worldwide. Various notation programs employ different accidental symbols. For example, notation for quarter-tones, eighth-tones, and sixteenth-tones is implemented in the OMicron font, designed for music notation and composition at the IRCAM research laboratory. In the twentieth century, many composers created unique notation systems of their own, which may explain why accidentals have never been fully unified. While SMuFL and many notation programs offer standardized symbols for quarter-tones and sixth-tones, no universally recognized notation standard exists for other microtonal intervals, such as third-tones, sixth-tones, eighth-tones, twelfth-tones, and sixteenth-tones. Recent studies on intervallic relationships in Lithuanian traditional vocal and instrumental music, which reveal interval structures not conforming to the 12-TET system, underline the need for accidental signs capable of precisely notating intervals found in traditional scales as well as contemporary works. For notating intervals in Lithuanian traditional vocal and instrumental music, just-intonation-based notation systems were not selected, since analysis of song examples showed no single tuning or temperament system applicable to all traditional scales. Therefore, the Stein-Zimmermann and OMicron notation symbol standards were chosen, as they are widely implemented in music notation software for quarter-tones and sixth-tones. However, notation for other microtones remains unstandardized. As a solution, this article proposes new accidental signs composed of selected standard symbols combined with newly created complex symbols based on the specifications of two existing notation systems. These signs are intended for use in Microsoft Word and in notation software such as Sibelius, Dorico, and MuseScore. The new font is designed for notating intervals in traditional scales as well as contemporary music. It includes accidentals for five microtones and for the semitone, offering an extended and versatile tool for microtonal notation.

Delivered / Straipsnis įteiktas 2025 05 12

Julija BAGDONAVIČIŪTĖ, Lora KMIELIAUSKAITĖ

Naujos instrumentalumo teritorijos

*New Territories of Instrumentality**

Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, Gedimino pr. 42, LT-01110 Vilnius, Lietuva
lora.kmieliauskaite@lmta.lt., julija.bagdonaviciute@lmta.lt

Anotacija

Šiuo straipsniu siekiama apžvelgti, kaip postinstrumentalumo praktikos transformuoja atlikėjo veiklą šiuolaikinės muzikos kontekste, kai muzikinis veiksmas kuriamas ne vien tradiciniais instrumentais, bet ir menininkų specialiai kuriama ar adaptuojama garso objektais. Analizei pasitelkiama Louise Devenish perspektyva apie postinstrumentalių praktikų dėmenis – instrumentalumą, daugialypiškumą, technikų pernašą ir integraciją. Straipsnyje šis teorinis modelis papildomas įžvalgomis, susijusiomis su atlikėjo perspektyva, o vertinimas remiasi dviejų lietuvių menininkų projektų – fizinio teatro ir muzikos performanso „Kompostas“ (2024) ir ansamblio „Synaesthesia“ programos „Instrumental“ (2025) – analize.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: atlikimas, naujoji muzika, postinstrumentalumas, nauji instrumentai, instrumentalumas.

Abstract

This article examines how post-instrumental practices transform the performer's role in contemporary music, where musical action is shaped not only through traditional instruments but also through sound objects specially created or adapted by interdisciplinary artists. The analysis draws on Louise Devenish's framework for post-instrumental practices—instrumentality, multiplicity, technique transfer, and integration—and supplements it with insights from a performer's perspective. The discussion is grounded in two Lithuanian case studies: the physical theatre and music performance *Kompostas* (2024) and the program *Instrumental* (2025) by the ensemble *Synaesthesia*.

Keywords: performance, new music, post-instrumentality, instrumentality, new instruments.

Scenoje – šiuolaikinės muzikos ansamblis. Penkių muzikų rankose nematyti tradicinių muzikos instrumentų, bet savo forma ir išbaigtumu stebina menininkui Simonui Nekrošui būdingi garso objektai: trapios pučiamųjų konstrukcijos, mobilios struktūros su metaliniais pūstukais, dvistygiai ir tristygiai griežiamieji, gnaibomieji medinukai, dar neturintys „teisėto“ instrumentinio vardo. Ansamblio „Synaesthesia“ nariai neatsiverčia instrukcijų ar partitūrų – įsitraukia į kūrimą: bandoma, tariamasi, klausomasi medžiagos logikos.¹ Tokia atlikėjo darbo prieiga šiandien jau nėra laikoma išimtimi. Tad šiame straipsnyje norima plačiau aptarti muzikos postinstrumentalumo² klausimą ir suminėti jo bruožus.

Šalia visų performatyvių užduočių, naujosios muzikos lauke labai dažnai integruojamos naujos muzikinės užduotys – groti su objektais ar instrumentais, kurie nepriklauso pagrindinei muziko profesijai. Čia, išsiplėtusių atlikimo praktikų fone³, vis dažniau pasitaiko situacijų, kai atlikėjas įtraukiamas į veiklas, kurios reikalauja ne tradicinio instrumentinio meistriškumo, o gebėjimo sąveikauti su įvairiais garso šaltiniais ar technologinėmis sistemomis.

Ši tendencija pastaraisiais metais ypač ryškiai matoma Lietuvos naujosios muzikos lauke. Čia sistemingai daugėja kūrinių, kurių ašis – savadarbiai instrumentai ir garso objektai. Pastebima, kad praktikose, kuriose muzikinė medžiaga

skleidžiasi naujai sukonstruotais instrumentais, vis dažniau instrumentas kuriamas kartu su kūriniu ir pritaikomas konkrečiam atlikėjui. Tokiu būdu instrumentas atveria erdvę ne tik naujam garsynui rasti, bet ir kūniškojo santykio su instrumentu tyrinėjimams, kurių metu rekontekstualizuojama sukaupta muzikinė patirtis. Svarbiausiais pastarųjų metų pavyzdžiais galima laikyti Arturo Bumšteino performansą „Blogi orai“⁴ (2017), Gailės Griciūtės ir Viktorijos Damerell muzikinį įvykį „Sporto grupė“⁵ (2022), Loros Kmieliauskaitės ir Dominyko Digimo muzikinį performansą „Luminous tale“⁶ (2023), Digimo inicijuojamą projektą „Gausme“ (2025). Svarbu, kad šios krypties plėtra vis dažniau inicijuojama pačių atlikėjų, kurie užsako tokio pobūdžio projektus ir prisiima išplėstų praktikų riziką bei atveriamas galimybes. Tarp nagrinėjamų šios krypties kūrybinių atvejų straipsnyje išsamiau aptariami fizinio teatro ir muzikos performansas „Kompostas“⁷ (2024) bei ansamblio „Synaesthesia“ programa „Instrumental“⁸ (2025).

Atsispiriant nuo įvairialypio požiūrio į muzikos instrumentus, kurį atspindi minėti lietuvių menininkų darbai, pagrindinis straipsnyje keliamas tikslas – apžvelgti, kaip postinstrumentinės praktikos, ypač menininkų sukurti, atlikėjams pritaikyti garso objektai, transformuoja atlikėjo profesinę praktiką ir veiksmumą: nuo santykio su medžiaga ir technika iki bendrakūros atsakomybės ir sprendimų logikos?

Teorinės postinstrumentalumo apibrėžtys

Šiuolaikiniai meno tyrimai kuria spalvingą postinstrumentalaus muzikavimo (angl. *post-instrumental practice*) mozaiką, kurioje susipina dėmesys technikos meistriškumui, kūno sąmoningumui ir naujų garsinių potencialų tyrinėjimai. Tokie tyrėjai kaip Linda Jankowska, Håkonas Stene'as, Jessica Aszodi, Jennifer Torrence ir Louise Devenish kiekvienas savaip analizuoja postinstrumentalumo fenomeną, papildydami šį diskursą skirtingais teoriniais ir praktiniais aspektais. Jankowska disertacijoje „For the Beauty of the Act“ (liet. „Veiksmo grožio labui“, 2021) apibrėžia tarpdisciplininį virtuozistikumą kaip gebėjimą susieti techninį meistriškumą su lanksčiu laviravimu tarp skirtingų meno formų. Ji teigia, kad tokia kontekste „atlikėjas gali patirti destabilizuojantį savo atlikėjiškojo *aš* pojūtį, tam tikrą saugumo ir kontrolės scenoje praradimą. Tai savo ruožtu skatina klausti apie išsilavinimą, pageidaujamas pasiruošimo ir repeticijų sistemas ir praktikos svarbą platesniame kultūrinės dabarties kontekste“ (Jankowska 2021: 24). Todėl tarpdisciplininis virtuozistikumas tampa sąlyga, leidžiančia organiškai įsilieti į šiuolaikybės lauką ir besiformuojančius atlikimo kanonus: „Tarpdisciplininis atlikimas – tai procesas, kuriame įvairios meno praktikos sujungiamos į bendrą kūrybinę erdvę“ (ibid.: 45).

Stene'as į šį procesą žvelgia per mušamųjų instrumentų prizmę ir apibūdina atlikėją kaip „nomadinį įgūdžių rinkėją“, kuris, veikiamas technologinių ir kultūrinių impulsų, plečia savo praktikos ribas. Tyrėjas teigia: „Postinstrumentalumas susijęs ne su pabaiga, o su pradžia – naujų santykių su medžiagomis, technologijomis ir erdve kūrimu“ (Stene 2014: 38). Autorius taip pat pabrėžia prisitaikymo prie instrumento svarbą: rašydamas apie savo kaip perkusinininko patirtį jis mini, kad atlikėjai, dirbdami su įvairiais mušamaisiais instrumentais, išsiugdo pagrindines smūgiavimo technikas ir garso formavimo principus, kurie taikomi visiems instrumentams ir sudaro pagrindą tam tikram virtuozistikumui, paremtam šiomis normomis (ibid.: 41). O praktika, kurią Stene'as įvardija kaip postperkusinę (angl. *post-percussion*), suka kita linkme – kanonizuotos žinios čia praranda aiškias ribas, sudėtinga tiksliai numatyti, kokių įgūdžių gali prireikti kompleksiskai muzikinei medžiagai atlikti.

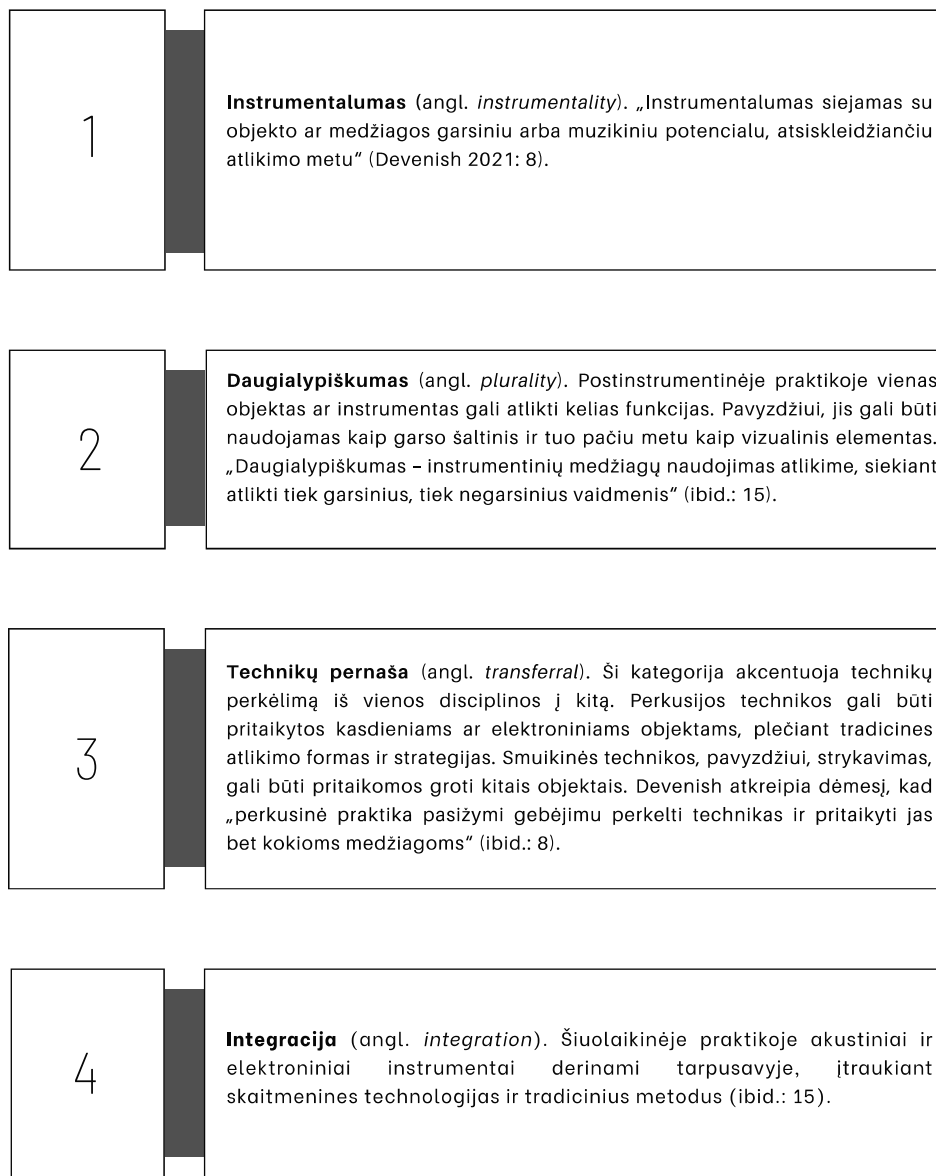
Aszodi sutelkia dėmesį į atlikėjo kūno sąmoningumo ugdymą. Ji teigia: „Kūnas šiuolaikinėje praktikoje tampa ne tik garsą kuriančia priemone, bet ir kontekstine erdve, kurioje garsas, judesys ir vizualumas susipina“ (Aszodi 2017: 112). Torrence toliau plėtoja šią temą, analizuodama kūno, kaip instrumento, koncepciją ir jo santykį su garsinėmis bei negarsinėmis aplinkos savybėmis. „Kūnas tampa pagrindiniu kūrybinės dinamikos elementu“, – rašo ji (Torrence 2019: 78).

Šioje tyrimų panoramoje ypač išsiskiria Devenish, kurios teorija skatina iš naujo ir radikaliai apsvarstyti, kas yra instrumentas ir kaip jis veikia kūrybos procese. Autorė pažymi, kad „kūriniai, kuriuose medžiagos, įprastai suvokiamos kaip instrumentai, įgauna papildomų funkcijų – ampa infrastruktūros, rekvizitų ar net notacijos dalimi, – parodo naujų praktinių ir konceptualių galimybių lauką“ (Devenish 2021: 12). Šis procesas yra neatsitiktinis – tai metodinis perėjimas nuo tradicinės instrumentacijos prie daugiapakopės sąveikos su garsinėmis ir negarsinėmis medžiagomis. Objektų ir nemuzikinių garsų integravimą autorė kildina iš šiuolaikinės perkusijos ir elektronikos suklestėjimo XX a.:

Gebėjimas greitai rasti ir pasitelkti garsinį potencialą arba instrumentalumą iš plataus medžiagų spektro, patikimai naudoti aptiktus garsus atlikimo metu yra išskirtinis dviejų XX a. subrendusių muzikos praktikų – šiuolaikinės perkusijos ir elektroninės muzikos – bruožas. Ypač perkusinė praktika pasižymi instrumentalinio ir techninio visavalgumu – ji sutelkiama ne į specifinių technikų taikymą konkreitiems instrumentams, o į gebėjimą perkelti, vystyti ir pritaikyti esamas technikas bet kokiai medžiagai. Ankstyvuojant šios disciplinos laikotarpiu dažnas atspirties taškas buvo tradicinių mušamųjų lazdelių technikų perkėlimas į įvairius miesto objektus; tačiau nuo to laiko priemonių ir technikų spektras smarkiai išsiplėtė, įtraukiant kasdienes daiktus ir specializuotus įrankius, o smūgiavimas tapo tik viena iš daugelio galimų sąveikos su objektu formų. (Devenish 2021)⁹

Devenish postinstrumentalumo srities tyrinėjimai atskleidžia, kaip medžiagų daugialypiškumas, technikų pernaša ir tarpdisciplininė integracija transformuoja muzikos atlikimą, o paties instrumento apibrėžimas postinstrumentalumo kontekste tampa lankstesnis ir įtraukesnis. Ji pabrėžia, kad ši praktika „instrumentalumo sąvoką išplečia už tradicinių ribų, integruojant objektus, kurie aktyviai dalyvauja muzikos kūrimo procese“ (Devenish 2021: 12). Šis požiūris leidžia įtraukti kasdienes objektus, mikrofonus ar garsiakalbius kaip aktyvius kūrybos dalyvius, o tai ne tik keičia, kaip mes suvokiame instrumentus, bet ir transformuoja atlikėjo santykį su erdve, gestais ir medžiagomis.

Devenish postinstrumentalumo sąvoka apima keturias esmines kategorijas (1 pav.), kurios apibrėžia šios praktikos spektrą. Pirmoji – **instrumentalumas**¹⁰, jį tyrėja apibūdina kaip medžiagų ir objektų potencialo atskleidimą atlikimo metu. Antroji – **daugialypiškumas**, išryškinantis, kaip viena medžiaga gali atlikti kelias funkcijas, pavyzdžiui, būti ir garso, ir vizualinis elementas. Trečioji kategorija – **technikų pernaša**, pabrėžianti skirtingų disciplinų metodų pritaikymą naujuose kontekstuose, o ketvirtoji – **integracija**, susijusi su tarpdisciplinine sinteze,



1 pav. Postinstrumentalumo dėmenys pagal Devenish (Kmieliauskaitė 2026).

apimančia akustinių ir elektroninių elementų derinimą (Devenish 2021: 14–20).

Taigi postinstrumentalumas Devenish darbuose apibrėžiamas kaip veiksmas, kuris ne tik įtraukia netradicines medžiagas ir objektus į kūrybą bei atlikimą, bet ir kviečia naujai apmąstyti patį grojimo veiksmą. Šios išvalgos dera su praktika Lietuvoje: instrumentas nebelaikomas savaime duota profesine baze, jis suprantamas kaip kintanti kūno ir muzikinio audinio sąsaja. Interpretuojant autorės išskirtas postinstrumentalumo kategorijas, šiame straipsnyje analizuojami du kūrybiniai atvejai: fizinio teatro ir muzikos performansas „Kompostas“ (2024) ir šiuolaikinės muzikos ansamblio „Synaesthesia“ programa „Instrumental“ (2025).

Kintantis medžiagiškumas fizinio teatro ir muzikos performanse „Kompostas“

„Kompostas“ buvo sukurtas pianistėms Julijai Bagdonavičiūtei ir Medeinei Mickevičiūtei bendradarbiaujant su kompozitore Jūra Elena Šedyte ir tarpdisciplininė kūrybine komanda.¹¹ Šio darbo išėjimas tašku tapo noras į muzikinę raišką integruoti pačios aplinkos laikinumo ir medžiaginės kaitos principus – tiek konceptualiai, tiek fiziškai transformuojant tai, kas anksčiau buvo laikoma muzikos instrumento esme. Į performansą įtraukiami suirę instrumentai ir objektai yra praradę savo pirminę funkciją, tačiau jie įgauna naują reikšmę kaip garsinės, vizualinės ir dramaturginės performanso struktūros dalys. Tokia kryptis leidžia permąstyti tradicinę instrumento sampratą,

aktualizuojant jo medžiaginį trapumą ir laikinumą kaip kūrybos sąlygą, pasitelkiant preparuotus ir suirusios būklės pianinus, instaliacinius garso objektus, bėgių struktūras ir antrines medžiagas.

Pirmiausia šiame kūrinyje ryškus *instrumentalumas* – gebėjimas išvelgti kūrybinį potencialą netradicinėse, iš pažiūros nereikalingose ar suirusiose medžiagose. Šalia to veikia *daugialypiškumas*, leidžiantis tam pačiam objektui funkcionuoti ne vien kaip garso šaltiniui, bet ir kaip vizualiniam performanso elementui. *Technikų permaša* čia tampa ne tik perkusinių gestų taikymu netipiniams objektams – performanse matyti, kaip įvairios garsinės ir fizinės strategijos iš klasikinės pianizmo praktikos perkeliama į savo praktinės funkcijos iš esmės netekusį objektą. Galiausiai *integracija* reiškia per kūrinio sceninę architektūrą – garsas, performatyvus judesys, kostiumai, šviesa ir scenografija veikia kaip bendros partitūros komponentai. Kūrinio iniciatorė ir atlikėja Bagdonavičiūtė pažymi:

Vienas iš jų [instrumentų] buvo visiškai įprastas pianinas, kurį preparavome tradicinėmis priemonėmis. Kitas – jau gerokai suiręs, be dempferių – groti jo viduje galėjome tik medinėmis lazdelėmis. Tai darant rezonavo ne tik klavišai, bet ir lapai

[medžių], samanų sluoksniai – atsirado savotiškas natūralus akustinis efektas. Trečiasis objektas – išardytas pianino fragmentas – kaboją erdvėje tarsi arfa. Visi trys instrumentai buvo skirtingo laipsnio irimo būsenų, todėl mūsų tikslas buvo išsiaiškinti, kaip jie gali funkcionuoti kartu viename kūrinyje. Taip gimė vadinamasis instrumento nykimo ratas. (Bagdonavičiūtė 2025)¹²

Svarbu pažymėti, kad „Kompostas“ kūrybinė struktūra iš esmės atitinka paskirstytojo kūrybiškumo modelį: partitūrų kūrimo, garso medžiagos tyrimo ir kompozicinių sprendimų procesai buvo organizuojami per kolektyvinius tyrinėjimus – žaidybinėmis struktūromis, improvizacinėmis praktikomis ir tarpdisciplininėmis kūrybinėmis sesijomis. Kaip prisimena Bagdonavičiūtė, „prieš pradėdamos kompoziciją žaisdavome žaidimus, nes Jūra [Šedytė] labai norėjo žaidybiškumo. Ji buvo nupiešusi tokią „gyvatėlės“ principu paremtą partitūrą, ant kurios mes mesdavome kauliuką; ant kurios spalvos sustoji, tik tais klavišais gali groti. Tada kauliuką meta kita – ir vėl kita spalva. Mes su Medeine [Mickevičiūtė] taip žaisdavome improvizuodamos – viskas ir kilo iš to *improviso* principo“ (ibid.). Šiame procese atlikėjos aktyviai formavo kūrinio dramaturgiją



2–3 pav. Fizinio teatro ir muzikos performansas „Kompostas“. Dainiaus Putino nuotr.

ir muzikinės medžiagos logiką per tiesioginę sąveiką su suirusiais muzikiniiais objektais, kuriais kūrinyje siekiama atspindėti skirtingas irimo ir kismo būsenas.¹³ Taip darbas tampa ne tik postinstrumentalumo refleksijos atveju, bet ir dokumentu, liudijančiu atlikėjo veiklos teritorijų raidą bendradarbiaujant.

Postinstrumentalumo praktikos transformuoja tradicinį požiūrį į instrumentą ir atveria naujų garsų kūrimo ir atlikimo galimybių. Kasdieniai objektai, nemuzikinės medžiagos ir net technologiniai įrankiai tampa aktyviais kūrybinio proceso dalyviais, o jų funkcijos plečiasi už įprastų ribų – nuo garso šaltinio iki vizualinio ar net konceptualesnio kūrinio elemento. Toks požiūris į instrumentą ne tik keičia atlikimo techniką, bet ir sukuria naujas garsines, erdvinės ir tarpdisciplinines jungtis. Šiuolaikinėje praktikoje instrumentas virsta dinamiška, daugiafunkce platforma, leidžiančia garso menininkams į kūrybą įtraukti naujų raiškos priemonių.

Postinstrumentalios būsenos. „Instrumental“¹⁴ kūrybinis atvejis

Projekto genezė

Projekto metodinė nuostata rėmėsi individualių garso objektų kūrimu kiekvienam „Synaesthesia“ muzikui, gamybos procesą paliekant menininko Simono Nekrošiaus kompetencijai, be atlikėjų įsitraukimo šiame etape. Antroji projekto fazė buvo orientuota į eksperimentavimą su naujais objektais ir jų performatyvių galimybių tyrimus, siekiant plėsti garsyno ribas ir atlikėjų santykį su instrumentu. Prieš pradėdant kūrybinį procesą, susitikime buvo suderintos kryptys ir lūkesčiai (nuspėsta, kad stygininkai kurs styginiais, pučiamieji – pučiamaisiais instrumentais), paliekant estetinę ir dramaturginę erdvę medžiagai atsiverti repeticiuose. Greta to, išryškėjo atlikėjų poreikis išlaikyti santykį su jiems atpažįstamais instrumentiniais principais: „Gal jie nori to saugumo – visi nori groti savo instrumentais, savais principais“ (Nekrošius 2025); kartu paliekama erdvė technikų migracijai: „Parodžiau jiems styginius instrumentus ir tada visi ir užsikabino už to, kas jiems artima: kad būtų galima griežti ar naudoti instrumentą ir kaip perkusinį“ (ibid.).

Pirmasis atlikėjų susitikimas su objektais buvo jutiminis – sensorinė atranka, per kurią objektai ėmė reikštis kaip instrumentiškai veiksniai medžiaga. Kmieliauskas tai nusako paprastai ir tiksliai: „Įėjai į Simono dirbtuves ir jautiesi kaip vaikystėje, žaislų parduotuvėje: galybė instrumentų, barškaliukų, aparatų, dauguma pirmą kartą matyti. Supranti, kad tai kažkokie instrumentai, bet įdomu pačiupinėt, paknybinėt, kaip kiekvienas objektas išreiškia garsą“ (Kmieliauskas 2025). Ši atlikėjo kūno, instrumento formos ir faktūros sandūra žymėjo postinstrumentalios būsenos pradžią: nuo šio momento objekto savybės pradėjo struktūruoti galimas sąveikos strategijas, atskiriant stabilias praktikas

nuo atsitiktinių eksperimentų. Tokiu būdu „Instrumental“ sukuria aiškia tyrimo situaciją: 1 ašis – objektas kaip skulptūra virsta instrumentu per kūno prisitaikymą ir sąlyčio taškų stabilizaciją; 2 ašis – atlikėjo kompetencijos slenka nuo interpretacijos prie organizuoto eksperimentavimo ir technikų pernašos.

I. Objektas → instrumentas

Stebima:

- Medžiagų savybės, garso objektų formos ir konstrukcijos logika, kuri skleidžiasi per kūno ir medžiagos sąlytį.

Klausimai:

- Kada objektas įgyja instrumentiškumą? Kokius „leidimus“ (angl. *affordances*¹⁵) suteikia atlikėjui? Kaip tie leidimai stabilizuojami iki pakartojamų technikų?

Rodikliai:

- Identifikuojami sąlyčio su instrumentu taškai, apibrėžiamos garsinės savybės, fiksuojami pakartotiniai veikimo būdai.

a) Sensorinis atradimas kaip instrumentalumo užuomazga

Pirmasis kontaktas su Nekrošiaus objektais pasirodo kaip „įėjimas į medžiagos lauką“: aktyvuojasi lytėjimas, vaizdas ir klausymas, o objektai iš „neutralių“ tampa agentiški. Čia gimsta pirmieji sąlyčio taškai ir „mažosios technikos“ (pūtimų, gnaibymo, lietimo ir barbenimo veiksmi). Instrumento garsinis potencialas ir medžiagiškumas atsiskleidžia ne teoriniu apibrėžimu, bet tik per atlikimo situaciją, kai atlikėjas išbando ir atranda naujus skambesius. Taip senos technikos virsta naujomis priemonėmis, atveriančiomis naujas garsines galimybes.

b) Forma ir mastelis konfigūruoja gestą

Instrumento geometrija ir mastelis tiesiogiai konfigūruoja gestą: kol kūnas „susiderina“ su forma, stabilizuojasi laikysena, atramos ir prisilietimo kampai. Ši kaita nėra paviršinė – ji kuria naują technikos gramatiką, kuri vėliau tampa pakartojama. „Man asmeniškai galbūt sunkiausia buvo priėjimas prie savo instrumento. Kadangi jis tiek dydžio, tiek formos prasme gerokai skyrėsi nuo alto, tai man reikėjo laiko, kol išbandžiau visokius man patogius variantus“ (Kiknadzė 2025).

c) Skulptūrinė prieiga prie garso objektų

Kūrėjas pristato garso objektus kaip skulptūras, kuriose formos ir medžiagos pasirinkimas yra pirminis, o garsas suvokiamas kaip praktinės sąveikos rezultatas. Toks mąstymas pastūmėja į unikalų instrumentiškumo paiešką. Nekrošius



4–7 pav. Proceso „Instrumental“ metu sukurti nauji garso objektai – instrumentai. Loros Narkevičiūtės-Kmieliauskės nuotr.

apie garso objektus mąsto skulptūriškai – pirma forma ir medžiaga, tada – garsas kaip pasekmė:

[Nesu linkęs] savo objektų vadinti instrumentais. Man mano objektai labiau kaip skulptūros [...] aš labiau atsispiriu nuo formos. [...] Neturiu pirminės vizijos, koks turi būti objektas, aš eksperimentuoju su medžiaga, ir tada žiūriu, koks tas garsas gaunasi. [...] Viskas vyksta ir įvyksta tik bandymų keliu: kažką atrandi ir žiūri, ar veikia. (Nekrošius 2025)

d) Sąlyčio taškai → naujos technikos

„Instrumental“ atvejuje instrumentalumas ne „duodamas“, o kuriamas naujai: objektas tampa instrumentu tada, kai jo fiziniai bruožai (briaunos, įdubos, paviršiaus faktūra) sujungiami su aiškiai apibrėžtais veiksena parametrais (grojimo su stryku / pirštais vieta, stryko / pirštų spaudimu, garso trukme / oro srautu), o gautas rezultatas pasikartoja. Šie stabilūs deriniai fiksuojami kaip sąlyčio taškai ir įsitvirtina mažosiose technikos – lokalizuotuose, procedūriškai aprašomuose veikimo būduose.

Aišku, tas priėjimas prie instrumento, nori nenori, toks truputį iš akademinės pusės [...] bet iš principo vis tiek yra labai įdomu juos tiesiog matyti, traktuoti ne kaip instrumentus, o tam tikras skulptūras – kaip instrumentus, kuriais gali ne tik virpinti stygas / orą, tačiau ir juos stebėti, grožėtis. (Kmiečiauskas 2025)

Instrumentalumas čia yra procesas, kuriame identifikuojami objekto leidimai (angl. *affordances*), kurie repetitijų metu įvardijami ir fiksuojami. Toks procesinis, ribas peržengiantis instrumentalumas tiksliai dera su Stene'o siūloma postinstrumentalumo samprata: ne klasifikacija pagal tipą ar žanrą, o veiksenų atvirumas ir „klajojantis“ santykis su medžiaga (Stene 2014).

II. Interpretacija → garso galimybių tyrinėjimas ir technikų kūrimas

Stebima:

- Technikų pernaša, naujų gestų kūrimas, repetitijų metodikos.

Klausimai:

- Kokių gebėjimų, be tradicinio meistriškumo, reikalaujama? Kaip fiksuojamos ir integruojamos naujos technikos?

Rodikliai:

- Improvizaciniai bandymai naudojami kaip tyrimo priemonė, nestabilūs garsiniai atradimai tikrinami ir lyginami tarp atlikėjų, technikos išryškėja repetitijų metu per kolektyvinį eksperimentavimą, organizuojamos bendros taisyklės ansambliui, o atradimų logika fiksuojama atlikėjų refleksijose ir pokalbiuose.

a) Įgūdžių migracija. Atsispyrimas nuo profesinės tapatybės

Prieš pradėdant detalizuoti instrumentinės technikos kismą grojimo su savadarbiais muzikos instrumentais situacijoje svarbu akcentuoti, kad atlikėjai nuo pat proceso pradžios liko iš dalies ištikimi savo originaliems muzikos instrumentais:

Prieš Simonui pradėdant kurti instrumentus, mes aptarėme, į kurią pusę tikėtumės, kad mūsų instrumentai kryptų. Pavyzdžiui, kadangi mudu su Arnu grojam styginiais instrumentais, tai ir prašėm, kad mums pagamintų styginius ir atitinkamai su pučiamaisiais. (Kiknadzė 2025)

Atlikėjų lūkestis išlaikyti tam tikras klasikinių instrumentų turimas charakteristikas natūraliai sukuria įgūdžių pernašos situaciją, nes ilgametė profesinė praktika tampa stabilizuojančiu elementu nepažįstamoje kūrybinėje situacijoje. Tokiu būdu ši situacija artima Stene'o (2014) aprašytai „nomadinių įgūdžių rinkėjo“ idėjai, kai atlikėjo kompetencija nuolat juda, migruoja tarp skirtingų medžiagų ir situacijų, prarasdama vieną stabilią atramą, bet atsiverdama naujoms praktikoms:

Smagu, kad mes ir gauname tokius pusiau atitikmenis pagal savo instrumentus, nes kažkiek tame esame pažengę ir galime atsispirti jau nuo savo turimų įrankių ar *skillsų* [liet. įgūdžių – *aut. past.*]. Ir tai irgi smagu suvaldyti: ir šitoje programoje, ir apskritai, kai *skillsai*, kuriuos tu turi su instrumentu, yra kartu gretinami su eksperimentavimu. Tai galima pasakyti, kad tai yra toks šiek tiek organizuotas eksperimentavimas, arba atvirkščiai – tokia eksperimentinė kompozicija. Viskas yra kažkur per vidurį. (Kaupinis 2025)

Kai atlikėjas groja ne sau įprastu instrumentu, jo sukaupta kompetencija negali būti traktuojama kaip galutinio rezultato garantija: ji tampa tyrimo priemone, startine platforma, nuo kurios atsispiriama bandant, testuojant ir koreguojant technikas. Tokiu būdu instrumentinė patirtis transformuojasi iš užbaigtos, kanoniškai patvirtintos sistemos į nuolat kintantį žinojimą, kuris prisitaiko prie naujų formų ir garsinių situacijų. Todėl Kaupinio mintis atveria įžvalgą: per instrumentinę praktiką įgyti įgūdžiai tampa procesą organizuojančia, bet ne rezultatą garantuojančia priemone, leidžiančia laisviau plėtoti muzikinę medžiagą nestabilioje ir neprognozuojamo garso situacijoje.

b) Pažįstamos technikos → nauji garsai

Naujai sukurti instrumentai iš pradžių provokuoja atlikėją taikyti įprastas, su profesine praktika susijusias technikas, tačiau šios technikos nepažįstame kontekste atskleidžia kitokį, nenumatytą garsinį rezultatą. Kmiečiauskas šį reiškinį apibūdina kalbėdamas apie flažoletų ir multifoninių garsų paieškas:

Ant čelės [yra] flažoletai, o čia atsiranda papildomų, tarpinių garsų. Gal tie patys *multifonics'ai*, kurie čelėje taip lengvai nepasiduoda, o čia kažkaip lengviau „atsiliepia“: tarp esamų flažoletų, tarp *arpeggio* – atsiranda tarpiniai punktai. [...] Tai tokie kažkokie nauji spektro dalykai. Pamatai daugiau galimybių, ne vien „čelinių“ išraiškų, per tuos *multifonics'us* – atrandi naują skambesį to instrumento, kurio galbūt čelėje nepamatytum. Kažko čia nėra – ir atrandi naujų spalvų. (Kmiellauskas 2025)

Ši patirtis rodo, kad tradicinės technikos, perkeltos į naują objektą, nebėra tik mechaninis atkartojimas, jos tampa eksperimentine strategija, išryškinančia naujus garsinės medžiagos sluoksnius.

c) Repeticijų struktūra

Ilgūdžių pernaša ir įprastų technikų transformacija žymi atskirus, su individualaus grojimo procesu susijusius atradimus, o bendrų repeticijų procesas tampa erdve, kurioje šie atradimai yra tikrinami, fiksuojami, sisteminami ir jungiami į bendrą ansamblinę mintį. Kaupinis teigia:

Po truputį atrandi, ką gali kontroliuoti, kas gali vesti į ansambliskumą, kokios skirtingos tekstūros, ir pačią jau garsinę dramaturgiją tai darėmės patys. Vis tiek kažkiek ir improvizuodami atradome, kas mums patinka, ir tada turėjome jau tokią abstrakčią dramaturgiją lyg ir suvokdami, kiek maždaug galime sau leisti. (Kaupinis 2025)

Repeticijų metu išryškėjo Kaupinio apibrėžta „organizuoto eksperimento“ situacija. Čia išryškėjo improvizacinių ilgūdžių, giliojo klausymosi (angl. *deep listening*⁶) svarba:

Eksperimentuoja tiek su savo objektu, kurį turi, tiek su kitais ansamblio nariais ir jų garsais. Tai reikalauja ypatingo jautrumo ir tam tikrų improvizacinių ilgūdžių, taisyklių: kaip nebūti per daug ir nebūti per mažai; kada groti, kada negroti, kaip užleisti kitą. Kada užtenka visko, kas jau yra ant scenos, ir gali tiesiog pabūti, paklausyti su visais. (Ibid.)

Kartais repeticijas vedavo viena grupė – pavyzdžiui, pučiamieji ar styginiai, kitąkart procesas rėmėsi spontanišku muzikavimu ar atlikėjų diskusijomis. Tokia dinamika ne tik padėjo užtikrinti ansamblinę pusiausvyrą paskirstant iniciatyvą, bet ir transformavo improvizacinius momentus į atpažįstamas technikas, kurios įsitvirtindavo kaip pakartojami veikimo būdai: „Viskas vyko bendrų ir grupinių repeticijų metu. Žiūrėjom, kokie garsai mums patinka, kokie garsai veikia tarpusavyje, ir bandėm viską klijuoti bendru sutarimu“ (Kiknadžė 2025). Tokiu būdu repeticijos virto laboratorija, kurioje improvizacija, gilusis klausymasis ir disciplinuotas bandymų fiksavimas veikė kaip lygiaverčiai principai, padedantys stabilizuoti individualius atradimus į ansamblinę muzikavimo sistemą.

Šios trys perspektyvos rodo, kad postinstrumentinėje praktikoje atlikėjo veikla nuo interpretatoriaus vaidmens slenka kūrybinio tyrinėjimo link. Ilgūdžių pernaša rodo, jog profesinės kompetencijos yra ne mechaniskai perkeltamos į naują kontekstą, bet nuolat perkonfigūruojamos, kai atlikėjas susiduria su nepažįstamos logikos instrumentu. Konkretinių instrumentinių technikų perkėlimas į naują objektą generuoja netikėtus garsinius rezultatus, kurie transformuoja tradicines technikas į naujas praktikavimosi strategijas. Galiausiai repeticijų procesas funkcionuoja kaip laboratorija, kurioje individualūs atradimai yra tikrinami ir integruojami į bendrą ansamblio praktiką.

Išvados

Straipsnyje aptartos postinstrumentalumo praktikos rodo, kad atlikėjo vaidmuo plečiasi nuo interpretatoriaus link tyrėjo, technikų kūrėjo ir bendraautorio, o instrumentas čia veikia kaip sąlyga, leidžianti išlaisvinti papildomą kūrybiškumo lygmenį. Tokios situacijos keičia repeticijų procesą, kuris tampa laboratorija: jų metu generuojamos ir stabilizuojamos naujos technikų rūšys, formuojama bendra sprendimų logika ir kuriama kolektyvinė dramaturgija. Kaita neišvengiamai paveikia ir muziko rengimo paradigmą, nes vis aiškiau matomas poreikis ugdyti ne tik instrumentinį meistriskumą, bet ir gebėjimą sąveikauti su įvairiomis medžiagomis, technologijomis ir tarpdisciplininėmis kūrybos formomis. Tokiu būdu postinstrumentalumo reiškinys ne tik atveria naujus garsinius horizontus, bet ir kelia klausimų, kaip šiuolaikinė muzikos ekosistema geba absorbuoti kintančius instrumentiškumo, autorystės dėmenis. Taip pat iškeliamas poreikis permąstyti muzikų rengimo modelius, atsižvelgiant į besikeičiančias atlikėjo funkcijas ir naujas kūrybines praktikas.

Nuorodos

- * Finansavimą skyrė Lietuvos mokslo taryba (LMTLT), sutarties Nr. S-A-UEI-23-4.
- ¹ Kalbama apie 2025 m. rugpjūčio 19 d. „Playground“ naujosios muzikos koncertų serijoje Sapiegų rūmuose Vilniuje nuskambėjusią garso instaliaciją „Instrumental“.
- ² Terminą „postinstrumentalumas“ pirmasis aiškiai pasiūlo Håkonas Stene (2014: 2, 35), jį siedamas su postperkusine praktika (Stene 2014: 12), o Louise Devenish (2021) šį lauką konceptualiai išplečia ir išskaido dėmenimis (instrumentalumas, daugialypiškumas, technikų pernaša, integracija).
- ³ I šsiplėtusios muzikinės praktikos problematika reflektuojama kompozitoriaus Marko Ciciliani straipsnyje „Music in the Expanded Field – On Recent Approaches to Interdisciplinary Composition“ (liet. „Muzika išplėstame lauke – apie šiuolaikinės tarpdisciplininės kompozicijos kryptis“, 2017). Autorius

inicijavo apklausą, kuria siekė išsiaiškinti, kokių papildomų įgūdžių kompozitoriams tenka išmokti, įgyvendinant savo kūrybines idėjas: „Tai buvo vaizdo įrašų redagavimas, VJ įrankiai, naudojimas vaizdo kameromis bei fotoaparatais, inscenizacija ir apšvietimas, programavimas, litavimas, siuvinimas...“ (2017: 25). Tačiau su analogiška situacija susiduria ir muzikos atlikėjai: pavyzdžiui, muzikos ansamblyje „NADAR“ atlikėjai sklandžiai derina kelis vaidmenis: smuikininkė Marieke Berendsen kartu yra ir scenografė, Thomas R. Moore – trombonininkas, dirigentas ir techninis koordinatorius (Allan F. Moore, cit. iš Bagdonavičiūtė, 2024: 120).

⁴ Žr. <https://arturasbumsteinas.com/works/2017-3/badweather/> [žiūrėta 2025 09 02]. Vėlesniais metais iš šio darbo išaugo darbų serija „Navigations“. Žr. <https://arturasbumsteinas.com/navigation/> [žiūrėta 2025 08 28].

⁵ Žr. <https://operomanija.lt/repertuaras/sporto-grupe/> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].

⁶ Žr. <https://lorakmieliauskaite.com/luminous-tale-1> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].

⁷ Žr. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHnyZdvqR8Y> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].

⁸ Žr. <https://sapiegurumai.lt/en/events/instrumental-performative-sound-installation/> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].

⁹ Žr. https://www.musicandpractice.org/instrumental-infrastructure-instrumental-sculpture-and-instrumental-scores-a-post-instrumental-practice/#Instrumentality_and_technique_transferral [žiūrėta 2025 08 12].

¹⁰ Autorė teigia, kad sąvoka *instrumentalumas* yra kur kas tinkamesnė šio darbo kontekste nei terminas „instrumentas“, nes šiuolaikinėje muzikoje nėra bendro sutarimo dėl muzikinio instrumento apibrėžties, ypač atsižvelgiant į plačiai taikomas skaitmenines sąsajas muzikos praktikoje (Devenish 2021).

¹¹ Kūrybinė komanda: pianistės Julija Bagdonavičiūtė ir Medeinė Mickevičiūtė, cirko artistas Lukas Dirsė, kompozitorė Jūra Elena Šedytė, režisierė Greta Štiormer, scenografas Martynas Bernatonis, kostiumų dailininkė Valdemara Jasulaitytė, šviesų menininkė Saskia Fischer, šviesų asistentas Edgaras Varkulevičius, partitūrų dizainerė Kamilė Dambrauskaitė, prodiuserė Erika Urbelevič, kūrybinės dalies konsultantė Rugilė Barzdžiukaitė, garso techninis konsultantas Simonas Nekrošius.

¹² Iš nepublikuoto Loros Kmieliauskaitės pokalbio su Julija Bagdonavičiūte (2025).

¹³ Pavyzdžiui, instrumentas a) – tai vidinė pianino dalis, išardyta ir išimta iš instrumento, ilgą laiką stovėjusio vandenyje; b) – instrumentas, neturėjęs ryškių defektų ar nukrypimų nuo normų; c) – pora metų lauke stovėjęs pianinas, pradėjęs fiziškai irti. Instrumento ypatybė – jo klavišai nebeįspaudžia, galima groti tik stygomis. Taigi visais atvejais turime tą patį muzikos instrumentą – pianiną, tačiau kūrinio metu atskleidžiamos skirtingos šio objekto būsenos, sąlygotos nevienodų gyvenimo sąlygų. Siekdama dar stipriau išryškinti šį pokytį, kūrybinė komanda iškėlė sąlygą kiekvienam instrumentui aplink save kurti naujas logines taisykles. Pavyzdžiui, instrumentą a) nutarta pakabinti ore dviejų metrų aukštyje, o grojimas juo galimas tik su ilgomis bambukinėmis lazdomis, prie jų pritvirtinant skirtingus objektus (varžtus, pianino plaktukus). Instrumentą b) pasirinkta paruošti, garsus pagal skambėjimo pobūdį suskirstant į keturias kategorijas; c) paruošiamas tik mediniai pagaliukai, per juos ir vyksta grojimo procesas: papreparavus (įtrynus) pagaliukus kanifolija ir skirtingu greičiu juos braukant, išgaunami įvairių aukščių ir intensyvumų garsai.

¹⁴ Šiame projekte kuria ansamblio „Synaesthesia“ nariai: Arnas Kmieliauskas, Monika Kiknadzė, Artūras Kažimėkas, Simonas Kaupinis, Arminas Bižys.

¹⁵ Leidimai (angl. *affordances*) formuojasi per pasikartojančias kūno sąveikas, kai susiformavęs žinojimas lemia tam tikrą nuspėjamumą, lūkesčius, kurių tikimasi iš instrumento: pavyzdžiui, matant fortepijoną, galvoje jau girdimas instrumento skleidžiamas garsas, matomi veiksmai, reikalingi garsui išgauti. Jie skleidžiasi kaip visų akivaizdžių ir paslėptų motorinių kūno veiksmų visuma, kurią galima realizuoti tik gyvo muzikos atlikimo procese (López Cano 2006: 11).

¹⁶ *Deep listening* – kompozitorės ir garso tyrėjos Pauline Oliveros sukurta sąvoka, apibrėžianti išplėstą klausymosi praktiką, apimančią garsinę patirtį, kūno jutimus, aplinkos akustiką, vaizduotę ir sąmoningumą. Praktika siekia integruoti atlikimą, klausymąsi ir aplinkos suvokimą į bendrą patyrimą.

Literatūra

- Aszodi, Jessica. “Undisciplined Music.” *New Music Box*, April 19, 2017. <https://nmbx.newmusicusa.org/undisciplined-music/> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].
- Bagdonavičiūtė, Julija. „Tarp materialumo ir postmaterialumo: atlikėjo veikimo ypatybės šiuolaikinės muzikos praktikoje.“ *Ars et praxis*, XII (2024): 119–132. https://zurnalai.lmta.lt/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Ars-et-praxis_XII_Bagdonaviciute.pdf [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].
- Ciciliani, Marko. “Music in the Expanded Field – On Recent Approaches to Interdisciplinary Composition.” In *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik*, Band 24, edited by Michael Rebhahn and Thomas Schäfer, 23–35. Mainz: Schott Music, 2017. https://www.ciciliani.com/uploads/1/3/1/5/131556658/da_24_ciciliani.pdf [žiūrėta 2025 08 20].
- Devenish, Louise. “Instrumental Infrastructure, Instrumental Sculpture and Instrumental Scores: A Post-Instrumental Practice.” *Music & Practice* 9, 2021. <https://www.musicandpractice.org/instrumental-infrastructure-instrumental-sculpture-and-instrumental-scores-a-post-instrumental-practice/> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].
- Devenish, Louise. “Instrumental infrastructure: sheet materials, gesture and musical performance.” In *Embodied Gestures*, edited by E. Tomás Calderón, T. Gorbach, H. Tellioglu & M. Kaltenbrunner, 11–20. Vienna: TU Wien Academic Press, 2022. DOI: 10.34727/2022/isbn.978-3-85448-047-1 [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].
- Jankowska, Linda. *For the beauty of the act. Reflections on the concept of interdisciplinary virtuosity in new music performance*. Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield, 2021. <https://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/35755> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].
- López-Cano, Rubén. What kind of affordances are musical affordances? A semiotic approach [pranešimas skaitytas *Lascolto musicale: condotta, pratiche, grammatiche. Terzo Simposio Internazionale sulle Scienze del Linguaggio Musicale*], 2006. Nuoroda internete: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ruben-Lopez-Cano/publication/318278696_What_kind_of_affordances_are_musical_affordances_A_semiotic_approach/links/660321e0a6d9fc55fd991df7/What-kind-of-affordances-are-musical-affordances-A-semiotic-approach.pdf [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].

- Oliveros, Pauline. *Deep Listening: A Composer's Sound Practice*, New York: iUniverse, 2005.
- Stene, Håkon. "This is Not a Drum": *Towards a Post-Instrumental Practice*. Oslo: Norwegian Academy of Music, 2014.
- Torrence, Jennifer. "Percussion Theatre: a body in between." In *Norwegian Academy of Music*, 2019. Nuoroda internete: <https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/533313/533314/0/0> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].

Šaltiniai

- „Instrumental“. <https://sapiegurumai.lt/renginiai/instrumental-performatyvi-garso-instaliacij/> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].
- „Kompostas“. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHnyZd-vqR8Y> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].
- „Luminous tale“. <https://lorakmieliauskaite.com/luminous-tale-1> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].
- „Navigations“. <https://arturasbumsteinas.com/navigation/> [žiūrėta 2025 08 28].
- „Sporto grupė“. <https://operomanija.lt/repertuaras/sporto-grupe/> [žiūrėta 2025 08 31].
- Bagdonavičiūtė Julija. Kokybinis interviu su Lora Kmieliauskaite. 2025 m. vasaris.
- Kiknadžė Monika. Kokybinis interviu su Julija Bagdonavičiūte. 2025 m. rugpjūtis.
- Kmieliauskas Arnas. Kokybinis interviu su Lora Kmieliauskaite. 2025 m. rugpjūtis.
- Nekrošius Simonas. Kokybinis interviu su Julija Bagdonavičiūte, Lora Kmieliauskaite. 2025 m. rugpjūtis.
- „Vilnius Radio“ laida „Playground“, ved. Lora Kmieliauskaitė. <https://radiovilnius.live/w-simonas-nekrosius-simonas-kaupinis-arminas-bizys/> [žiūrėta 2025 08 28].

Summary

The article explores how post-instrumental practices expand the performer's agency by redefining instruments as creative agents rather than passive tools. Drawing on Louise Devenish's categories of instrumentality, multiplicity, technique transfer, and integration, the study highlights how performers engage with custom-built and decayed sound objects through experimentation, adaptation, and rehearsal processes that resemble collaborative laboratories. Through analyses of two Lithuanian case studies—*Kompostas* (2024) and *Instrumental* (2025)—the article demonstrates how performers' roles shift from interpreters to co-creators, developing new technical strategies and dramaturgical solutions. These findings indicate broader transformations in musicianship, in which traditional notions of virtuosity are redefined through interdisciplinary collaboration and material exploration.

Delivered / Straipsnis įteiktas 2025 09 05

Recenzijos / Reviews

Danutė PETRAUSKAITĖ

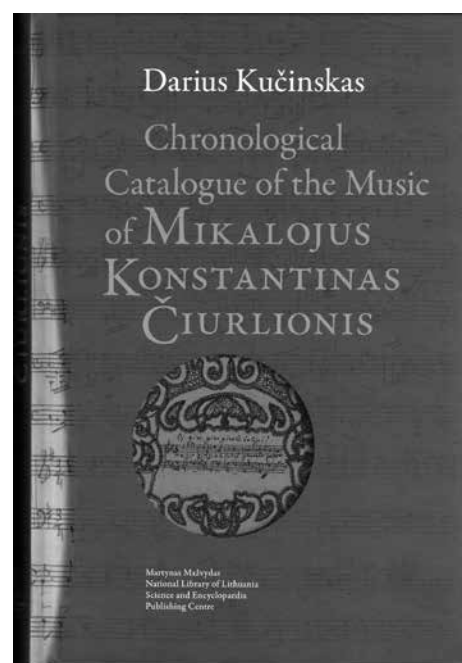
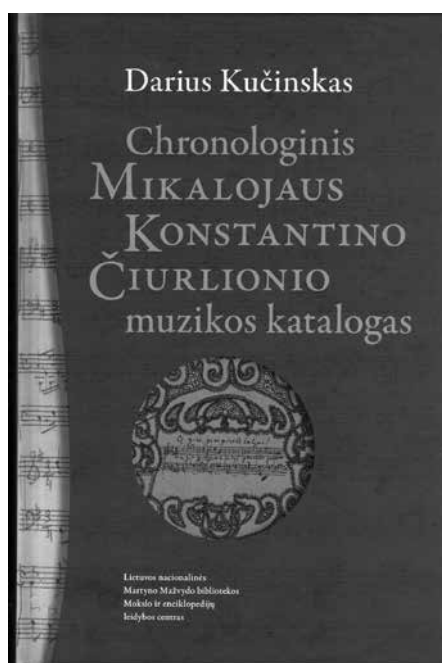
Darius Kučinskas ir Čiurlioniana: „Chronologinis Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio muzikos katalogas“

Darius Kučinskas – vienas iš nedaugelio mokslininkų, ilgai ir sistemingai tyrinjančių Čiurlionio muzikinį palikimą. Pažintis su šiuo kompozitoriumi ir dailininku prasidėjo dar mokantis Vilniaus Juozo Tallat-Kelpšos aukštesniojoje muzikos mokykloje (dabar – konservatorija) pas mokytoją Ritą Sakalienę, vėliau – Lietuvos muzikos akademijos (dabar – Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija) Birutės Vainiūnaitės fortepijono klasėje. Tačiau jaunąjį atlikėją Čiurlionio muzikos link labiausiai pastūmėjo noras dalyvauti 1991 m. tarptautiniame Čiurlionio vardo pianistų konkurse, atvedusiame į Nacionalinį Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio dailės muziejų Kaune (tuomet dar Valstybinį M. K. Čiurlionio muziejų). Kai išaiškėjo, kad jame trūksta muzikos tyrėjų, Kučinskas mielai priėmė pasiūlymą įsidarbinti ir 1990–1998 m. ėjo vyresniojo mokslo darbuotojo pareigas. Tuomet jam ir atsivėrė įstabus Čiurlionio meno pasaulis, pasukęs jaunojo pianisto kelią muzikologijos link.

Nuo tada Kučinskas ėmė nuosekliai gilintis į šio menininko muzikinį palikimą. Jis nesitenkino vien 1993 m. baigtomis studijomis, bet toliau tęsė mokslus magistrantūroje, po kelerių metų ėmė rengti disertaciją „M. K. Čiurlionio fortepijoninės muzikos tekstas (genezės aspektas)“ (vadovas – prof. dr. Eugenijus Ignatonis), kurią 2002 m. sėkmingai apgynė, o netrukus (2004) jos pagrindu išleido monografiją tuo pačiu pavadinimu. Tiek dirbant Jono Petronio muzikos leidyklos redaktoriumi ir natografu, tiek įsitraukus į pedagoginę ir mokslinę veiklą Kauno technologijos universitete, Čiurlionio muzika visuomet išliko Kučinsko mokslinio dėmesio centre. Jis parengė leidybai ir prikėlė naujam gyvenimui nemažai šio kompozitoriaus chorinių ir fortepijoninių kūrinių: „Kyrie“, „Gloria“, „Agnus“ (1993), „Penkis chorus“ Sofijos Kymantaitės tekstais (1995), „Temą ir variacijas D-dur“ (1995), „Pjeses fortepijonui“ (1996), „Ankstyvuosius kanonus“ (1998), „Fugą b-moll“ (faksimilė

Darius Kučinskas.
*Chronologinis Mikalojaus
Konstantino Čiurlionio
muzikos katalogas*. Vilnius:
Lietuvos nacionalinės Martyno
Mažvydo bibliotekos Mokslo ir
enciklopedijų leidybos centras,
2025. 520 p.

Darius Kučinskas.
*Chronological Catalogue of the
Music of Mikalojus Konstantinas
Čiurlionis*. Vilnius: The
Science and Encyclopedia
Publishing Center of the
National Martynas Mažvydas
Library, 2025. 552 p.



ir urtekstas, 2000); knygų ir straipsnių pavidalu paskelbė spaudoje savo tyrimų rezultatus: „M. K. Čiurlionio kūrinių fortepijonui: rankraščiai ir redakcijos“ (1999), „Trys etiudai apie Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio muziką“ (*Three Etudes on Music of Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis*, 2003), „M. K. Čiurlionio muzikinis alfabetas“ (1992), „Peculiarities of Musical Text of Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis“ (2002), „Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio muzikos kūrinių leidyba“ (2003), „Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis and the Evolution of the Serial Compositional Technique in Lithuania“ (2005), „M. K. Čiurlionio muzikinio fondo tyrimai 1990–2002 m.“ (2005), „Neišlikę Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio muzikos rankraščiai“ (2006), „Čiurlionio muzika: urteksto siekiamybė“ (2019) ir kt. O kur dar apie 60 skaitytų pranešimų tarptautinėse konferencijose – pradedant Kaunu bei Vilniumi ir baigiant Ciurichu, Helsinkiu, Krokuvą, Roma, Paryžiumi, Tokiju... Taigi Kučinsko dėka žinios apie Čiurlionio muzikinę kūrybą plačiai pasklido po užsienio kraštus.

Tačiau daugiausia laiko ir jėgų pareikalavo „Chronologinis Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio katalogas“ (toliau – „Katalogas“), pasirodęs Kaune 2007 m. ir sulaukęs nemenko muzikologų ir atlikėjų dėmesio. Nors Lietuvos muzikų bendruomenėje jau buvo įsitvirtinusi prof. Vytauto Landsbergio dar 1971 m. parengta ir vėliau ne kartą patikslinta Čiurlionio kūrinių numeracija, Kučinskas, atradęs naujų šio kompozitoriaus kūrinių ir jų eskizų, nutarė paskelbti tikslesnį „Katalogą“, atsisakydamas anksčiau vyravusio meninio vertinimo principo ir kūrinių skirstymo į žanrus (Vytautas Landsbergis) ar opusus (Jadvyga Čiurlionytė). Į „Katalogą“ jis įtraukė visus Čiurlionio muzikos darbus: užrašytas arba perrašytas liaudies dainas ar kitų autorių kūrinius, jo originaliąją kūrybą, harmonizacijas, net studijų užduotis – švarraščius ir juodraščius. „Katalogo“ pasirodymą sąlygojo ir Nacionaliniame M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejuje vykusi archyvo reinventorizacija, savarankiškas Čiurlionio fondo suformavimas. Tik Kučinskui iš karto nepavyko visko sužiūrėti, todėl 2008 m. išėjo antrasis papildytas ir pataisytas „Katalogo“ leidimas. „Katalogas“ pastūmėjo kitus muzikus imtis nebaigtų kūrinių rekonstravimo. Taip atgimė Čiurlionio Sonata smuikui (I ir II d. rekonstravo Rokas Zubovas ir Aidas Strimaitis), Simfonija Nr. 1 (rekonstravo Jurgis Juozapaitis), simfoninės poemos „Dies irae“ (rekonstravo Giedrius Kuprevičius) ir „Pasaulio sutvėrimas“ (rekonstravo Arvydas Malcys ir Rokas Zubovas).

Bet laikas nestovi vietoje. Nors per pastaruosius 17 metų naujų Čiurlionio kūrinių neatsirado, artėjant šio kompozitoriaus 150-osioms gimimo metinėms, Kučinsko iniciatyva dienos šviesą išvydo trečias, dar kartą atnaujintas „Chronologinis Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio muzikos katalogas“, jį išleido Lietuvos nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo bibliotekos Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos centras. Kuo jis skiriasi nuo ankstesnių leidinių? Apie tai galima spręsti

iš paskelbtų visiems trims leidimams pratarčių ir paties autoriaus paaiškinimų. Pirmiausia buvo patikslinta kūrinių saugojimo vieta. Įvykus institucinei pertvarkai, kai kurie archyvai pakeitė savo vietą, pasikeitė ir jų pavadinimai. Taip pat buvo nutarta suvienodinti senojo (Julijaus) ir naujojo (Grigaliaus) kalendorių datas, tad atsirado nauja santrauka – NS (naujasis stilius). Tačiau tai padaryta atsargiai, naująją datą prie kūrinių įrašant skliausteliuose tik ten, kur Čiurlionis naudojo Rusijos imperijos teritorijoje vyravusį senąjį kalendorių.

Kučinskas naujai įvertino ir rankraščių pobūdį, todėl, rengiant sąrašą, jam teko sujungti ar išskirti kai kuriuos kūrinius, tad atsirado naujų pozicijų ir naujų indeksų. Buvo atsižvelgta ir į Čiurlionio kūriniuose atsiradusias atonalumo apraiškas, todėl pagrįstai atsisakyta įvardyti 9 preliudų ir 2 fugų tonacijas, nurodytas tik jų atraminis tonas. Patikslinti ir kūrinių pavadinimai. Pavyzdžiui, atidžiau įsiskaičius į Čiurlionio laišką, valsas „Lokio riaušojimas“ pervardintas į „Meškos niurnėjimą“, o remiantis eilėraščio vertimu, duetas „Mikit, lankos“ – į „Labos nakties“.

Esama pakeitimų ir vokalinės muzikos srityje – šešios užrašytos liaudies dainos buvo sujungtos su jų harmonizacijomis. Tokiu būdu taikant naująją numeraciją, pavyko identifikuoti ir įtraukti į čiurlionistikos apyvartą apie 100 naujų Čiurlionio muzikos kūrinių ar jų eskizų, kurie anksčiau jokiuose kūrybos sąvaduose nebuvo minimi. „Katalogo“ sudarytojas nesivadovavo vien savo sprendimais, jis konsultavosi su kitais Čiurlionio muzikos žinovais – Rimantu Astrausku, Vytautu Landsbergiu, Rimantu Janeliausku, Yumiko Nunokawa, Ryčiu Urniežiumi, Roku Zubovu, įsiklausė į jų pastabas, pasiūlymus ir leidinio pratarinėje jiems padėjo.

„Katalogas“ – tai solidi 520 puslapių knyga, kurią sudaro trys stambūs skyriai. Pirmasis jų skirtas Čiurlionio muzikos rankraščiams, saugomiems įvairiuose archyvuose. Jis savo ruožtu padalytas į keturis poskyrius. Pirmajame apžvelgiami rankraščiai, atsidūrę valstybinėse Lietuvos institucijose – Nacionaliniame M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejuje, kuriam priklauso šio kompozitoriaus rinkiniai bei fondas ir Antano Žmuidzinavičiaus muziejus, taip pat Lietuvos literatūros ir meno archyve, Vilniaus universiteto Mokslinių tyrimų ir paveldo rinkinių departamento Rankraščių skyriuje saugomame Jadvygos Čiurlionytės fonde. Rankraščiams priskiriamos ne tik natos, bet ir liaudies dainų vinjetės, piešimo albumėliai, muzikos kūrinių citatos laiškuose, kur įrašytos natos. Kaip matyti iš įvardytų vienetų numeracijos, didžiausia šio lobyno dalis sutelkta pagrindinėse Nacionalinio M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejaus patalpose, nes Antano Žmuidzinavičiaus muziejaus fonduose tėra tik dvi Čiurlionio jam dovanotos harmonizuotos lietuvių liaudies dainos. Palyginus su Jadvygos Čiurlionytės 11 lapų jos brolio kūrinių fragmentais, dovanotais Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekai, ir Literatūros ir meno archyve saugomu simfoninės

poemos „Miške“ klavyru bei juodraščiais, akivaizdu, kad visas Čiurlionio palikimas sukaupytas Kaune. Tarpukario metais laikinoji Lietuvos sostinė sugebėjo ne tik pastatyti Čiurlioniui galeriją, bet ir jo šeimos narių bei kitų kūrybos puoselėtojų pastangomis suformuoti dideles šio menininko dailės ir muzikos kolekcijas.

Į pirmąjį „Katalogo“ skyrių Kučinskas įtraukė ir privačias bei užsienio institucijas. Tiesa, jų vos keletas – tai Vytauto Landsbergio archyvas, depozito teisėmis saugomas Lietuvos literatūros ir meno archyve Vilniuje, ir Čikagoje esantis Lituaniistikos tyrimo centras. Landsbergio, ne vieną dešimtmetį tyrinėjusio Čiurlionio palikimą, archyve atsidadė tik keli Jadvygos Čiurlionytės dovanoti lapai iš neišlikusio vargoninių kūrinių sąsiuvinio, o Čikagoje saugomas sąsiuvinis su aštuoniomis harmonizuotomis liaudies dainomis ir mišriam chorui pritaikyta Vinco Kudirkos „Tautiška giesmė“. Tik kyla klausimas – ar šis kūrinėlis yra tikrai kompozitoriaus ranka rašytas, o ne jo amžininkų perrašytas? Juk šia tema buvo įvairių pasvarstymų. Čiurlionio kūriniai į Čikagą pateko Juozo Žilevičiaus dėka. 1929 m. sausį jis juos laivu iš Klaipėdos išsigabeno į Ameriką kartu su didžiąja savo Muzikologijos archyvo dalimi. Bet po jo mirties šio archyvo taryba 1986 m. liepos 22 d. pasirašė sutartį su Lituaniistikos tyrimo ir studijų centru, kuriam jį ir perdavė, o šis jį sujungė su Juozo Kreivėno muzikos biblioteka ir naują darinį pavadino Juozo Žilevičiaus ir Juozo Kreivėno lietuviškos muzikos archyvu. Tad šiuo dokumentu reikėtų vadovautis ir „Katalogo“ autoriui, nes Muzikologijos archyvo oficialiai jau nebėra – jis egzistuoja tik buitinėje kalboje, trumpinant naująjį pavadinimą.

Antrajame „Katalogo“ pirmojo skyriaus poskyryje išvardyti jau ne Čiurlionio rankraščiai, o amžininkų daryti jo kūrinių nuorašai, saugomi Lietuvos valstybės institucijose – Nacionaliniame M. K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejuje, Balio ir Vandos Sruogų namuose-muziejuje Kaune, Čiurlionio namuose-muziejuje ir Jadvygos Čiurlionytės fonde Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekoje, taip pat privačiose Jono Petronio ir Vytauto Landsbergio kolekcijose, Juozo Žilevičiaus ir Juozo Kreivėno lietuviškos muzikos archyve. Šie nuorašai parodo, kokie asmenys domėjosi kompozitoriaus kūriniais, kokiu spinduliu jie plito tarp atlikėjų, kas iš šeimos narių juos labiausiai populiarino. Remiantis šiais duomenimis net galima atlikti muzikologinį tyrimą apie Čiurlionio muzikos sklaidą Lietuvoje ir už jos ribų. Itin įdomus šio skyriaus trečiasis poskyris „Neišlikę rankraščiai“. Jame Kučinskas išvardija egzistavusius Čiurlionio kūrinius, apie kuriuos byloja įvairūs užrašai, laiškai, atsiminimai, amžininkų pasakojimai. Tai rodo daugiametį „Katalogo“ autoriaus darbo rezultatus, studijuojant visą su Čiurlionio asmeniu susijusią medžiagą. Taigi kompozitoriaus kūrinių sąrašas galėjo būti daug ilgesnis, jei šie rankraščiai dėl įvairių aplinkybių nebūtų žuvę.

Antrasis „Katalogo“ skyrius yra centrinis ir bene pats svarbiausias – jame suregistruotas 331 Čiurlionio kūrinys

pagal sukūrimo datą, pradedant 1893 m., kompozitoriui dar grojant fleita Mykolo Oginskio dvaro pučiamųjų orkestre, ir baigiant 1910 m. neužbaigtais simfoniniais opusais. Ir kiekvienas jų labai kruopščiai aprašytas. Kučinskui rūpi ne tik muzikinio kūrinio parašymo vieta, laikas, žanras ir atlikimo būdas, bet absoliučiai viskas, kas yra susiję su jo fiziniais parametrais ir vizualine išraiška – rankraščių knygos ar sąsiuvinio viršelis, turinys, natų apskaita puslapiams ar lapais, jų įrišimo priemonės, formatai, lapų aukštis ir plotis, penklinių ir taktų skaičius, rankraščiuose palikti kitų asmenų įrašai rašikliais ar pieštukais, net jų spalva. „Katalogo“ autorius prie kūrinio pridėda ir archyvų suteiktą metriką, o nurodydamas, kur ir kada kūrinys parašytas, savo teiginius pagrindžia konkrečiais dokumentais – laiškų ištraukomis, biografiniais faktais. Tai suteikia daug vertingų žinių apie vieno ar kito kūrinio atsiradimo istoriją ir išplečia jo aprašymą. Pavyzdžiui, informacija apie simfoninę poemą „Miške“ užima net tris knygos puslapius (žr. p. 185–187). Mat Kučinskas dar fiksuoja ir pirmuosius kūrinių atlikimus, taip pat ir pirmąsias jų publikacijas, garso įrašus, jei tokių būta, o tai yra ypač svarbu tyrinėjant Čiurlionio muzikinį paveldą.

Trečiajame „Katalogo“ skyriuje pateikti Čiurlionio ir jo amžininkų užrašai, rasti tarp kompozitoriaus rankraščių. Tai elementariosios muzikos teorijos, harmonijos, polifonijos, vokalo pratybos, liaudies muzikos ir kitų kompozitorių kūrinių nuorašai, laiškuose rastos nustatytų ir nenustatytų autorių muzikinės citatos, taisytos harmonijos užduotys, neidentifikuoti muzikos kūrinių fragmentai, kitų asmenų, tarp jų ir brolio Petro, harmonijos uždaviniai, liaudies dainos. Visa tai padeda atskleisti Čiurlionio studijų, jo kūrybos, darbo su choralais ir pedagoginės veiklos eigą.

„Katalogo“ pabaigoje esantys priedai pagal savo reikšmę prilygsta ketvirtajam skyriui. Jame išvardyti Čiurlionio kūriniai abėcėlės tvarka ir pagal atlikimo pobūdį, nurodant instrumentus ar choro balsus, yra labai naudingi atlikėjams. Jie greitai gali susirasti ieškomą kūrinį tiek pagal jo pavadinimą, tiek ir pagal instrumentų rodyklę. Kučinskas pateikia ir įvairių autorių Čiurlionio kūrinių numeraciją, iš viso šešias lenteles: paties kompozitoriaus – iš viso 30 opusų, sesers Jadvygos – 34 opusai, paskelbti 1957 ir 1975 m., sesers Valerijos – 1312 numerių, Vytauto Landsbergio įvardyti 346 kūriniai ir Kučinsko – 331 kūrinys. Kiekviena lentelė suskirstyta į 7 stulpelius. Juose yra įrašytas vieno ar kito kūrinio registracijos autoriaus parinktas Čiurlionio kūrinio numeris, jo pavadinimas ir šalia, kad būtų galima greitai palyginti, kitų autorių pateikta numeracija.

Tik skaitytojui gali būti neaišku, kodėl numeracijos rengėjų pateikti skaičiai gerokai skiriasi – Landsbergis kūrinių užregistravo daugiau, o Kučinskas, nors ir atradęs dingusių kompozicijų – mažiau, kodėl Valerijos Čiurlionytės-Karužienės sudarytas sąrašas prasideda ne nuo Nr. 1, bet nuo Nr. 59, dėl ko iš šio sąrašo dinga daugybė numerių ir kodėl

į jį buvo įtraukti laišakai. Gal būtų vertėję prie lentelių pridėti paaiškinimus, nes skaitytojams gali kilti įvairių klausimų, ir ne tik dėl rodyklių.

Nesusipažinusiems su pirmam ir antram leidimui skirta pratarne, gali būti sunkiau suprasti ir tekste vartojamų mažąženklių ir daugiaženklių skaičių sistemą, pvz., 00665 (p. 42) ar 120–1211–6 (p. 45). Palaužius galvą, galima spėti, kad tai kokio nors archyvo metrika ir puslapių bei taktų nuorodos. Bet ar tikrai? Būtų buvę daug suprantamiau, jei šios nuorodos būtų iššifruotos. Nelabai aiškūs ir kiti įrašai. Pavyzdžiui, antroje knygos dalyje „Muzikos kūriniai“ tarp Nr. 329 ir Nr. 330 (p. 392–393) įsiterpia trys nenumeruoti kūriniai, kurie jau buvo įvardyti ankstesnių metų sąraše. Ką tai reiškia? Tikriausiai tai, kad šie kūriniai turi kelias datas ir juos galima priskirti ir prie vienu, ir prie kitų metų, bet reikėtų tikslesnio paaiškinimo, galbūt net pratarinėje.

Akivaizdu, kad „Katalogo“ autorius siekė kuo kompaktiškiau pateikti tekstą, bet vis dėlto vertėtų pagalvoti, kur ir kaip jį išdėstyti, kad kiekvienas ženklas būtų suprantamas. Beje, santrumpos yra labai apgalvotos ir tinkamai surūšiuotos, kaip ir knygos pradžioje prieš jas einančios svarbiausios Čiurlionio gyvenimo bei kūrybos datos, be kurių neįmanoma jokia kūrybos analizė. Tik kai kur reikėtų šį bei tą patikslinti. Pavyzdžiui, „Kataloge“ teigiama, kad 1923 m. vasarą Kaune simfoninę poemą „Miške“ dirigavo Al. Zaidmanas (p. 185), tačiau tokios pavardės jokioje enciklopedijoje nerasime, nors ji ir yra įrašyta į koncerto afišą. Iš tikrųjų tai buvo Izaokas Vildmanas-Zaidmanas, pageidavęs pasinaudoti savo sutrumpinta pavarde-pseudonimu.

Norisi atkreipti dėmesį ir į „Katalogo“ pavadinimą. Jame Kučinskas akcentuoja žodį „chronologinis“, taip susiaurindamas jo turinį, nes iš tikrųjų šis darbas išsiveržė iš chronologinio matmens rėmų. Autorius sudarė Čiurlionio kūrinų saugojimo vietų sąrašus ir aprašus, skersai ir išilgai išnarstęs šio menininko muzikinį palikimą, parengė abėcėlinę, atlikimo būdo ir instrumentų rodykles, palyginamąsias numerologines lenteles. Tad reikėtų pamąstyti apie platesnį „Katalogo“ pavadinimą. Gal po kurio laiko autorius prie šio darbo vėl sugrįš ir parengs dar vieną jo laidą. Gal kils sumanymas tekstą iliustruoti ne tik natų pavyzdžiais, bet ir publikuotų kūrinų ar rankraščių fotografijomis, leidžiančiomis labiau pajusti Čiurlionio epochos dvasią ir jo asmenybę. Didžiulis šio leidinio privalumas yra tas, kad jis pasirodė dviejų knygų pavidalu. Antroji knyga yra išleista anglų kalba (552 p.). Tai yra neįkainojamas lobis Čiurlionio kūrinų atlikėjams ir tyrėjams užsienyje, atveriantis jiems galimybę šio kompozitoriaus muziką plačiau skleisti po pasaulį.

Parengęs tris „Chronologinio Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio muzikos katalogo“ laidas, Darius Kučinskas atliko didžiulį ir itin vertingą darbą. Naujausio „Katalogo“ pristatymas jau įvyko Čikagoje, Niujorke ir Vašingtone, taip pat Varšuvoje, Vilniuje, Kaune ir Klaipėdoje. Po nusistovėjusios Vytauto Landsbergio parengtos Čiurlionio kūrinų numeracijos daug kam galbūt yra nelengva priprasti prie naujos sistemos. Tačiau ji palaipsniui prigyja natų leidiniuose, garso įrašuose, koncertiniame gyvenime, įsiterpia ir į tarptautinio Čiurlionio vardo pianistų ir vargonininkų konkurso nuostatus. Tai yra puiki dovana genialiajam lietuvių menininkui jo jubiliejinio gimtadienio proga.

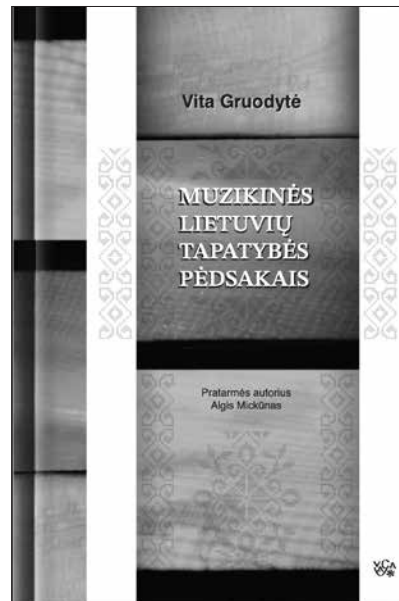
Gabrielius Simas SAPIEGA

Vitos Gruodytės monografija „Muzikinės lietuvių tapatybės pėdsakais“

Vita Gruodytė – aktyvi lietuvių muzikologė, kurios indėlis į Lietuvos muzikinės kultūros tyrinėjimus gan svarbus: ji daugelio mokslinių straipsnių autorė, tyrinėjanti tautinės muzikos sąmonės ir kompozicinės idėjos lauką, dalyvaujanti tarptautinėse konferencijose kaip lektorė, parengusi ne vieną interviu ar išvertusi labai svarbių muzikinių tekstų, supažindinančių Lietuvos muzikologus ar besidominčius muzika su esmingiausiomis muzikos koncepcijomis. Vienas naujausių autorės veikalų – „Muzikinės lietuvių tapatybės pėdsakais“ (2024). Tai monografija, kurioje nagrinėjama lietuviškosios muzikinės tapatybės raida nuo archajinių ištakų iki šiuolaikinės muzikos kultūros.

Gruodytės indėlis į tyrinėjamą temą nenuneigiamas. Tai liudija ir jos parengtos publikacijos: „Modernizmas ir tautinis identitetas: lietuviškojo serializmo ypatumai“ (2011), „Between national identity and musical modernity“ (2008), „L'exotisme de la musique lituanienne: d'hier à aujourd'hui“ (2004), „Semiotics of rituals: from the „pagan“ ritual to the „urban“ ritual“ (2002). Taip pat reikšmingą vietą užima ir Gruodytės parašyti skyriai kolektyvinėse muzikos tyrimų monografijose: „Lietuva tarp Rytų ir Vakarų“ („Nailono uždanga“, 2018), „Epistemologinis žvilgsnis į korespondenciją: tyli intymų sferų istorija“ („Nailono uždanga“, 2018), „Nepriklausomybės laikotarpio muzikinis diskursas“ („Garsinės utopijos“, 2023), „Nuo muzikos teatro prie operos be teatro“ („Garsinės utopijos“, 2023). Todėl viena reikšmingai galime teigti, kad Gruodytė yra nuodugniai ištyrinėjusi ir šiandien vis dar gilinasi į tautinės sąmonės muzikoje diskursus, teikia profesionalias ir vertingas įžvalgas muzikologiniame Lietuvos ir užsienio kontekste.

„Muzikinės lietuvių tapatybės pėdsakais“ yra aktualus ir unikalus darbas. Jo aktualumą galėtume pagrįsti vis dažniau pasirodančiomis monografijomis ar moksliniais straipsniais, kuriuose išskirtinai tyrinėjamas tapatybės ar identiteto klausimas. Žinoma, čia būtų galima minėti ne vieną straipsnį ar studiją, kurioje tyrinėjami atitinkami reiškiniai, bet tai tik paliudija Gruodytės monografijos aktualumą. Pirmieji mėginimai, ieškant lietuvių modernistinės tapatybės, aptinkami Gražinos Daunoravičienės-Žuklytės monografijoje „Lietuvių muzikos modernistinės tapatybės žvalgymas“ (2016). Nors abi knygos savo užmoju gali būti laikomos tapačiomis, drįstu teigti, jog taip nėra. Gruodytės monografija pasižymi unikaliu, asmenišku ir autentišku lietuvių



Vita Gruodytė.
Muzikinės lietuvių tapatybės pėdsakais. Vilnius: Vaga, 2024. 472 p.

muzikinės kultūros pažinimu. O svarbiausia – taip parašyta knyga prieinama ne vien muzikams, bet ir paprastam skaitytojui, kuris domisi muzika. Taip pat drįsčiau teigti, kad Gruodytė pasiekė tai, kas sunkiau įveikiama muzikologams: monografija turi tendenciją skatinti nemuzikų domėjimąsi muzikos reiškiniais. Knygos indėlis į lietuvių muzikinės kultūros rašytinius šaltinius, konceptualų ir apibendrinantį asmeninį muzikos suvokimą yra gyvybiškai svarbus.

Teminis monografijos laukas aprėpia lietuviškos muzikinės tapatybės formavimąsi istoriniame, kultūriniame, ideologiniame ir estetiniame kontekstuose. Analizuojama, kaip tradicinės liaudies muzikos, dainų, sutartinių ir mitologinės pasaulėžiūros elementai susipynė su modernizmo, postmodernizmo ir šiuolaikinio garso meno tendencijomis.

Gruodytė knygą skirsto į atitinkamus didžiuosius skyrius: „Ideologinis kontekstas“ – Lietuva tarp Rytų ir Vakarų, „liaudies“ muzikos politikos, sovietinės ir posovietinės paradigmos; „Teorija ir praktika. Tautiškumas ir modernizmas“ – tautiškumo, modernizmo ir avangardo sąveikos, lietuviškojo serializmo ir dodekafonijos analizė; „Mitologinis turinys“ – muzikinio teatro, sutartinių ir mitologinių simbolių reikšmės; „Endogeninis sinkretizmas: Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis“ – Čiurlionio meninės, filosofinės ir etninės idėjos; „Sprogimas ir išlaisvinimas“ – festivaliai, „Fluxus“, eksperimentinė muzika, postmoderni

raiška; „Rimta versus nerimta kultūroje“ – operetės, naujosios operos ir performatyvumo aspektai; „Iš pabaigos į pradžią“ – grįžimas prie ištakų, archetipiniai muzikos kodai.

Knygoje yra platus Algio Mickūno įvadas „Archajinis pasaulis“. Todėl juntama stipri Mickūno filosofijos įtaka: archajinio pasaulio samprata, *archē* kaip pirmaprādė dimensija. Pasitelkiamos ir kitos teorinės perspektyvos: analizuojama, kaip lietuviškos sutartinės, dainos, mitiniai vaizdiniai ir natūralios kalbos melodijos formuoja tapatybę, o muzika suprantama ne tik kaip menas, bet ir kaip pasaulio suvokimo būdas. Knygos aktualumas pagrįstas muzikologijos, etnomuzikologijos, filosofijos, kultūrologijos ir semiotikos jungtimi. Taip pat aprėpiama postmodernizmo evoliucija, čia svarbiausiu elementu tampa garsas kaip kultūrinės tapatybės ženklas. Tačiau išryškėja ir idėja, kad lietuviškos tapatybės esmė – ne gryna tradicijų rekonstrukcija, o gyvos, besikeičiančios tradicijos.

Kai kurie autorės tekstai tam tikra dalimi buvo publikuoti, bet monografija atitinka visus keliamus reikalavimus, kurie apibrėžia senojo teksto reintegracijos principus naujajame. Taip pat pravartu išskirti unikalius knygos poskyrius: „Moteriška sutartinių muzika“, „Šlubčiojantis sutartinių žingsnis“, „Lytis kaip migruojanti kategorija“, „Saulės kryžiaus palindromas“ ir t. t. Ne ką mažesnę vietą užima dar nepakankamai apžvelgti šių dienų kontekstai. Jie kuo puikiausiai atskleisti skyriuje „Sprogimas ir išlaisvinimas“. Autorė nuosekliai ir profesionaliai visus šiandienos muzikos reiškinius kontekstualizuoja, suteikia jiems prasmę, kuri dažnam atitinkamos muzikos ar performansų klausytojui ir žiūrovui gali būti tinkamai neatskleista muzikologijos straipsniuose ar recenzijose.

Monografija pasižymi ne vienu dėmesio vertu aspektu lietuviškosios muzikologijos kontekste ir dėl to tampa dar aktualesnė. Tai plati ir tarpdisciplininė prieiga (autorė jungia, kaip minėta, muzikologiją, etnomuzikologiją, filosofiją, semiotiką, kultūrologiją, literatūrologiją ir net vizualiuosius menus; muzika nagrinėjama ne tik kaip estetinė praktika, bet ir kaip kultūrinė, socialinė, mitologinė ir filosofinė dimensija), istorinė gylio ir aktualumo dermė (nuosekliai apžvelgiama lietuviškos muzikos raida nuo archajinių sutartinių ir mitologijos iki postmodernizmo ir šiuolaikinės „garsinės tapatybės“; parodoma, kad archajinės šaknys yra ne tik muziejinė praeitis, bet ir gyvas, kintantis kultūrinis išteklius), Mickūno filosofijos integracija (pratarmė ir konceptualus archajinio pasaulio bei *archē* suvokimas sudaro gilesnį filosofinį pagrindą; tai išskiria knygą iš įprastų muzikologijos studijų, suteikia jai ontologinį, fenomenologinį kontekstą), aiški struktūra ir sistemingumas (septyni skyriai leidžia nuosekliai sekti tapatybės transformacijas: nuo ideologinio konteksto, per modernizmą, mitologiją, Čiurlionį, festivalių erą, naująją operą iki postpostmodernizmo; kiekvienas skyrius turi savo teminę logiką, bet kartu kuria vientisą naratyvą), naujas požiūris į lietuvišką muziką

(atskleidžiama, kad lietuviška muzika neturėtų būti matoma tik kaip folkloro ar nacionalinės mokyklos išraiška – ji sąveikauja su globaliomis modernizmo, postmodernizmo, „Fluxus“ tendencijomis; pabrėžiamas „rimtosios“ ir „nerimtosios“ kultūros, operos, kabareto, naujosios operos ir performanso dialogiškumas). Pažymėtina etninės tradicijos interpretacija šiuolaikiniame kontekste (sutartinės, liaudies dainos ir mitologija interpretuojamos ne tik kaip paveldas, bet kaip gyvi kodai, galintys transformuotis į šiuolaikinę muziką (pvz., Kutavičiaus kūryboje ar performansuose); tai leidžia parodyti tradicijos gyvybingumą, o ne tik jos archajiškumą), kritinis požiūris į ideologijas (analizuojama, kaip muzika veikė ir buvo veikiamą skirtingų politinių bei kultūrinių režimų (sovietmečio, nepriklausomybės, globalizacijos). Taip pat knygoje matomas kritinis santykis su europocentrizmu, kolonializmu, postmodernizmo sklaida, garsinės tapatybės aktualizacija (išryškinama paradigminė slinktis nuo „muzikos“ prie „garso“, atliepanti XXI a. meno, technologijų ir rinkodaros realijas; tai labai modernus ir tarptautinėje (pasaulio) muzikologijoje aktualus žvilgsnis), meno ir filosofijos kalbos gyvumas (tekstas nėra sausas akademinis – jame juntama poetika, metaforiškumas, įkvėptas rašymo stilius; tai padaro knygą patrauklią ne tik mokslininkams, bet ir platesniam kultūros laukui).

Kaip jau minėta, didžioji dalis knygos yra išskirtinai autentiška muzikos reiškinių patirtis. Šią monografiją būtų galima pavadinti Gruodytės ilgamečių tyrinėjimų ir intymų susitikimų su šiais reiškiniais apibendrinimu, dienaoraščiu. Atitinkamas rašymo stilius ar prieiga prie tyrinėjamo objekto tampa vis populiariesni užsienio tyrėjų kontekste. Todėl kaip recenzentas teigiū, kad ši monografija užpildys tuščią mūsų muzikos tyrimų sritį, į kurią daugelis formaliųjų pažiūrų muzikos tyrėjų nesiryžta gilintis. Žinoma, monografijoje gausu ir „sunkiosios muzikologinės artilerijos“, bet ji kuo puikiausiai atsveria ir autorės išradingai pasirinkta mitologizmo idėja.

Tačiau esama ir diskutuotinių aspektų. Jokiu būdu nereikėtų pamiršti, kad kritika yra vienu metu objektyvus ir kitu metu – subjektyvus reiškinys. O diskutuoti ir išsakyti kritiką – vienas svarbiausių monografijos vertės įrodymų, pakeliant atliktą autoriaus darbą į dar didesnę vertės lauką.

Didelis teminis diapazonas – mažesnis gilumas (knyga aprėpia labai platų lauką: nuo archajinių sutartinių iki šiuolaikinio garso meno, nuo ideologijos iki Čiurlionio). Dėl tokios aprėpties kai kurios temos išnagrinėtos fragmentiškai arba apibendrintai, be detalių muzikologinių analizių (pvz., modernizmo kūrinių struktūrinės analizės). Krinta į akis ir tarpdisciplininis kalbos sudėtingumas. Autorė jungia muzikologiją su filosofija, semiotika, kultūrologija; tai suteikia gylio, bet gali tapti pernelyg hermetiška nespecialistui. Kai kur filosofiniai ekskursai (pvz., Mickūno archajinio pasaulio interpretacijos) užgožia pačią muzikos analizę. Monografija pasižymi ir problemiška empirine atrama (nors knygoje

remiamasi istorine, kultūrine ir filosofine analize, trūksta platesnių empirinių duomenų: klausymosi tyrimų, statistikos apie publiką, sociologinių apklausų; muzikinės tapatybės klausimas šiandien glaudžiai susijęs ir su socialinėmis praktikomis, bet šis aspektas knygoje mažiau išryškintas). Išryškėja stiprus interpretacinis subjektyvumas (tekstas dažnai balansuoja tarp mokslinės analizės ir poetinio-eseistinio stiliaus; tai suteikia įtaigumo, bet kartu silpnina akademinį neutralumą, interpretacijos tampa labai asmenišką, mažiau verifikuojamą).

Stinga tarptautinio konteksto – lietuviška muzika analizuojama daugiausia per nacionalinius procesus, o lyginimas su kitų šalių muzikinės tapatybės tyrimais, pvz., latvių, estų, lenkų, suomių, galėtų praplėsti perspektyvą. Kai kur pasigendama tarptautinės muzikologinės diskusijos integracijos. Akivaizdus diskurso disbalansas tarp skyrių – kai kurie skyriai, pvz., apie Čiurlionį ar Kutavičių, parašyti išsamiai ir gyvai, o kiti, tarkime, apie operetę, postmodernią festivalių kultūrą, atrodo labiau schematiški; tai gali sukelti įspūdį, kad dėmesys autoriams ar temoms paskirstytas ne visai proporcingai. Gausu teorinių sąvokų, kurios nuosekliai neišaiškinamos – pasitelkiama daug sudėtingų terminų (*archė*, peras, oralinė dimensija, postpostmodernizmas ir pan.); kai kurie jų lieka ne iki galo paaiškinti, ypač skaitytojui, nepratusiam prie filosofinės muzikologijos. Silpnėsnė vizualinė-muzikinė analizė (nors knygoje gausu iliustracijų, daugiau dėmesio skiriama tekstiniam diskursui; pati muzikos garsinė, struktūrinė analizė (ritmika, melodika, harmonija) nėra pakankamai detali – labiau orientuojamasi į kultūrinį ir filosofinį interpretavimą).

Knygos stiprybė yra jos conceptualumas ir tarpdiscipliniškumas, o silpnybė – kartais dėl to pritrūksta muzikologinio konkretumo ir tarptautinio palyginamojo konteksto. Ji įtaigi kaip kultūrinės refleksijos veikalas, bet mažiau kaip griežtai empirinis muzikologijos tyrimas. Todėl labai sunku vertinti tokio pobūdžio monografiją. Viena vertus, tikimasi visiškai mokslinio darbo, kita vertus, laukiama didesnės žodžio dėstymo laisvės, kad tokie darbai būtų prieinami

plačiajai visuomenei. Tad ir kiekviena šio leidinio recenzento pastaba yra transformatyvi, ji daugeliu atvejų priklauso nuo konteksto: vertinant vienu aspektu, neigiama, vertinant kitu – teigiama.

Nors daugeliui knygos pabaiga galėtų užkliūti, čia norėčiau apginti jos autorę. Pabaigos skyriaus neišbaigtumas atspindi pagrindinę Gruodytės mintį ir mąstymo kryptį, t. y. visi reiškiniai perteikiami kaip nenutrūkstami ciklinio laiko tėkmės permąstymo, personifikacijos ir įkūnijimo naujuose kontekstuose procesai. Tai tarsi neišbaigiamas, bet uždaras ciklinis laiko tėkmės ratas. Todėl atitinkamai atvira pabaiga, tam tikras neišbaigtumo jausmas, paskatins skaitytoją susidaryti savo prielaidas ir atnaujinančias išvagas. Dėl šios priežasties autorės knyga yra neįkainojamas darbas muzikos tyrimų lauke, kur publicistinis rašymo stilius, asmeninės suvoktys tampa autentišku pašamoniniu autorės susitikimu su skaitytoju. Nors knygoje atskleidžiamos Gruodytės idėjos yra labai deklaratyvios, kai kuriais atvejais pateikiamos be aiškios ir mokslinės argumentacijos, o dar dažniau – vienpusės, tai nevirsta teksto trūkumu. Skaitytojas yra skatinamas diskutuoti, ginčytis, nesutikti ir ieškoti savo asmeninės suvokties. Manychiau, to autorė ir siekė: paskatinti kritinį skaitytojo mąstymą, siekį ieškoti ir labiau domėtis savo tautinio identiteto palikimu, jo atspindžiais asmeninėje, emocinėje sąmonėje, parodant galimas prie to prieigas ir būdus.

Atitinkamai įvertindamas knygos turinį, užmojų ir siekius, rekomenduoju šį leidinį muzikologijos ar muzikos žinovui, taip pat muzika ir lietuvių muzikine kultūra besidominčiam skaitytojui. Knygos teorinė bazė yra įspūdingai plati ir kūrybiška. Nors kritinės distancijos ir hierarchizavimo trūksta, autorė drąsiai jungia lietuvišką tradiciją su filosofiniais ir mitologiniais šaltiniais, siūlydama naujų išvalgų, kartais net rizikuodama per daug pasikliauti autoritetų „autoritetiškumu“, o ne jų vidine analitine verte. Paminėtina, kad tai nenuneigia šio darbo vertės ir aktualumo, o svarbiausia – skatina tolimesnius tyrimus, išlaisvinant muzikologinį diskursą iš formalistinių gnaužtų.

Apie autorius / About the authors

Vyr. redaktorė

Prof. dr. **Rūta Stanevičiūtė** yra Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos Mokslo centro vadovė, Muzikologijos katedros profesorė. Pagrindinė mokslinių interesų sritis – modernėjimo ir meno 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, CUNY ir kt. universitetuose, atliko mokslinius tyrimus Paulio Sacherio fondo archyve, Tarptautiniame Darmštato muzikos institute, Queens College universiteto archyve ir kitose atminties institucijose. Monografijos „Modernumo lygtys. Tarptautinė šiuolaikinės muzikos draugija ir muzikinio modernizmo sklaida Lietuvoje“ autorė (2015, atnaujinta versija anglų kalba 2024), su bendraautoriais parašė penkias kolektyvines monografijas (2015, 2018, 2020, 2023, 2025), sudarė ir parengė (su bendraautoriais) 16 mokslo straipsnių ir šaltinių rinktinių, paskelbė daugiau nei 80 mokslo straipsnių. Mokslininkė aktyviai dalyvauja muzikos mokslo tyrimų tarptautinėse tinklinėse organizacijose: ji yra Europos muzikos filosofijos tinklo steigiamojo komiteto narė, 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. Už mokslo darbus ir kultūros veiklą pelnė Lietuvos ir Lenkijos institucijų apdovanojimus. 2020 m. pelnė Lietuvos nacionalinę kultūros ir meno premiją. Tarptautinio mokslo projekto „Lenkų ir lietuvių muzika, globali perspektyva: migracija, diasporos tapatybės ir tėvynė“ vadovė (Lietuvos-Lenkijos programa „Daina“, 2025–2027).

Editor-in-chief

Rūta Stanevičiūtė, PhD in musicology, is a Head of the Science Centre and full-time professor at the Department of Musicology of the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. Her current research concentrates on music modernization and musical nationalism, aesthetics, and semantics of contemporary music, with a particular focus on musical *topoi*, music and politics, and studies of music reception. She has conducted research at the universities of Warsaw, Cambridge, King's College London, the Berlin University of Arts, CUNY, Paul Sacher Stiftung, International Music Institute Darmstadt, Queens College Archives and other institutions. She is the author of the book *The Figures of Modernity. The International Society for Contemporary Music and the Modern Music Movement in Lithuania* (2015, in English 2024) and co-author of the monographs *The Nylon Curtain: Cold War, International Exchanges and Lithuanian Music* (2018), *Microtonal Music in Central and Eastern Europe: Historical Outlines and Current Practices* (Ljubljana University Press, 2020), *Music and Change in the Eastern Baltics Before and After 1989* (Academic Studies Press, 2022), *Sonic Utopias: Trajectories and Contexts of Music Modernization in Lithuania* (2023), and *Lithuanian History and Mythology in the Opera Stage* (2025). She has also edited and co-edited sixteen collections of articles on twentieth- and twenty-first-century musical culture and the history of music reception and prepared the college textbook *Music as a Cultural Text* (2007). She is a Steering Committee member of the European Network for the Philosophy of Music, a member of the Music and Cultural Studies 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. In 2020, she was awarded the Lithuanian National Prize. Currently, as the principal investigator, she is co-leading a joint Lithuanian-Polish project, “Polish and Lithuanian Music in Global Perspective: Migration, Diasporic Identities and Homeland” (2025–2027).

Vyr. redaktorės pavaduotoja

Prof. dr. Rima Povilionienė – humanitarinių mokslų (menotyra / muzikologija) daktarė, yra įgijusi muzikos teorijos ir fortepijono solisto specialybių bakalauro ir magistro diplomus. Ji yra Lietuvos mokslo tarybos narė, Muzikologų sekcijos prie Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjungos pirmininkė, Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos Muzikologijos katedros profesorė. Ji buvo Lietuvos nacionalinės UNESCO komisijos Vykdomojo komiteto narė, Kauno technologijos universiteto Tarptautinio semiotikos instituto bei LMTA Mokslo centro mokslo darbuotoja.

Laimėjusi Fulbright vizituojančio mokslininko stipendiją, nuo 2025 m. spalio vykdė pusės metų stažuotę Niujorke, CUNY Graduate Center. Pelniusi stipendijas, stažavosi Leipzigo universiteto Muzikologijos institute, IRCAM Paryžiuje, Paryžiuje rengiamuose Ročesterio universiteto vasaros kursuose bei festivalio „Manifeste“ akademijoje Paryžiuje. Kaip kviestinė dėstytoja skaitė paskaitas įvairiuose universitetuose ir akademijose, parengė ir išleido daugiau kaip 15 straipsnių rinktinių, per 40 mokslo straipsnių ir 150 muzikos kritikos tekstų. Jos monografija „Musica Mathematica“ (lietuvių k., 2013) pelnė prof. V. Landsbergio fondo premiją geriausių muzikologų darbų konkurse, 2016 m. monografiją anglų k. išleido „Peter Lang“. Yra dviejų mokslo rinktinių (2017, 2019), kurias išleido leidykla „Springer“, redaktorė ir sudarytoja. 2022 m. leidykloje „Springer“ pasirodė kolektyvinė mono grafija „Vox Humana Craftsmanship. Origins, Intersections and Influence on Lithuanian Pipe Organ Building“ (kartu su Girėnu Poviloniu ir Diego Cannizzaro); 2023 m. – kolektyvinė monografija „Garsinės utopijos. Lietuvių muzikos modernėjimo trajektorijos ir kontekstai“ (2023, Vilnius, bendraautoriai Rūta Stanevičiūtė, Vita Gruodytė ir Donatas Katkus), skaitmeninis leidinys *Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis. Visi kūriniai fortepijonui. Kritisinė redakcija ir komentarai* (2024, <https://piano.ciurlionis.eu/en/monograph>).

Pastaruju metu savo mokslinę veiklą derina su muzikiniiais pasirodymais fortepijonu, vargonais. Su vyru vargonų restauratoriumi dr. Girėnu Poviloniu netoli Vilniaus įkūrė vargonų restauravimo dirbtuvę, muzikos instrumentų muziejų ir koncertų salę.

Deputy Editor-in-chief

Prof. Dr. **Rima Povilionienė** holds a PhD in Humanities (Musicology) and Bachelor's and Master's degrees both in Music Theory and Piano Solo Performance. In October 2025–March 2025, having won a Fulbright scholarship, she conducts a six-month research fellowship at the CUNY Graduate Center, New York. Earlier, she has undertaken internships at the Institute of Musicology at Leipzig University, IRCAM, the Eastman School of Music at the University of Rochester (course in Paris), and Manifeste Académie/IRCAM.

Rima is a Committee member at the Lithuanian Research Council, Head of Musicologists' Section at the Lithuanian Composers' Union, and full-time professor at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre (LMTA). She served as a member of the Lithuanian National Commission for UNESCO and has held research positions at the International Semiotics Institute (ISI) at Kaunas University of Technology and LMTA Research Centre. She has given guest lectures at various universities and academies, edited over 15 collections and published more than 40 scientific articles and 150 critical reviews. Her monograph *Musica Mathematica* (2013) was awarded the Vytautas Landsbergis Foundation Prize, appearing in 2016 in English at Peter Lang. Rima is an editor of two collections for Springer (2017 and 2019). Among her latest co-authored monographs are *Vox Humana Craftsmanship* (2022 for Springer) and *Garsinės utopijos. Lietuvių muzikos modernėjimo trajektorijos ir kontekstai* [Sounding Utopias. Trajectories and Contexts in Lithuanian Music Modernization] (2023), and the digital *Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis. Piano Works Complete. Critical Edition and Commentaries* (2024, available at <https://piano.ciurlionis.eu/en/monograph>).

Recently, Rima has been combining her scholarly work with musical performances. Together with her husband, organ restorer Dr. Girėnas Povilonis, she established an organ restoration workshop, a museum of musical instruments, and a concert hall near Vilnius.

Straipsnių autoriai / Article authors

Julija Bagdonavičiūtė – pianistė, tyrėja. Bakalauro studijas baigė Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijoje, Veimaro F. Liszto aukštojoje muzikos mokykloje. Magistro laipsnį įgijo Hanoverio aukštojoje muzikos, teatro ir medijų mokykloje. 2025 metais, bendradarbiaujant su Lietuvos muzikos informacijos centru, išleistas debiutinis Bagdonavičiūtės albumas, skirtas Lietuvos kompozitorių kūrybai. Šiuo metu Bagdonavičiūtė studijuoja meno doktorantūroje Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijoje, gilinasi į tarpdisciplinines meno jungtis ir jų raišką muzikos atlikime. Kaip tyrėja dirba ekselencijos klasteryje *Improvizacija ir kūrybiškumas scenos menuose* (Scenos menų tyrimo centras, Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija), taip pat pasirodė tarptautinėse konferencijose Vilniuje, Valetyje, Taline, Pirėnuose, Bankoke. 2025 metais, už gerus mokymosi rezultatus Bagdonavičiūtei buvo skirta Lietuvos mokslo tarybos stipendija.

Francesco Finocchiaro (g. 1976) yra Pezaro G. Rossinio konservatorijos muzikos istorijos profesorius, Paduvos ir Insbruko universitetų lektorius. Jo moksliniai tyrimai apima XX a. muzikos kompoziciją, teoriją ir estetiką. 2013–2019 m. jis atliko mokslinius tyrimus Vienos, o 2023–2024 m. – Milano universitete, taip pat dėstė Bolonijos, Milano IULM, Florencijos, Katanijos ir Peskaros universitetuose. Redagavo italų kalba išleistą Arnoldo Schönbergo traktatą „Der musikalische Gedanke“ (Astrolabio-Ubaldini, 2011), tarptautiniuose žurnaluose paskelbė keletą straipsnių apie Vienos mokyklą. Taip pat publikavo daug straipsnių apie kino muziką, nemažai dėmesio skirdamas muzikinio modernizmo ir vokiečių kino santykiams (Palgrave, 2017). Jis yra atviros prieigos skaitmeninės duomenų bazės apie vokiečių nebyliojo kino kritikos šaltinius (*FMJ Archive*) autorius.

Pagrindinės tyrimų sritys apima metaforologiją, semiotiką ir medijų teoriją. Redagavo leidinius: „Musica e metafora: storia, analisi, ermeneutica“ (su Maurizio Giani; AUP, 2017), „L’industria della persuasione: musica e media nella politica culturale del fascismo“ (AUP, 2022), „Il discorso musicale: la musica e i suoi generi testuali nella storia“ (su Paolo Gozza ir Stefano Lombardi Vallauri; AUP, 2023). Jo naujausia monografija „Durch einen Gazeschleier“ (leidykla „text+kritik“, 2025) skirta nebyliojo kino eros muzikos kritikai.

Julija Bagdonavičiūtė is a pianist and researcher. She completed her Bachelor’s studies at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre and the Hochschule für Musik Franz Liszt Weimar, and later obtained her Master’s degree from the Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien Hannover. In 2025, in collaboration with the Lithuanian Music Information Centre, she released her debut album dedicated to the works of Lithuanian composers. Currently, Bagdonavičiūtė is pursuing doctoral studies in artistic research at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, exploring interdisciplinary artistic connections and their expression in music performance. As a researcher, she works at *Improvisation and Creativity in the Performing Arts* (Performing Arts Research Center, Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre) and has presented her works at international conferences in Vilnius, Valletta, Tallinn, the Pyrenees, and Bangkok. In 2025, she was awarded a scholarship by the Research Council of Lithuania for her academic achievements.

Francesco Finocchiaro (b. 1976) is Full Professor of music history at the “G. Rossini” Conservatory of Pesaro, Lecturer at the University of Padua, and Privatdozent at the University of Innsbruck. His research interests cover composition, theory, and aesthetics in twentieth-century music. A Research Scientist at the Universities of Vienna (2013–19) and Milan (2023–24), he has also taught at the Universities of Bologna, IULM Milan, Florence, Catania, and Pescara. He edited the Italian edition of Arnold Schönberg’s treatise *Der musikalische Gedanke* (Astrolabio-Ubaldini, 2011) and has published several essays on the Viennese School in international journals. He has also published extensively on film music, with a special focus on the relationship between musical Modernism and German cinema (Palgrave, 2017). He is the author of an open-access digital database of critical sources on German silent cinema (FMJ Archive).

His main areas of research include metaphorology, semiotics, and media theory. With Maurizio Giani, he edited *Musica e metafora: storia, analisi, ermeneutica* (AUP, 2017). He recently edited *L’industria della persuasione: musica e media nella politica culturale del fascismo* (AUP, 2022), and with Paolo Gozza and Stefano Lombardi Vallauri, *Il discorso musicale: la musica e i suoi generi testuali nella storia* (AUP, 2023). His latest monograph—*Durch einen Gazeschleier* (edition text+kritik, 2025)—deals with film music criticism during the silent era.

Dr. Vytautas Germanavičius (g. 1969) – lietuvių kompozitorius, Kauno technologijos universiteto Socialinių, humanitarinių mokslų ir menų fakulteto mokslininkas tyrėjas, ISCM (*International Society for Contemporary Music*) Lietuvos skyriaus vicepirmininkas. Mokslininko tyrimų sritys: lietuvių tradicinės vokalinės ir instrumentinės muzikos intervalika ir derinimai, alternatyvios derinimo sistemos, natūralūs derinimai, tyrimų rezultatų integracija kompozicinėje sistemoje. Studijavo Vilniuje (Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija, 1989–1996), San Fransiske (*MFA Mills College*, 2003–2005, Fulbrighto stipendija), Helsinkyje (Sibelijaus muzikos akademija, 2019, „Erasmus Doctoral Intership“). 2024 m. tyrėjo podoktorantūros projektas laimėjo Europos Sąjungos paramą (Lietuvos mokslo taryba). Mokslinių tyrimų rezultatai pristatyti mokslo žurnaluose „Lietuvos muzikologija“, „Mikrotöne: Small is Beautiful“, tarptautinėse mokslo konferencijose „Microtone: Small is Beautiful“ Zalburge (2021–2025), „Innovation in Traditions & Traditionality in Innovations“ Odesoje (2020), „Symposium of New Works and Research into Contemporary Composers “Avant-Garde and Experimental Creative Considerations in Art Music” Taibėje (2021), simpoziume “Microtonal Village” Niujorke (2024). Išleista monografija „Nuo natūralių muzikos derinimų link etnogarsaeilių sistemų: teorija versus kūryba“, Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija (2024), autorinės kompozitoriaus kompaktinės plokštelės: „Kūriniai lietuvių tradiciniams instrumentams“ (2008), „Nežinomos erdvės“ (2009), „Tirpstantys žvaigždynai“ (2012), „Minimal Mobile“ (2020) ir kt. Kompozitorius laimėjo „UNESCO-Aschberg“ stipendiją kūrybiniam darbui Banfo menų centre Kanadoje (2000), rezidavo Visbio tarptautiniame kompozitorių centre Gotlando saloje (2001), Nidos meno kolonijoje (2016), *Cité Internationale des Arts* Paryžiuje (2019). Germanavičiaus muzika skambėjo daugelyje tarptautinių šiuolaikinės muzikos festivalių Europos, Amerikos ir Azijos šalyse.

Dr. Vytautas Germanavičius (b. 1969) is a Lithuanian composer, researcher at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Arts of Kaunas University of Technology, and Vice-Chairman of the Lithuanian Section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). The scholar’s research areas include the intervallic structures and tuning systems in traditional Lithuanian vocal and instrumental music, microtonality and alternative tuning systems, theoretical and creative approaches to scale systems and natural tunings, integration of research into his compositional system. He studied in Vilnius (Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, 1989–1996), San Francisco (MFA, Mills College, 2003–2005, Fulbright Scholarship), and Helsinki (Sibelius Academy, 2019, Erasmus Doctoral Internship). In 2024, his postdoctoral project received funding from the EU (Research Council of Lithuania). The results of his research have been presented in scholarly journals and at international academic conferences „Mikrotöne ~ Microtone: Small is Beautiful” in Salzburg (2021–2025), „Innovation in Traditions & Traditionality in Innovations“ in Odesa (2020), “Symposium of New Works and Research into Contemporary Composers “Avant-Garde and Experimental Creative Considerations in Art Music” in Taipei (2021), and the “Microtonal Village” in New York (2024). His monograph *From Natural Tunings to Ethno-Scale Systems: Theoretical versus Creative Perspectives* was published by the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre in 2024. His music has been released in several original CDs: *Works for Lithuanian Traditional Instruments* (2008), *Unknown Spaces* (2009), *Melting Constellations* (2012), *Minimal Mobile* (2020), among others. The composer was awarded the UNESCO-Aschberg Bursary for creative work at the Banff Centre for the Arts in Canada (2000), and held residencies at the Visby International Centre for Composers (2001), the Nida Art Colony (2016), and the *Cité Internationale des Arts* in Paris (2019). Germanavičius’ music has been performed at numerous international contemporary music festivals across countries in Europe, the Americas, and Asia.

Jevgenija Ignatenko (g. 1976) studijavo muziką Ukrainoje (Ukrainos nacionalinėje P. Čaikovskio muzikos akademijoje pas Niną Herasymovą-Persydską) ir bizantines giesmes bei paleografiją Graikijoje (pas Lykourgosą Angelopoulou, Mariją Alexandru). 2006 m. apgynė muzikos meno daktaro laipsnį. Nuo 2002 m. dėsto UNTAM, dirba docente. Ji yra IMS studijų grupės „Krikščioniškųjų Rytų ir oriento muzika“ ir Aristotelio universiteto Salonikuose studijų grupės „Chrysorrhemon“, tyrinėjančios bizantinės muzikos paleografiją, narė.

Buvo mokslinė patarėja ir lektorė projektuose „Musica sacra Ukraina“ (<http://lab.openopera.com.ua>), „Open Partes – Communication without Borders“ ir „Vertep: Neo-Baroque Mystery“, įgyvendintuose remiant Ukrainos kultūros fondui. Yra studijų grupės „Byzantinoslavica“ įkūrėja. Moksliniai interesai apima senąją muziką, ukrainiečių muziką ir bizantinę muziką. Didžiąją dalį savo darbo skiria rankraščių tyrimams. Knygos „XVII ir XVIII a. partitūros iš Kyjivo kolekcijos“ (Kyiv, 2006) bendraautorė, publikavo daugiau nei šešiasdešimt straipsnių.

Fiona Jackson yra Bristolio universiteto doktorantė. Ji baigė magistro studijas Slavistikos ir Rytų Europos studijų mokykloje (*School of Slavonic and East European Studies*, SSEES) netrukus po to, kai žlugo Sovietų Sąjunga ir ėmė kurtis naujos nepriklausomos valstybės. Ji tiria muzikinius Didžiosios Britanijos ir Sovietų Sąjungos mainus, daugiausia dėmesio skiria santykiams su Baltijos respublikomis, Gruzija ir Armėnija.

Lora Kmieliauskaitė – smuikininkė ir šiuolaikinės muzikos atlikėja. Šiuo metu kūrėja studijuoja šiuolaikinės muzikos meno doktorantūrą Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijoje. Jos muzikinė raiška apima daugybę žanrų, įskaitant eksperimentinę ir šiuolaikinę muziką. Savo performansuose L. Kmieliauskaitė neretai taiko įvairių nemuzikinių medijų, judesio ir teatro elementus. Kaip atlikėja ir šiuolaikinės muzikos ansamblio „Twenty Fingers Duo“ bendrąkūrėja, ji pristatė savo darbus daugelyje prestižinių festivalių, tarp jų pastaruoju metu nuskambėję koncertai – „Huddersfield šiuolaikinės muzikos festivalyje“ (Jungtinė Karalystė) ir „Loud Weekend“ (JAV). Lora yra gavusi BAFF stipendiją, kuri sudarė galimybę metų laiko stažuotei šiuolaikinės muzikos organizacijoje „Bang on a Can“ Niujorke 2024 metais. Tais pačiais metais ji buvo apdovanota Lietuvos kultūros ministerijos Jaunojo menininko premija. Šiuolaikinės muzikos scenos tyrimų srityje Kmieliauskaitė dirba ekselencijos klasteryje *Improvizacija ir kūrybiškumas scenos menuose* (Scenos menų tyrimo centras, Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija).

Jevgeniya Ignatenko (b. 1976) studied music in Ukraine (Ukrainian National Tchaikovsky Academy of Music, Nina Herasymova-Persydska) and Byzantine chant and palaeography in Greece (Lykourgos Angelopoulos, Maria Alexandru). She received her PhD in Musical Art in 2006. Since 2002, she has taught at UNTAM, where she serves as associate professor. She is a member of the IMS Study Group Music of the Christian East and Orient and of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Study Group for the Palaeography of Byzantine Music “Chrysorrhemon.”

She was a scientific advisor and lecturer for the projects *Musica sacra Ukraina* (<http://lab.openopera.com.ua>), *Open Partes—Communication without Borders*, and *Vertep: Neo-Baroque Mystery*, implemented with the support of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation. She is the founder of the study group “Byzantinoslavica.” Her scholarly interests include early music, Ukrainian music, and Byzantine music. A significant part of her work involves the study of manuscripts. She is coeditor of *Partesny Concertos of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries from the Kyiv Collection* (Kyiv, 2006) and has authored over sixty articles.

Fiona Jackson is a PhD student at the University of Bristol, having completed her master’s degree at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) shortly after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the creation of the newly independent states. Her research examines musical exchange between Britain and the Soviet Union, predominantly focusing on relations with the Baltic republics, Georgia, and Armenia.

Lora Kmieliauskaitė is a Lithuanian violinist and active participant in music, theatre, and film production. As a performer and co-founder of the contemporary music ensemble Twenty Fingers Duo, she has presented her work at numerous prestigious festivals, including the Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival (UK) and Loud Weekend (USA), among others. Lora was awarded the BAFF scholarship, which facilitated her professional engagement with the Bang on a Can contemporary music organization in New York in 2024. In 2024, she received the Young Artist Award from the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture. She is currently pursuing a doctoral degree at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre.

José Miguel Pérez Aparicio (g. 1998) Madrido autonominiame universitete (UAM) studijavo muzikologiją ir muzikos technologijas, Barselonoje (*Institut del Teatre*) įgijo scenos menų istorijos ir teorijos magistro laipsnį. Šiuo metu – Barselonos autonominio universiteto (UAB) doktorantas ir scenos menų tyrimų centro (CRAE) narys, gaunantis Ispanijos universitetų ministerijos paskirtą *Formación del Profesorado Universitario* (FPU) stipendiją. Doktorantūros tyrimuose nagrinėja katalonų modernizmo kultūrinės iniciatyvas, kuriomis 1897–1922 m. buvo siekiama teorizuoti ir konsoliduoti nacionalinį katalonų muzikinio teatro žanrą.

2024-aisiais buvo vizituojuojantis mokslininkas Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijoje ir dalyvavo doktorantūros mokymuose apie diskurso analizę ir transnacionalinę istoriją Talino, Tartu ir Prahos Karolio universitetuose.

Be mokslinio darbo, dar dirbo Jacinto Guerrero fondo 2020 m. sarsuelos konferencijų organizatoriumi ir parodos „Lyrika ant sienų: sarsuelos plakatai“, surengtos Madrido Cerralbo nacionaliniame muziejuje, koordinatoriumi. Kuria turinį muzikinio teatro paveldo sklaidai (*TeatreMusical.cat*). Redagavo istorinį Sarsuelos teatro repertuarą.

Danutė Petrauskaitė – socialinių mokslų (muzikos edukologija) daktarė, Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos profesorė, vyriausioji mokslo darbuotoja. 1978 m. baigė muzikologijos studijas Lietuvos valstybinėje konservatorijoje (dab. Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija), 1992 m. – Vilniaus universitete doktorantūrą. 1978–1980 m. dirbo Lietuvos radijo ir televizijos komiteje, 1980–2018 m. – Klaipėdos universitete. Mokslinių tyrimų sritys: lietuvių muzika ir muzikos pedagogikos istorija, lietuvių egzodo muzikinė kultūra, Lietuvos ir kitų šalių muzikinės sąsajos. Petrauskaitė išleido šias knygas: *Jeronimas Kačinskas. Gyvenimas ir muzikinė veikla* (1997), *Klaipėdos muzikos mokykla 1923–1939* (1998), *Prudencija Bičkienė* (1998), *Petras Armonas muzikinių kultūrų kryžkelėje* (2005), *Lietuvių muzikinė kultūra Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose 1870–1990. Tautinės tapatybės kontūrai* (2015), *Nailono uždanga. Šaltasis karas, tarptautiniai mainai ir lietuvių muzika ir Nailono uždanga. Lietuvių muzikų užsienio korespondencija 1945–1990* (1 ir 2 tomai; kartu su Rūta Stanevičiūte ir Vita Gruodyte, 2018), *Juozas Žilevičius ir jo epocha* (2023). Paskelbė straipsnių Lietuvos ir užsienio spaudoje, buvo enciklopedijos *Mažoji Lietuva* Muzikos skyriaus redaktorė, šiuo metu yra žurnalo *Lietuvos muzikologija* redakcinės kolegijos narė. Dalyvavo daugelyje tarptautinių konferencijų, kaip vizituojuojanti profesorė skaitė paskaitas

José Miguel Pérez Aparicio (b. 1998) studied Musicology and Music Technology at the Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM) and earned an M.A. in the History and Theory of the Performing Arts from the Institut del Teatre (Barcelona). He is currently a PhD candidate at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) and a member of the Performing Arts Research Centre (CRAE), funded by the Formación del Profesorado Universitario (FPU) fellowship awarded by the Spanish Ministry of Universities. His doctoral research examines cultural initiatives of Catalan Modernism that sought to theorize and consolidate a national genre of Catalan musical theater between 1897–1922.

He has been a visiting researcher at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre (2024) and has attended doctoral training courses on discourse analysis and transnational history at the universities of Tallinn and Tartu and at Charles University in Prague.

Outside academia, he has worked at the Jacinto Guerrero Foundation as organizer of the 2020 Zarzuela Conferences and coordinator of the exhibition *Lyricism on the Walls: Zarzuela Posters* hosted at the Cerralbo National Museum (Madrid). He collaborates with *TeatreMusical.cat*, creating content for the public dissemination of musical-theater heritage, and has worked with the Teatro de la Zarzuela on the editing of historical repertoire.

Danutė Petrauskaitė holds a PhD in Social Sciences (Music Education), is a Professor at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, and a Senior Researcher. She graduated in 1978 with a degree in Musicology from the Lithuanian State Conservatory (now the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre) and in 1992, completed her doctoral studies at Vilnius University. From 1978 to 1980, she worked at the Lithuanian Radio and Television Committee, and from 1980 to 2018, at Klaipėda University. Her research interests include Lithuanian music and the history of music education, Lithuanian musical culture in exile, and musical connections between Lithuania and other countries. Danutė Petrauskaitė has published the following books: *Jeronimas Kačinskas: Gyvenimas ir muzikinė veikla* [*Jeronimas Kačinskas. Life and Musical Activities*] (1997), *Klaipėdos muzikos mokykla 1923–1939* [*Klaipėda Music School 1923–1939*] (1998), *Prudencija Bičkienė* (1998), *Petras Armonas muzikinių kultūrų kryžkelėje* [*Petras Armonas at the Crossroads of Musical Cultures*] (2005), *Lietuvių muzikinė kultūra Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose 1870–1990. Tautinės tapatybės kontūrai* [*Lithuanian Musical Culture in the United States of America 1870–1990: Contours of National Identity*] (2015), *Nailono uždanga. Šaltasis karas, tarptautiniai mainai ir lietuvių muzika* [*The Nylon Curtain. International Exchanges and Lithuanian Musician Networks in the Cold War Era*] and *Nailono uždanga: Lietuvių muzikų užsienio korespondencija*

Vokietijos, Olandijos, Šveicarijos, Ispanijos, Čekijos, Austrijos, Turkijos, Norvegijos, Prancūzijos universitetuose ir konservatorijose, rinko mokslinę medžiagą JAV, Rusijos ir Baltarusijos archyvuose ir bibliotekose, vykdė Europos socialinio fondo ir Lietuvos mokslo tarybos finansuojamus projektus, nuo 2022 m. dalyvauja tarptautiniame projekte „Beethovenas ir jo muzika nacių okupuotose Europos šalyse“, nuo 2025 m. – „Lenkų ir lietuvių muzika, globali perspektyva: migracija, diasporos tapatybės ir tėvynė“. Yra Lietuvos kompozitorių sąjungos, Baltijos studijų plėtos asociacijos (AABS), Europos akademijos (Academia Europaea) narė, apdovanota Vydūno (1995), AB „Klasco“ (2005), Mikalojaus Konstantino Čiurlionio (2015), Vytauto Landsbergio (2018), Onos Narbutienės (2024) premijomis.

Dr. Heli Reimann – Talino universiteto Istorijos, archeologijos ir meno istorijos instituto mokslininkė, džiazio tyrinėtoja. Ji domisi Šaltojo karo ir sovietmečio kontekstu, muzikologijos, istoriografijos ir kultūrologijos sankirtomis. Yra knygos „Tallinn ’67 Jazz Festival: Myths and Memories“ (Routledge 2002; iš serijos „Routledge Transnational Studies in Jazz“) autorė, paskelbė penkiolika recenzuojamų straipsnių.

Doc. dr. **Gabrielius Simas Sapiega** (g. 1990) šiuo metu dirba Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademijos Muzikos fakulteto Muzikologijos katedroje. Mokslinių tyrimų sritys: XX–XXI a. muzika ir teorinės sistemos, filosofija. Sapiega reiškiasi muzikos tyrimų srityje, taip pat pedagogikoje. Rengė Specializuoto ugdymo krypties programas, mokymo priemonę *Harmonijos pagrindai* (2020), yra kolektyvinės monografijos *Valstybinė muzikos mokykla Kaune (1920–1933)* (2024) bendraautoris, dalyvavo įvairioje ekspertinėje veikloje. Studijuodamas doktorantūroje Sapiega gilinosi į organiškąją Platono vienovės idėją hilomorfiniuose spektrinės muzikos procesuose, parengė ne vieną mokslo straipsnį.

1945–1990 [*The Nylon Curtain: Foreign Correspondence of the Lithuanian Musicians 1945–1990*] (Volumes 1 and 2; co-authored with Rūta Stanevičiūtė and Vita Gruodytė, 2018), and *Juozas Žilevičius ir jo epocha [Juozas Žilevičius and His Era]* (2023). She has also published numerous articles in Lithuanian and international journals.

Danutė Petrauskaitė served as editor of the Music section of the encyclopedia *Mažoji Lietuva [Lithuania Minor]* and is currently a member of the editorial board of *Lietuvos muzikologija [Lithuanian Musicology]*. She has participated in many international conferences and, as a visiting professor, has lectured at universities and conservatories in Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Spain, the Czech Republic, Austria, Turkey, Norway, and France. She has collected research materials in archives and libraries in the USA, Russia, and Belarus, and has led projects funded by the European Social Fund and the Research Council of Lithuania. Since 2022, she has participated in the international project *Beethoven and His Music in Nazi-Occupied Europe*, and, from 2025, in *Polish and Lithuanian Music, Global Perspective: Migration, Diasporic Identities, and Homeland*.

Petrauskaitė is a member of the Lithuanian Composers' Union, the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies (AABS), and the Academia Europaea. She has received Vydūnas (1995), M. K. Čiurlionis (2015), Vytautas Landsbergis (2018), and Ona Narbutienė (2024) awards as well as was also awarded by AB Klasco [a major stevedoring business in Lithuania] (2005).

Heli Reimann, Tallinn University, Institute of History, Archaeology and Art History, is a scholar of jazz with a focus on the Cold War and Soviet-era contexts and on intersections among musicology, historiography, and cultural studies. She is the author of *Tallinn '67 Jazz Festival: Myths and Memories* (Routledge 2002; in the Routledge Transnational Studies in Jazz series) and has published fifteen peer-reviewed articles.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. **Gabrielius Simas Sapiega** (b. 1990) works at the Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre, at the Department of Musicology within the Faculty of Music. His research interests include 20th–21st century music and theoretical systems, as well as philosophy. Gabrielius Simas Sapiega is active in both music research and pedagogy. He has developed Specialised Education Programmes, authored the teaching aid *Harmonijos pagrindai [Fundamentals of Harmony]*, co-authored the collective monograph *Valstybinė muzikos mokykla Kaune [The State Music School in Kaunas]* (1920–1933), and participated in various expert activities. During his doctoral studies, he focused on the Organic Platonic Idea of Unity in the hylomorphic processes of spectral music and published several scholarly articles.

Jan Temme de Vries (g. 1998) – doktorantas tyrėjas, dalyvaujantis Bazelio universiteto projekte „Night Muse – The Night Side of Music“. Disertacijoje tyrinėja privačias religines muzikos naktinių koncertų praktikas XVIII a. Leipcige. Freiburg, Vienos ir Oslo universitetuose įgijo muzikologijos magistro ir teologijos magistro laipsnius; buvo apdovanotas Freiburg teologijos fakulteto absolventų prizų. Taip pat lankė vikingų ir viduramžių studijų kursus Oslo universitete.

Studijuodamas dirbo dogmatikos ir liturgijos mokslų moksliniu asistentu, istorinės notacijos mokytoju. Yra paskelbęs mokslinių straipsnių, daugiausia apie bažnytinę muziką, ir recenzavęs mokslo leidinių, partitūrų ir įrašų. Kaip svečias tyrėjas viešėjo Orhuso (*Grundtvigforskning*), Leuwardeno (*Fryske Akademy*), Groningeno universitetuose (*Rijksuniversiteit*), Kopenhagos universiteto Privatumo studijų centre ir savo akademinę patirtį praplėtė dar prieš pradėdamas dirbti Bazelyje. Nuo mažens muzikavo bažnyčiose, jo specializacija buvo istoriniai klavišiniai instrumentai.

Mokslinių tyrimų interesai apima himnologiją ir liturginę muziką, ypač protestantiškuose Vidurio Vokietijos regionuose, Šiaurės jūros pakrantėje ir Skandinavijoje nuo XVI iki XIX a., taip pat XIX a. simfoninę muziką ir senovės germanų filologiją bei metrą. Visas šias sritis sieja gilinimasis į religinio tikėjimo, kultūros ir muzikos sąveiką.

Dr. Monika Voithofer (g. 1989) yra Vienos universiteto Muzikologijos katedros podoktorantūros stažuotoja. Ji studijavo muzikologiją ir filosofiją Graco ir Vienos universitetuose, baigė magistro studijas Graco muzikos ir scenos menų universitete, apgynė apdovanojimų pelniusią disertaciją apie moterų menininkių vaidmenį Tarptautinėje šiuolaikinės muzikos draugijoje (ISCM). Disertacijoje (*Denken, Hören, Da Capo: Konzeptuelle Musik im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2024), taikydama transatlantinę perspektyvą, tyrė konceptualią muziką ir jos istoriją, susipynusią su konceptualaus meno praktikomis. Šiuo tikslu ji vykdė mokslinius tyrimus keliuose institucijose Londone (CRMEP, Kingstono universitete), Niujorke (Moderniojo meno muziejaus archyvuose ir Niujorko viešojoje scenos menų bibliotekoje) ir Čikagoje (Šiaurės Vakarų universitete, McCormicko ypatingųjų kolekcijų bibliotekoje ir Čikagos universitete). Jos akademinio darbo dėmesio centre – muzikos estetika, XX a. avangardas ir XXI a. šiuolaikinė muzika bei menas.

Jan Temme de Vries (b. 1998) is a PhD researcher affiliated with the project NightMuse—The Night Side of Music at the University of Basel. His dissertation explores private devotional nocturnal musicking practices in eighteenth-century Leipzig. He holds an MA in Musicology and a Mag. Theol. in Theology from the Universities of Freiburg, Vienna, and Oslo, and was honored with the Alumni Prize by the Theological Faculty in Freiburg. In addition, he has attended courses in Viking and Medieval Studies at the University of Oslo.

During his studies, Jan worked as a research assistant in dogmatics and liturgical science, as well as a tutor in historical notation. He has published academic articles—primarily on church music—and contributed reviews of scholarly publications, scores, and recordings. His experiences as a guest researcher at the Center for Grundtvigforskning in Aarhus, the Fryske Akademy in Leeuwarden, the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, and the Centre for Privacy Studies at the University of Copenhagen enriched his academic background even before his current appointment in Basel. From an early age, he has also been active as a church musician, specializing in historic keyboard instruments.

His research interests include hymnology and liturgical music—especially within Protestant regions of Central Germany, the North Sea coast, and Scandinavia from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries—as well as nineteenth-century symphonic music and Old Germanic philology and meter. All these areas are connected by his broader focus on the interplay between religious faith, culture, and music.

Dr. Monika Voithofer (b. 1989) holds a postdoctoral position in the Department of Musicology at the University of Vienna. She studied musicology and philosophy at the Universities of Graz and Vienna and completed her M.A. at the University of Music and Performing Arts Graz with an award-winning thesis on the role of female artists within the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM). In her dissertation (*Denken, Hören, Da Capo: Konzeptuelle Musik im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2024), she examined conceptual music and its entwined history with conceptual art practices from a transatlantic perspective. To this end, she pursued research at several institutions located in London (CRMEP, Kingston University), New York City (MoMA Archives and the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts), and Chicago (Northwestern University, McCormick Library of Special Collections, and the University of Chicago). Her academic work focuses on music aesthetics, twentieth-century avant-gardes, and contemporary music and art in the twenty-first century.

Lietuvos muzikologija, 26
Lithuanian Musicology, 26

SL 1695.23 aut. l. Tiražas 151 egz.

Maketavo Rokas Gelažius

Išleido | Publisher:

Lietuvos muzikos ir teatro akademija | Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre
Gedimino pr. 42, LT-01110 Vilnius